Black Politics
1990
April
ANC sends peace party to quell Natal violence

By Sbu Nenguqade

As the carnage continued in strife-torn Natal, an advance party of ANC peace-makers, led by internal chairman Walter Sisulu, arrived in Maritzburg yesterday. The main peace-seeking delegation, expected to follow tomorrow, including deputy president Nelson Mandela who will spend three days in the area.

Meanwhile it has emerged that the planned peace rally at which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mandela were to have shared a platform was cancelled because of fears of bloodshed.

Maritzburg-based ANC leader Harry Gwala on Friday led a 70-strong delegation from the Valley of Death which had lobbied against Mandela holding a joint rally with Buthelezi.

Gwala told City Press the intensity of the war was such that an ANC/Inkatha rally could reduce Taylor's Hall, the proposed venue, to a battleground.

But Buthelezi yesterday criticised the move, saying the real issue was that Archie Genende, Dr Dlila Mji and Harry Gwala did not want the meeting to take place.

By Monday they would owe more bereaved people explanations why they were denying Mandela and himself moving in to stop the killing.

High on Mandela's agenda will be to consider mounting calls for the deployment of a peace-keeping force in Natal.

Meanwhile, houses burnt and bodies strewn around as Maritzburg saw the worst fighting yet as the UDF-Inkatha conflict took its bloodiest turn this week.

Bodies lay in the scorching afternoon sun on Friday - 28 hours after being slain. Violence erupted in Imbali and Mpopompi, both of which had been calm throughout the week.

Police have reported 37 people killed since Sunday, when people returning from an Inkatha rally at King's Park Stadium fired on people along the main Edendale arterial road - a UDF/Co- satu stronghold.

During my 48-hour stay in the war zone, I saw and received eyewitness reports of 82 killed in the Edendale valley, upper Edendale and Imbali since Sunday.

Rasley Keys, director of the Democratic Party in the Natal Midlands, said about 350 people had been killed in Natal so far this month - the highest monthly death toll since the violence between the UDF/Inkatha conflict erupted in 1985.

Large co-ordinated battles in the region this week left at least 200 houses burnt and more than 20 000 homeless. Refugees streaming from the war-torn villages have been housed in community halls, schools, churches and open fields. Residents of unaffected areas in the region have opened their houses and hearts in sharing shelter and food with the destitute.

Other people are sleeping on the pavements of Maritzburg City Centre.
ANC in bid to scuttle settlers drive

By NICCI YOUNG

THE ANC is trying to scuttle a Government and big business initiative to recruit skilled workers from Hong Kong.

An ANC delegation in the colony has been actively discouraging emigration to South Africa, the Sunday Times learned this week.

Hong Kong is an obvious target for Government and private head hunters as hundreds of thousands of well-off, highly qualified people are expected to flee the British colony before 1997, when it will be handed over to China.

Hong Kong Chinese with a bank balance of more than R125 000 or whose qualifications match SA’s vacant job list are eligible for a visa in one month rather than the usual six months.

The Home Affairs Department has approved in principle the resettlement of 300 Hong Kong families, each of whom will bring R1-million in liquid assets to the Republic.

Bitter

Backed by the Government’s efforts, the 1820 Settlers Association launched a recruiting campaign in Hong Kong from March 6 to 13.

But the ANC is determined to stop the recruiting drive.

On March 1, the ANC’s chief representative in East Asia, Mr Jerry Matsila, and an executive member of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee, Mr Eric Molobi, were guests of the Hong Kong anti-apartheid group.

Mr Matsila warned that “those people who begin emigrating to and investing in South Africa now run the risk of facing bitterness and resentment from blacks in the future. “New migrants might be seen as helping to suppress the black people and prevent the Government from training them to take up skilled jobs,” said Mr Matsila.”
ANC CALLS OFF TALKS WITH FW

CARNAGE IN THE VALLEY OF DEATH

ANC sends peace party
to quell Natal violence

Crucial meeting shelved to protest against cop killings

By Sibe Mngadi

ANC Correspondents and Sapa

THE ANC has suspended talks with the South African government scheduled for April 11 in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng on Monday.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Bloemfontein a climate conducive to negotiations was made impossible by continuing state violence, vigilantes and its agents, the use of emergency and the imprisonment of political prisoners.

Taking a hard line, he said the government would have to meet the demands of the Freedom Declaration and end state violence against peaceful protesters before talks could take place.

“The State President FW de Klerk must be an advocate of peace in Namibia, not the State President of the country in South Africa,” Mandela said.

He called for an intensification of international pressure on South Africa and a continuation of the armed struggle.

The decision to suspend talks had been taken by the Lusaka-based National Executive Committee (NEC) in consultation with the internal interim leadership.

Friday by the NEC of “unprovoked killing and maiming of peaceful demonstrators” by police in Sebokeng this week.

State President FW de Klerk said at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday he had been advised by Mandela himself that the talks were shelved. He had not yet seen the full ANC statement and would study it carefully.”
ANC suspends talks with FW after Sebokeng deaths

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"While the shooting at Sebokeng was a deplorable episode, it can be no excuse for breaking off talks, as could any other of the acts of violence that have been perpetrated all over the country," De Beer said.

In a statement yesterday the British Foreign Office in London expressed disappointment at the suspension of the talks.

In its statement on Friday the ANC said: "On March 26, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre of 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Sebokeng, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of more than 13 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"Coming in the wake of the shooting in Gazankulu, Thabong, Bophuthatswana and other parts of our country, these most recent killings establish a pattern of police brutality and increased bloodletting and death."

The ANC condemned these "massacres" in the strongest terms and demanded an "immediate end to this crime".

The statement said the system of apartheid lay at the root of all political violence in South Africa.

"The terrorism of the police and army is encouraged and protected by the state of emergency and existing repressive legislation."

It called on all supporters to continue the mass struggle for:

- A democratic South Africa;
- The creation of an atmosphere of free political activity;
- An end to the bantustan system, township councils and other unrepresentative institutions;
- A living wage;
- Reasonable rents, decent housing and improved living conditions; and
- Against all other manifestations of apartheid.

This week the government announced the names of a nine-man team that would have negotiat-
EXT week's discussions with leaders of the self-governing territories and minority parties in Parliament should play an important exploratory role in establishing a basis for constitutional negotiations, said President FW de Klerk this week.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club, he said the talks to be held with the ANC on April 11 (now postponed) were also important, but would focus on different issues.

"We will be looking for a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions, while constructively addressing practical issues such as the return of exiles and questions regarding so-called political prisoners."

He said in the process of reform perceptions were created that the existing order should vanish overnight and be replaced by one or other utopia.

"This is how things work and have a duty to spell it out loudly and clearly," he said.

The uncertainty which went hand-in-hand with rapid change often led to incorrect conclusions and emotional interpretations.

Some media reports after Nelson Mandela's release had given the impression it was a clear-cut matter that the ANC was on the point of taking over the government and that it would automatically enforce its socialist policy on the country.

Businessmen at home and overseas suddenly became concerned over their investments and State officials over their pensions and prospects.

Parents became unnecessarily worried about the future education of their children.

Thugs gained the incorrect impression that their misdeeds would remain unpunished as long as they were committed in the name of the so-called "struggle".

"There is not the least talk of an ANC takeover or a takeover by anyone else," said De Klerk. "All that has happened is that a fair process which must lead to negotiation, has been put into operation."

"Parallel to this, the legal government of South Africa remains firmly in control and will govern the country in accordance with the laws which are still valid."

Only with the concurrence of voters would a new dispensation be introduced.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have the ability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change will take place peacefully and in an orderly manner. Meanwhile, normal good government will continue."

All South Africans knew deep in their hearts that the present state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. A new dispensation had to come.

The National Party was prepared to share political, cultural and economic freedoms in a just manner, but was not prepared to destroy existing rights or to allow them to be destroyed.

"Anyone who believes that we will accept a dispensation in which the quality of existing freedoms and rights is negatively affected, is making a mistake."

Those who presently enjoyed full political rights had no intention of disappearing from the stage of history. On the contrary, they had a key role in any new dispensation.

"We will not throw overboard the freedom and values that have been built up over three-and-a-half centuries."

"At the same time it is our serious intention to ensure full democratic rights for all. Fair participation in government at all levels, by all South Africans, is the goal."

"All South Africans had to be involved in determining the future of the country."

The idea that the negotiating process would involve only two parties was a complete misconception. All leaders with proven and substantial support would be welcome at the negotiating table. - Sapa.

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There were few reported incidents of violence, apart from the shooting of Patrick Kombayi, National Organising Secretary of the opposition Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum), and a candidate in Gweru.

The official version is that he was shot during "inter-party clashes" after he shot at and set fire to vice-president Simon Muzenda's vehicle.

Zum says Kombayi was unarmed when he was gunned down in the street near a Gweru hotel and was shot several times in the stomach, once in the groin and once in the leg.

In a hospital interview, Kombayi said he was shot by government intelligence agents.

He was said to be under police guard at Bulawayo Central Hospital, awaiting orthopaedic surgery. A police spokesman refused to say if Kombayi was under arrest.

A spate of Zum defections to Zanu (PF) just before voting started has left the movement contesting 101 seats.

Zum is musing about it all being an orchestrated campaign, but there is no way the party would have gained a majority of seats even if all their MPs didn't stand. However, the defections will certainly reduce Zum's chances of being a sizeable minority.

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Despite corruption scandals, unemployment reckoned by some economists at 35 percent in the urban areas and erosion of the Zimbabwe dollar, Mugabe has effective control of the media, and is too well entrenched to be dislodged.

Sapa reports that opposition Zum leader Edgar Tekere said about 35 Zum members had been arrested and jailed in the Midlands town of Gweru, where nine other Zum members have disappeared.

Tekere has been quoted as describing the elections as a meaningless event. He said if the Zanu (PF) government was returned to power, it would not last 12 months.

He did not elaborate, but vehemently denied that he was plotting a coup.

Former Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith said on Wednesday Zimbabwe's general election was neither free nor fair because of intimidation by Mugabe's governing party.
Sacos calls on ANC to help solve bitter policy battle with the NSC

By VIVIAN REDDIAR

THE South African Council on Sport (Sacos) has called on the ANC to intervene in its conflict with the National Sports Congress (NSC).

This is the effect of a resolution adopted at the Sacos meeting in Durban last Sunday, when officials voted to reaffirm a November decision declaring the ANC-allied NSC a rival body.

The meeting failed to bring a solution to the six-month-old dispute any nearer.

- Unless the dispute is resolved soon, it can only be settled by a more protracted, bitter and divisive dog-fight.
- Whether the ANC will become involved remains to be seen. In the last few months it appears to have virtually ignored Sacos, which it has recognised and supported in principle over the years.

Sacos officials claim numerous attempts to meet ANC officials have failed in the last few months, suggesting deliberate moves to prevent such a meeting taking place.

...In addition, they complain, Sacos has incorrectly been portrayed as anti-ANC.

Now officials hope recent behind-the-scenes lobbying will result in a change of mind.

- Last week Sacos decided to meet all “progressive” political organisations and explain its policy.

Officials believe the ANC can influence the NSC and help break the deadlock.

Sacos wants to explain its policy of political non-alignment, its relationship to anti-apartheid political and community groups and its attitude to the NSC.

It also wants to stop certain NSC activities. The NSC stands accused of wanting to destroy Sacos, while preserving a public mask of innocence.

Sunday’s meeting also decided to seek a meeting with the NSC.

The NSC, formed on a mandate from the Mass Democratic Movement, believes Sacos is out of touch with political developments in the country, and is becoming irrelevant.

It hotly disputes Sacos’ non-aligned position.

There is a deep-rooted conviction in the NSC that, despite denials, certain Sacos officials actively promote the policies of the New Unity Movement in sport.

The question of political alignment has important policy implications.

The NSC has decided the time has come for negotiations to “establish” unity with the white sports establishment.

It has initiated unity talks with a number of sports organisations with the aim of eventually forming a mass-based non-racial sports movement.

Sacos, on the other hand, remains distrustful of white sports bodies, believing they are not ready to talk “principled” unity.

Some Sacos officials are also suspicious of the motives of certain black sport officials who were previously hostile to the non-racial sports movement and are now considered to have jumped on the political bandwagon.

The two bodies also differ on the future application of the sports boycott. Sacos favours a continuing blanket boycott, while the NSC is in favour of a radical review in the near future.

...The big problem facing the rival bodies is that some of the NSC’s most committed supporters are in Sacos, and cannot leave without causing a massive disruption in sport as a whole.

Breakaways from Sacos affiliates in some areas have already taken place, and school sport appears to be moving towards affiliation with the NSC.

The NSC policy of alignment has not met with universal approval outside Sacos, and as it is a totally new approach in local sport, only the future will tell if it is successful.

But there is no doubt the NSC has attracted a fair amount of support all round – in Sacos, in the white sports establishment and among previously “independent” black sports bodies.

There is reason to believe the NSC will spring more than a few surprises when it is officially launched soon.
Businessmen discuss project with Sisulu

CP Reporter

A PROPOSAL has been put to the ANC to purchase the R35 million Shareworld entertainment complex outside Soweto to establish the movement's national office.

Four prominent black businessmen are behind the proposal, which was discussed with ANC former secretary-general Walter Sisulu at his home in Orlando West, Soweto, two weeks ago.

According to City Press sources, certain members of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) have been informed of the proposal.

However, on Friday the Standard Bank — which backed Shareworld to the tune of R35 million two years ago before it went into liquidation last year with a loan debt believed to be R50-million — said it was not aware of any potential buyers for the complex.

Nor were the liquidators, Met-Trust, who told City Press: "We have not been approached by anybody, even the ANC. Obviously anybody who comes with an offer will be considered."

The idea behind the proposal, City Press learnt, was to create a Red Cross-type reception centre for returning ANC cadres. Other activities envisaged for the complex would include community recreation facilities, social workers' consultation offices, educational and gymnastic facilities.

It was also learnt a task force under the leadership of an attorney would be set up to provide a detailed outline of various activities to be undertaken. This would be followed by an "action plan."

The third stage would involve the laying out of the fund-raising strategies and the accountability thereof.

The task force would start by evaluating the impact of this overall exercise and will have to follow it through its logical conclusion.

City Press was further informed that other leading black businessmen and community leaders were being canvassed and sounded out on the project.

Our source said: "The idea is not to set up ANC headquarters at Shareworld. The whole thing would seem, hinges around the idea of accommodating structures lesser than the NEC at Shareworld."

It is understood interest has been shown in the Shareworld cinemas and other outlets at the complex that would be let to black businessmen to generate funds for the ANC.

Sisulu, thought to be in possession of the proposal document, could not be reached for comment. However, several internal ANC leaders told City Press this week they had heard about the whole Shareworld plan and supported the idea."
Reason talks are off

THIS is the ANC statement calling off the April 11 meeting with the Government:

"For the third time in as many weeks, the South African police and army have indulged in the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenseless demonstrators.

"On 26th March, less than seven days after the 30th anniversary of the notorious Sharpeville massacre in 1960, unarmed demonstrators in Soweto, engaged in a peaceful demonstration against the injustices of apartheid, were once again shot, resulting in the loss of more than 10 lives and injuries to an estimated 400 people.

"While the ANC and other formations of the democratic movement have made an explicit commitment to seeking a peaceful resolution of the South African conflict, no such undertaking has yet been made by the Pretoria regime.

"Under the present circumstances, the National Executive Committee of the ANC, in consultation with the Interim Leadership Council in South Africa, considers it ill-advised to proceed with arrangements to meet De Klerk and his colleagues on April 11.

"Effective from this moment, all arrangements for this meeting stand suspended. The NEC shall convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days. The South African Government was informed of the decision on Friday, March 30.

"The ANC once again reiterates that the people of South Africa have the right to assemble and demonstrate in support of their just demands. We claim this as an inalienable right, not as a favour conceded by the regime at its discretion."
Violence can only lead to anarchy

Dries van Heerden

asks if the ANC has control of the mobs

My impression is that there is even a serious rethink going on at present in ANC circles about the wisdom of the state of emergency. Mr De Klerk’s political moves have also shown his interest in this regard. For the Government the emergency is no longer an instrument to ensure political domination. More and more they are coming to realise it may still be in place purely for law and order purposes.

President De Klerk’s dilemma is that he is saddled with a legacy from his predecessor in which millions earmarked for security were wasted on sinister projects, spying on political opponents and engaging in the sort of murky activities that are now being revealed before the Harms Commission.

At the same time the ordinary policemen on the beat, who should be investigating ordinary criminal activity, were overlooked as far as salaries and perks were concerned — so much so that they are now leaving the force at a rate of almost 20 a week.

Small wonder there is a lack of respect for law and order in most black communities. Crimes like burglaries, rape and assault are reported but seldom investigated because of a lack of manpower.

Solution

And even when a dossier is opened and a policeman is assigned to the case, it rarely reaches the courts because the offices of the attorney generals are similarly grossly understaffed.

After suffering one or two of these experiences one can hardly blame a citizen for seeking redress in less conventional ways when next he is aggrieved.

What will hopefully emerge from the Government’s meeting with the ANC is an agreement on ground rules to combat lawlessness and violence.

The police should be given the necessary power in terms of authority, manpower and equipment to enforce law and order. And if present legislation is not enough, perhaps the state of emergency should be extended.

If present manpower is not adequate, alternative measures should be investigated — if need be returning members of Umkhonto from exile could be deployed in the towns to combat crime.

Criminals, looters and perpetrators of violence should be arrested, charged and brought before open courts. Allegations of police excesses should be investigated thoroughly and, where it can be proved that individuals have overstepped their authority, they should be punished.

But, in the final analysis, a new political order that enjoys legitimacy among the vast majority of the population should be negotiated without delay. Security force action cannot be a temporary measure to solve ad hoc problems.

The root cause remains political and can only be removed when all South Africans enjoy equal political rights.
FW to launch crackdown on violence

CAPETOWN -- President F.W. de Klerk will announce a countrywide crackdown on violence when he addresses Parliament today.

Despite the ANC having given the Sebenza shootings the reason for cancelling the historic April 11 talk, De Klerk and his Cabinet believe violence, especially in Natal, the Vaal triangle and Witbank, must now be stopped.

Although government spokesmen have been cautious in commenting on the actions contemplated, De Klerk can be assured that troops will be sent in to restore order. With organisations like the Black Sash having recently called on government to send in the troops to combat violence, De Klerk and his Cabinet are confident the step will not attract the same international outcry as in the past.

Government spokesmen, who are reported to have been quietly disappointed after the ANC had called off the planned April 11 meeting, said they believed the deflected tension within the organisation.

A senior official said there was a large body of opinion within the ANC that was opposed to negotiations at this stage. These people, he believed, were using the Sebenza shootings as an excuse to override those in the ANC who favoured talks. The official said Nelson Mandela's hardline speech at Bisho at the weekend, in which he said it was premature to suspend the armed struggle, was a further indication that hardliners in the ANC were becoming dominant.

Commenting in a speech at an NY youth rally in Sobantu, the official said: "We must now stop what we are doing."

The official said the April 11 talks were put on hold because the ANC had not yet agreed on a strategy for achieving its objectives.

The official said the April 11 talks were put on hold because the ANC had not yet agreed on a strategy for achieving its objectives.

Despite the suspension -- and indefinite postponement -- of the April 11 talks, government spokesmen said there was no alternative but to maintain contact with the ANC in this way in the hopes of securing another meeting date. In this they are looking to the international community to pressure the ANC into making its decision on the postponement.

``Arrangements for the April 11 talks had reached such a stage that the ANC had already indicated to government who its delegates would be."

Mike Robertson

Crackdown

The first hint of the impending crackdown by government came on Friday when De Klerk told the Cape Town Press Club he would be announcing in Parliament today, steps to combat violence.

At a weekend meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok promised more policemen would be sent into Natal.

De Klerk is expected to announce that in addition to extra policing, large troop deployments will be moved into trouble spots there and elsewhere in the country.

Government believes the fabric of the present violence throughout the country is different from that in 1985 and 1986. Where then it believed violence was directed at overthrowing the state, it believes now that the violence results from rivalry between black political groupings. It also believes that playing a major part in fomenting violence is an anarchic youth element that cannot be controlled by any of the major black political groupings.

De Klerk said on Friday government was determined to ensure that the process of negotiation and change took place in an orderly and peaceful manner. "The future of this country will not be decided through the barrel of a gun, through the waving of arms or the stamping of feet. It will be decided around a conference table."

Unbundled protest politics, De Klerk said, could spell serious dangers for the process of reform. "Large masses of people proclaiming extreme positions in our streets promote polarisation and violence. What we need is reconciliation and goodwill."

Government, De Klerk said, was not approaching the current situation from a position of weakness. It had not waited until the balance of power had turned against it before deciding on a course of peaceful negotiations. "The initiative is in our hands and we have the capability to ensure that the process of negotiation and change is peaceful and orderly," he said.

There was no room for violence from any quarter in determining the future of SA. "If certain elements on the left and on the right continue their present course of violence and lawlessness, the government will be obliged to use the full weight of its power to restore law and order in an unprejudiced manner."

Mike Robertson
Three views — in one dimension on Mandela

MANDELA: ECHOES OF AN ERA by Alf Kumalo and Es'kia Mphahlele (Penguin, R49.95)

MANDELA — HIGHER THAN HOPE by Fatima Meer (Madiba, R34.55)

NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM by Nelson Mandela (Heinemann, R14.95)

The release of the world's most famous political prisoner on February 11 has spurred publishers into producing or revising books on the man who now has a key role in negotiating a new and hopefully democratic SA.

A country which did not know what Mandela looked like until a month ago, and was officially denied his writings and opinions other than his speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial which Helen Suzman read into the parliamentary record, now has a surfeit of both words and pictures.

These books (one new, two revised reprints) all cover, in greater or lesser detail, the same ground: Mandela's early life, his rise within the ANC and his trials and imprisonment.

The latest of these is Mphahlele's text which accompanies photographs by Alf Kumalo going back to the '50s. The photographs really are the "echoes of an era" in the title, filling in the gaps between Mandela at the 1961 treason trial with Joe Slovo and his wife Ruth First, later murdered by a parcel bomb in Mozambique, and Mandela after his release from prison.

The era is fleshed out with pictures of Mandela's first wife Eveline in her Transkei store and his current wife Winnie in banishment and at meetings; Steve Biko and Albertina Sisulu, township violence and deprivation, troops and confrontation.

Mphahlele's text details Mandela's political rise, the Kliptown convention which led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the treason trial, the Rivonia trial, the Soweto riots and the formation of the Black Consciousness movement, the UDF and the MDM while he was imprisoned.

It reflects Mandela's anger at conditions which led to the ANC's espousal of violence and Mphahlele's anger at the continuing "political tyranny" for which he holds President F.W. de Klerk specifically and white South Africans generally responsible.

His history, informative and at times moving, is weakened by a text which often flows awkwardly around the photographs and by unnecessary errors. Sharpeville was not on March 21, Verwoerd was not killed by an "immigrant cleaner" or during a Cabinet meeting and P.W. Botha would have been surprised to learn Vorster gave him the task of designing the tricameral constitution.

It concludes with the full text of Mandela's Cape Town speech after his release.

Echoes of an Era is due for international release, where the publishers hope for the same acclaim accorded to Meer's Higher than Hope, currently the hardback non-fiction bestseller in the UK.

Meer's biography, originally published in 1986 to celebrate Mandela's 70th birthday, has been revised after discussions with him in Victor Verwoerd Prison. It includes a detailed history of the times, the state and defence cases in the Rivonia trial, and Mandela's letters from prison to family and friends.

No Easy Walk to Freedom — the new edition, like the Kumalo-Mphahlele volume, contains a foreword by Walter Sisulu — was first published in 1965.

It is a compilation of Mandela's writings and speeches, on the black struggle and the resort to violence, and shows why Mandela believed the objectives of the Freedom Charter would not be realised until the financial and gold-mining monopolies "are smashed and the national wealth of the country turned over to the people".

In addition to Mandela's speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial, it contains verbatim extracts from the earlier trial for incitement and illegal exit from the country at which Mandela conducted his own defence.

At that trial he subjected Verwoerd's private secretary to rigorous cross-examination.

None of the assessments so far is critical; they have been compiled by friends, admirers and confidantes. But until there is a biography by someone who differs from Mandela or is at least prepared to assess him objectively, these works at least give South Africans a basis to judge a man whose background and views are important to supporters and detractors alike.

MICHAEL ACOTT
Mandela shrinks, and
the bliss of a new
dawn begins to fade

KEN OWEN

President de Klerk and the homelands leaders — Chief Buthelezi among them — were to embark this week on talks about next week's talks with the ANC which were still beset with the obstacles to talks about talks. Silly as it sounds, that's precisely where matters stood when the ANC baulked.

The ANC's suspension of preliminary talks on April 11 was done on the filmiest pretext: the Sebenzisa shootings that claimed 14 lives (among hundreds killed since February 2) on Monday. On Friday, the ANC was still willing to name its delegates; on Saturday it was back to armed struggle.

Time will disclose what happened between Friday and Saturday, but it smells of power struggle, as does the earlier cancellation of a meeting between Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi at a rally to try to stop the slaughter in the war between the UDF and Inkatha in Natal.

Whether the ANC is uncertain of its strategy, or of its leadership, or of its own power base, it is plainly not yet ready for constructive negotiations, and it seems to be retreating again into the destructive clichés of "armed struggle" and mass mobilisation. It is letting slip the dogs of war.

Nelson Mandela himself is shrinking in stature by the day. His appeals for peace have been vain, his freedom of action has been circumscribed by the younger generation of leaders around him, and his own political stance has been vacillating and tentative. One day he wants to talk, the next day he wants to fight; one day he is for peace, the next day for "armed struggle".

One line of reasonable speculation is that, conscious of the ANC's increasing isolation and the growing opposition to it, it may fear being overwhelmed on its left, and on its right, as it was in the Soweto rising of 1976. Therefore it is making a show of ferocity.

Or it may be that Mandela is finding it more difficult than he expected to regain leadership, and is now trying to bolster his status within the organisation with cheap appeals to violent emotions. It may simply be that the ANC is no longer, in any meaningful sense, an organisation.

Whatever the reason, it has left President de Klerk holding the moral and political high ground, the first Nationalist leader to do so since 1948. Indeed, the State President has done more in two months to secure our future as South Africans than his party did in the preceding decades.

Obviously, there is a long way to go. The government, perhaps with an eye towards the elections due by 1994, has wanted to move fast, and wrap up an agreement with the black leaders within two or three years. Now it appears that the ANC is ready neither for negotiations nor for power. The complexities of dealing with confused and uncertain black leaders are daunting.

Besides, the communal violence, though not unexpected in communities whose political aspirations have been suppressed for decades, has been deeply disturbing, and on a scale to test everybody's courage.

Many whites, including former liberal leaders, and even some of the more intense "liberation groupies", have taken fright. Black Sash members turn to the army for help.

When events move at such speed, and create such turbulence, it is easy to overlook the gains that have been made. In fact, the progress of the past two months has exceeded every liberal's wildest dreams. The country has been turned from a course of certain disaster — President de Klerk's "80 Years War" — and set on a new course that offers hope.

Apartheid, utterly failed, is being discarded; ahead lies the task, immense and exciting, of creating a new society. Shirley Williams, the motherly British politician who visited South Africa in January, seemed to change the air even before President de Klerk's oral speech on February 2, and she captured the excitement of creating a new, free, democratic society by quoting William Wordsworth's famous lines about the French Revolution:

"Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive, / But to be young was very heaven."

While the slaughter continues in the townships, and while rival impi turn Natal into a killing field, and while Nelson Mandela risks destruction for the sake of his own power, bliss is perhaps not an easy word to use. But at least the long, dreary nightmare of apartheid has come to an end: the evasion of reality, the lies, the parrot-incantation of untruths, the petty viciousness, the indifference to suffering, the cruelty, the selfishness — the insanity.

It has been a psychotically uninterrupted war in our national life, so grotesque that small episodes linger in the mind more tenaciously than the memory of Sharpeville, or the shock of the Sophiatown removals, or the assassina-

tion of the principal author of all that evil, Hendrik Verwoerd.

In about 1957 or 1958 I asked the chairman of a group areas board how the Indian traders of Pretoria were expected to make a living if they were moved out of town to Luidum. He replied: "The time is past when Indians could dominate the retail trade." And in that reply I caught a glimpse of the truth that apartheid was a cynical camouflage for greed and envy.

A few months ago I trekked to Pretoria to pluck for the son of a friend to visit his mother. The answer, concealed behind some evasive talk, was that the correspondent was an anonymous report, presumably compiled by the sort of malfeasant degenerates who created the CCB, that had lain in the files for nearly a decade.

Two small acts of oppression, 33 years apart, and the same foul taste. Bliss it was that the ANC will come soon to the negotiating table, and that those malevolent spies, those indolent bureaucrats, that whole machinery of victimisation and malice, will be swept aside.

I am not among those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss, even if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; but it may yet end in the remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook.

By deciding to negotiate while he is still in power, de Klerk has given South Africans an opportunity to help shape an African future for ourselves and our children.

Pity that Nelson Mandela, a lesser man than he seemed in prison, has chosen instead to test white South Africa's strength by "armed struggle". Given the disparity of forces, it is a battle he cannot win in his lifetime, and he is likely to find instead that violence forecloses all options. As Natal demonstrates, it is easier to start a war than to stop it.

Wordsworth, seduced by the bliss of a new society, 200 years ago, was soon afterwards disillusioned by the reign of terror. Nelson Mandela, if he listens carefully to the pleads for soldiers — white soldiers — to return to the townships to protect the people, may hear in that plea the voice of history. Madame Defarge still knits patiently at the foot of the guillotine.
Six shot after weekend funeral

By MOKGADI PELA

SIX members of the Azanian Students Movement were injured when they were allegedly shot by municipal policemen in Bekkersdal at the weekend.

The six students were returning from the cemetery, where a crowd of almost 5,000 had buried Sello Mogosi (22), an Azasm member killed by political rivals.

The mourners, holding Azapo and Azasm banners, were singing freedom songs when municipal policemen opened fire.

Those shot were:
Thabo Mokshobana (19),
Trevor Mazibuko (19),
Kenneth Seoka (37),
David Motinoo (22),
Monwabisi (22) and Popo Mbonel (19).

Police said a report on the incident "will only be available today" from the Krugersdorp security branch office.

Azasm publicity secretary, Sipho Maseko, condemned the incident.

Meanwhile another activist, Mbuyiselo Montshiwa, could not be buried on Saturday.

About 1,000 mourners were told by the Montshiwa family that the funeral had been postponed as police had allegedly refused to release the corpse.

A family spokesman said the funeral would now be held today at 1pm.

Mbuyiselo, and Sello died during the feud between Azasm and the Bekkersdal Youth Congress in the West Rand township.
Rival youth warned to end fighting

EAST LONDON. — Executive members of the African National Congress or of the South African Youth Congress would be prepared to come to Ciskei to address the two youth organisations of the African National Congress that were fighting each other in the region.

The deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, said this on Saturday, referring to the fighting between two rival youth organisations in the Mdantsane-East London region.

Fights have erupted between members of the East London Youth Congress and the Mdantsane Youth Congress, which is an affiliate of Sayco.

Mr Mandela said the fighting was a disgrace and appealed to both groups to talk and settle their differences as comrades.

He said the ANC and Sayco were prepared to support them if they chose to talk, but if they chose to fight and settle their differences by killing each other, the situation would not be tolerated.

Mr Mandela condemned the violence that took place in some Ciskei townships on the occasion of Brigadier Joshua Gqozo coming to power after ousting Mr Lennox Sebe, whom he described as "the most despotic ruler in the region".

Bringing greetings of the ANC and SACP (South African Communist Party) to traditional chiefs and people in the region, Mr Mandela paid tribute to the many heroes and heroines who had sacrificed and laid down their lives for freedom.
Tutu, ANC to meet

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu and several other church leaders are to meet ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a new attempt to end the escalating violence in Natal.

Tutu said this after conducting church services in the Vaal Triangle yesterday. The talks will follow the cancellation of a peace rally which was to be addressed by Buthelezi and Mandela today. In a brief interview outside the Anglican church in Eshowe Tutu announced the new initiative.

However, an Inkatha spokesman, Ms Suzan de Vos, confirmed that a delegation of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) led by the Rev Frank Chikane would meet Buthelezi in Ulundi.

She denied knowledge of any meeting planned between the Inkatha leader and Tutu or Mandela.

Clashes

From page 1

According to the latest police unrest report, at least eight people were killed and at least 23 wounded in the region.

Five people were killed and one injured at Tafelberg near Durban in clashes between rival groups. Police used R-1 rifle fire and birdshot to disperse a crowd that shot at them, wounding one man.

Two died and 24 were injured after the roof of a police "strong point" was damaged by bullets. It was unclear from the police report if the dead were policemen or civilians.

A police vehicle was also damaged by gunfire.

A man was shot and killed by a large crowd at Mpophomeni near Howick. Another man was injured by the crowd.

Police used R-1 rifle fire, birdshot and teargas to disperse fighting groups that shot at the police in two other incidents in the area.

Extensive damage was caused to several houses at Hlangweni, where a large crowd threw petrol bombs at the houses.

A restaurant was also set alight and extensively damaged.
Bid to put talks back on track

Plea on peace moves

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu is to seek a meeting with both the African National Congress and the Government in a bid to bring the aborted talks between the two parties back on track.

In Alexandra township, ANC stalwart Mr Elias Motsoaledi said the organisation’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was ready and prepared to resume its armed struggle if a political settlement was not reached with the Government.

Commenting on the ANC’s withdrawal from the April 11 talks with the Government, Tutu said he would love to see the talks back on track.

He was speaking to reporters soon after addressing a prayer service at St Lawrence’s Church, in Small Farms, near Johannesburg, yesterday.

In a short statement issued on Saturday, Tutu said he planned to join other church leaders in seeking urgent consultations with the Government and ANC.

“I do not believe it would be helpful to comment at this stage”, he said.

The ANC announced at the weekend it was withdrawing from the talks in protest against the shooting of 17 people during a demonstration in Sebokeng last Monday.

The organisation said, however, its national executive committee would convene a special sitting to review the situation within five days.

Criticism

State President FW de Klerk said criticism of police action such as that at Sebokeng on Monday should not have led to the withdrawal of the ANC from the talks.

Speaking at the Transvaal youth congress of the National Party near Nasrec yesterday, De Klerk said he had been informed late on Friday afternoon by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that the ANC was withdrawing from the talks.

The shooting at Sebokeng had been cited as the main reason.

De Klerk said the reasons given amounted to criticism of police action. He did not wish to comment on the merits of the incident until he had studied the complete report.

He added that if, for argument’s sake, the criticism had been justified, this still should not have stood in the path of the meeting.

He pointed out that such meetings could help prevent similar incidents occurring in the future.

The Democratic Party said the shootings in...
Sebokeng did not warrant suspension of the meeting.

DP co-leader Mr. Wynand Malan said it was a very early setback for the process of negotiations.

"Although setbacks were to be expected and were still expected, the reason advanced as the shooting at Sebokeng does not warrant the cancellation of the April 11 meeting.

"This can be dealt with by the appointment of a judicial commission to which both the Government and the ANC could appoint a member.

"The DP appeals to both the Government and the ANC to do everything within their power to get the process started," Malan concluded.
MARITZBURG. — Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok on Saturday guaranteed that more men would be introduced into the troubled townships surrounding this city.

Mr Vlok had just made an aerial survey with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the area where 42 people have died violently since Tuesday.

He told journalists that members of the SADF accused of taking sides in the conflict would be withdrawn.

“They are in fact already being withdrawn,” Mr Vlok said.

The minister repeated his earlier call that what was needed both in Natal and the rest of SA was a change of heart.

“Let us stop this violence. We have had enough — let us rather sit around the table and talk,” he said.

Both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Vlok said they regarded the situation as being “high priority”.

They agreed it was essential for security to be improved through more manpower on the ground.

Responding to a question whether Inkhatha was the aggressor against the UDP-Cosatu factions, Chief Buthelezi said Inkhatha attacks in the past few days had been a “reaction”.

Chief Buthelezi said Inkhatha had encouraged its people to attend the Mandela peace rally in Durban late last month — and as Inkhatha’s leader he had been prepared to meet Mr Mandela at a peace rally at Taylor’s Halt outside Maritzburg on Monday.

“They (the ANC) wrecked it. I did not,” Chief Buthelezi said.

Mr Vlok evaded questions over the ANC decision to cancel its scheduled meeting with the government on April 11, saying he did not know much about it yet.

Both Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi agreed that the issue of violence — apart from the required increase in ground forces — was three-pronged.

They believed firstly that it had political and constitutional elements, socio-economic elements second, and the question of security third.

All these had to be addressed before there could be any solution.

Chief Buthelezi expressed dismay after the press conference at the many burnt homes he observed during his helicopter flight with the minister.

“Here we have the poor people killing other poor people, burning down shops, unable to get to work to get money to feed their children,” he said.

Chief Buthelezi said that apart from Inkhatha and UDF groupings, “The criminal element is now riding on the bandwagon”.

“There are groups in the violent situation who don’t want anyone to be in control.”

He did not want to see a situation like Beirut or Northern Ireland, he said. — Sapa
ANC welcomes direct contact with industry

Owld Correspondent

BISHO. — Direct contact between organised commerce and industry and African National Congress-aligned organisations on local problems would be welcomed, Mr Nelson Mandela told businessmen here on Saturday.

At a specially organised meeting between Mr Mandela and the businessmen at the Independence Stadium here, attended by more than 100,000 people, Mr Mandela said the ANC would not object to local discussions on regional problems.

Referring to the controversial question of the ANC aim of nationalising the mines and other monopolies, Mr Mandela said nationalisation did not mean that the ANC would simply take over the enterprises concerned. He said nationalisation could mean also a partnership or shareholding by the state in the mining sector and other monopolies.

Mr Mandela said he wanted to make it clear that it was not the policy of the ANC to take over businesses generally. It favoured a free-market system.

He said the ANC's aim was to bring economic benefits to all the people of the country, and the ANC regarded nationalisation as a strategy to achieve this.

On ANC support for sanctions, he said: “If you can tell me a better peaceful way to force the government to allow me to vote, I would be happy to embrace it.”
Mandela hoping to meet Thatcher

Uncertainty over Mandela’s Merc

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON.—It is uncertain whether ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela will be allowed to accept a luxury car from Mercedes-Benz of South Africa as the ANC does not have any policy regarding the acceptance of gifts.

The ANC’s spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Schina, said the organisation had still to formulate a policy regarding gifts.

Hourly-paid workers at MBSA’s East London plant agreed to work four hours for no pay in order to cover the cost of a Mercedes-Benz 500 SE. — Sapa

Uncertainty over Mandela’s Merc

Own Correspondent
LONDON.—Mr Nelson Mandela wants to meet Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher during his visit to Britain later this month, and is trying to overcome objections raised by the ANC’s national executive.

This emerged in a major exclusive interview with Conservative Party Euro-MP Lord Nicholas Bethell, published yesterday in the Sunday Telegraph.

In it, Mr Mandela also offered to address the Conservative Party conference in Bournemouth later this year, if invited.

Interference

He said he realised he might be accused of interfering in British politics because he had already met Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and accepted his invitation to address the Labour conference.

“If the Conservative Party invite me to their conference, I will go,” he told Lord Bethell, adding: “I do not support the Conservative Party or the Labour Party.”

Senior Tory Central Office sources said Mr Mandela would be “very welcome” and indicated that his suggestion would be put to the National Union — the body in charge of conference arrangements.

Mr Mandela will be in Britain at Easter to address an internationally televised rally and pop concert at Wembley Stadium on Easter Monday. He will also meet various politicians, church leaders and anti-apartheid activists.

His declared wish to meet Mrs Thatcher indicates a disagreement within ANC ranks as the movement’s official position remains that his visit would not be the occasion to take up her public invitation to him to call on Downing Street.

Mr Mandela does, however, emphasise that any meeting with Mrs Thatcher would require prior approval from the ANC’s national executive — many of whom were embittered by her decision to lift some voluntary sanctions against South Africa.

‘Be our friend’

But Mr Mandela expressed unexpected admiration for Mrs Thatcher in the interview. “I deeply appreciate the role she has played in the relaxation of international tension. I have always said that this is the woman I would like to persuade to come over and be our friend. “Apart from the fundamental differences we have, she is a person I regard as dependable.”

“I am trying to sort the problem out with the national executive. If I do not see her on April 16, I would certainly plan to see her when I am in Britain in October.”
Mandela set to meet FW

DURBAN. — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and three advisers will meet President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

Mr Mandela made a phone call to Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen from Louis Botha Airport here today soon after arriving for a tour of Maritzburg's troubled townships.

Mr Mandela told Dr Viljoen that he would be bringing three advisers with him to Thursday's meeting.

VENUE NOT KNOWN

The venue for the meeting is not known.

Mr Mandela made the telephone call from the airport's information counter as a crowd of journalists and supporters hung over his shoulder.

Those there to meet him included Mr Walter Sisulu, ANC internal leader, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's Natal representative Mr Harry Gwala.

Mr Mandela looked well and he and his colleagues embraced happily.

Shortly before Mr Mandela arrived, Mr Sisulu told Sapa that Mr Mandela would not be meeting KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said Mr Mandela was due to spend two days in the province.

"He is here just to see this troubled spot," Mr Sisulu said.

Mr Sisulu, who headed the entourage which met Mr Mandela at the airport, has been in Natal since Saturday.

They left the airport for Imball township, near Maritzburg. — Sapa.

Huge Tokyo
Detective agency ‘hunted ANC sympathisers’

By Kaizer Nyatumba and Dawn Barkhuizen

Allegations of abduction, torture and possibly murder by a shadowy Johannesburg "private investigator" operating in Soweto under cover of darkness have been lodged with Lawyers for Human Rights.

In a statement, self-confessed "hit squad" member, Mr Lawrence Naidoo, described his five weeks of horror with South African Private Detectives CC (SPDC) — culminating in a gruesome shooting in Bellevue, Johannesburg, last year.

Mr Naidoo (21) subsequently left the organisation and has been in hiding, fearing the wrath of his former colleagues.

Special bonuses

He was particularly afraid in view of recent "hit squad" revelations, he said.

During his period of employment he alleges the armed SPDC squad supervised by boss-man Mr Ferdinand du Plessis:

- Searched Soweto at night looking for ANC sympathisers.
- Abducted and tortured people — shooting at least one.
- Paid special bonuses to its members when "ANC sympathisers" were caught.
- Obtained information on Soweto activists from a trade union spy.

Mr Naidoo joined the SPDC because he wanted to be a "Magnum-style PI", but fled after about five weeks, he said.

He showed The Star an open lot in Bellevue, Johannesburg, where he said a Soweto man, believed to be related to an ANC sympathiser, was beaten and shot on the eve of the 1989 Easter weekend.

Mr du Plessis, his right-hand man "Joseph" and Mr Naidoo had abducted the victim from his Soweto house earlier that night, he alleged.

Afterwards, he said, he helped carry the man's limp body to the car and dumped him in the boot. Then, he alleged, Mr du Plessis gave him R150 and promised more "commission" because "we get commissions for these ANC things".

He told The Star: "We took him to the empty lot in Bellevue. Du Plessis told me to hit him and make him talk. He was handcuffed ... I punched him several times until he fell, bleeding a lot. The man said he was going to report us. Du Plessis then told me to go and wait in the car. As I walked off I heard 'bang' 'bang'!"

"Joseph called me back. The man was covered in blood and, I think, dead. We carried him to the car and dumped him in the boot."

"Du Plessis walked to nearby flats and came back a few minutes later wearing a different jacket."

Mr Naidoo was then dropped off at his home and Mr du Plessis and Joseph drove off with the man's body in the boot.

Tracked down to a Johannesburg snack-bar by The Star, a nattyly-dressed Mr du Plessis, who was with a black man called Joseph, demanded that The Star reveal its sources and initially denied all knowledge of the SPDC.

Asked why the SPDC abandoned its Kine Centre offices without paying rent he said "that's my private business".

When pressed, he admitted working in Soweto "and abroad" with "a number of blacks and coloureds" but said allegations of assassinations were "all lies".

When asked who his clients were he refused to answer, but let the restaurant without finishing his meal or paying the bill.

Confirmed

- Mr du Plessis's girlfriend, Ms Brenda Findley, has confirmed that she and Mr du Plessis shared flat No 4 Highlands Court, Bezuidenhout Street, Bellevue, until April 30 1989. The flat bordered on the open lot where the alleged Easter shooting took place.
- A Sanlam Properties spokesman confirmed that Mr Ferdinand du Plessis ran a company called South African Private Detectives CC from the Kine Centre from November 1 1988 to June 30 1989, when he "disappeared" without paying the rent.
- The identity of the man who was shot has not been established.
- A Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman last night confirmed being in possession of a statement from Mr Naidoo.
Mandela: I'll meet FW

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Nelson Mandela will meet President FW de Klerk alone this week to discuss the violence sweeping the country.

This dramatic development follows a setback in talks scheduled for next week between the ANC and the government. The ANC suspended the talks at the weekend in protest at police shootings in Sebenza last week which left at least 13 people dead.

Speaking at a media conference after a massive rally near Port Elizabeth attended by a crowd estimated to number more than 300,000 — Mr Mandela said he would meet Mr de Klerk after his scheduled visit to the war-torn Natal today.

Clampdown

His announcement follows not only the ANC's suspension of talks, but also a warning by the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela, that his government would not hesitate to clamp down on the countrywide violence.

Mr de Klerk's warning comes as the ANC's leader, Nelson Mandela, has said he would meet Mr de Klerk after his scheduled visit to the war-torn Natal today.

There was no immediate confirmation from the government that a meeting would take place between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

However, a spokesman said the meeting was "not pre-arranged".

Mr de Klerk said he had told Mr Mandela that he was "looking forward to discussing the situation with you".

In the meantime, the ANC suspended talks on a political agreement to end violence, which had been due to start next week.

The suspension follows a wave of violence that has claimed the lives of at least 13 people in Port Elizabeth alone this week.

Three people were killed in the first incident, while the other 10 were injured. The cause of the violence was not immediately clear.

The ANC has accused the government of failing to take action against the violence, and has called for a military intervention to restore order.

The ANC's suspension of talks comes after a series of violent incidents in the country, including the murder of a senior ANC leader.

On other pages:
- Mandela to visit Natal 'war zone' — Page 2
- Tutu wants Sebenza inquiry — Page 3
- ANC 'set to renew armed struggle' — Page 3
- Mandela hoping to meet Thatcher — Page 7

MANDELA CROWD: Part of the huge crowd at rally in Port Elizabeth yesterday. Inset: Mr Mandela addresses the crowd.
open and he would be welcome to meet with me.

Mr De Klerk added that the government, despite the postponement of the April 11 talks, remained "committed to talk to those working for peaceful solutions".

The spokesman said it was possible Mr De Klerk might announce the one-on-one meeting with Mr Mandela when he addressed Parliament this afternoon.

Mr De Klerk said the primary objective of such talks was to prevent a repeat of incidents like the Sebokeng shooting.

He said that even if criticism of the police was justified, the talks should continue.

He was notified by Mr Mandela on Friday that the talks had been suspended.

The ANC decision - taken in consultation with the organisation's internal leadership - is to be reviewed at a special sitting of the national executive committee in the next five days.

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the police shootings did not warrant suspension of the talks.

"Hope that the talks would go ahead was expressed by DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Dr J N Reddy, and Mr Peter Hendriekse of the Labour Party.

At the rally yesterday in Motherwell township — believed to be the biggest political meeting seen in South Africa — Mr Mandela said Mr De Klerk was adopting a welcome approach and was the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality.

Mr Mandela was visibly stunned by the crowd size — estimated at between 300,000 and 400,000 by reporters — when he mounted the podium with several ANC regional leaders to address the rally at an open sports field.
ANC, MDM back plan on homelands

THE ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement supported the holding of referendums on the dismantling of homelands.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said this at a mass rally at Bisho in the Ciskei at the weekend.

He told tens of thousands of people it was the rejection of the homeland system and desire to be re-incorporated into SA that had removed the "corrupt and repressive organs of apartheid in the Transkei and Ciskei." This popular support had to be translated into strong organisation at all levels.

"Without strong organisation ... disciplined struggle is impossible," he said.

It was more urgent than ever to build strong civic, youth, women and teacher organisations. Those people who were part of homeland structures but were attempting to break away must be encouraged and welcomed into the ranks of the ANC, he said.

Struggle

On negotiations, Mandela said conditions that made 'necessary' the ANC's 'armed struggle' were still in place. He said as far as negotiations were concerned the ANC had noted President de Klerk's sincerity. "We say this must not lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid. We are duty bound to the struggle and to the people to identify the obstacles to peace."

He said state violence continued in many parts of the country. "...in
Nationalisation debate: common ground emerges

SOUTH Africans have plunged into a fierce debate about whether a post-apartheid government should nationalise the white-owned economy to raise the living standards of impoverished blacks.

The debate promises to be as tough as impending negotiations on political reform.

The economic issue is seen as crucial by blacks and by the many whites who are more fearful of losing a privileged lifestyle than of ending formal racial segregation.

The argument may also determine whether Africa’s most powerful economy, with its giant gold mining and industrial corporations, will fulfil a long-heralded destiny as the engine of economic growth for the sub-Saharan region.

Debate

Amid the fury of the debate, some common ground is emerging.

On one side are government and business leaders opposed to the policy of nationalising major industries advocated by the ANC.

Finance Minister Baroend du Plessis called nationalisation “theft”. Atie du Plessis of the powerful Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut business lobby dubbed it “highly irresponsible”.

Business leaders say plans to sink up to 19 new gold mines, many of them deep and therefore expensive, and six new platinum mines and expand chrome, granite and diamond mining over the next 20 years would be harmed if mining was nationalised.

“Of one thing you may be certain: There will be no deep-level gold mines in a nationalised industry,” said Brian Gilbertson, head of the mining division of Gencor Ltd.

Michael Spier, an executive of the country’s largest company, Anglo American Corporation, said that social welfare for all South Africans was a legitimate long term aim.

“But as a practical system to be introduced short term to plump in the sky. Housing education, jobs - there just aren’t the resources,” he said in an interview.

Blacks see increased government welfare as the only way out of grinding poverty affecting many of them. At least 35 percent of blacks are unemployed and up to a third live in informal settlements of tents and corrugated iron shacks with restricted access to running water and electricity.

Health care and education for blacks are confined largely to under-funded and overcrowded hospitals and schools.

On another side of the debate stand radical black youth, Africanist and Trotskyite groups demanding state ownership of the economy and redistribution of wealth to blacks of the 87 percent of South African land reserved for whites under apartheid.

Many blacks equate capitalism with apartheid, which they say provides business with cheap black labour and encourages harsh work practices outlawed in many Western countries.

Peter Mokaba, influential president of the anti-apartheid South African Youth Congress, believes the economy belongs to its overwhelmingly black workforce. He says it is strange to think of nationalisation as theft.

“Who are we stealing our own wealth from?” he asked.

On yet another side of the debate stand the ANC, its ally the Communist Party and a large number of trade unions. They demand greater state control of the economy but admit widespread government ownership of private companies would be intractable.

Business leaders say a future government could not afford to pay adequate compensation for nationalising their companies, while a refusal to pay compensation would kill foreign investment and discourage domestic investment.

Some unions and black leaders seem to have taken the point.

“Our solutions lie neither in free market capitalism nor in centrally planned command economy socialism,” wrote Alec Erwin, education officer of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Communist Party general secretary Joe Slovo told the London Financial Times: “Foreign capital will remain crucial to development and guarantees of stability and security will be offered to ensure investors do not avoid South Africa.”

Nelson Mandela, the deputy president of the ANC, says the economy will continue to be based on private enterprise and any changes would be discussed thoroughly with business leaders.

A future government would find it hard to pay compensation if it decided to nationalise Anglo American, which controls up to a third of world gold production and has a market capitalisation of £29 billion.

A 51 percent stake would cost £14.9 billion, which is one and a half times total spending on defence and far exceeds the education budget.

Julian Ogilvie Thompson, Anglo’s chairman designate, says he is confident blacks can be persuaded against nationalisation.

“An alternative foresee is that the government could be acquisition without compensation of up to 20 percent of some giant companies, giving government a strategic hold on the economy.”

Development studies professor Pieter le Roux said another alternative would be indirect state control through fiscal, monetary and wage policies and trade union and government representation on company boards.

“Ownership of enterprises is not as crucial as the need to ensure workers have a say in determining policies,” said Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the country’s largest labour organisation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Structures

Spier said he suspected black leaders envisaged structures that would coerce business involvement in state projects rather than consultative forums that would merely make suggestions.

“But if it is the ‘suggest’ model, backed up by a belief in the profit motive with social responsibility, then we are starting to talk the same language,” he said. - Sapa-Reuters.
FW expected to move strongly against violence

Mandela faces tough
test on Natal visit

Mr Nelson Mandela, facing one of his toughest tasks since being released from jail, visits Natal today to try to end a vicious war between rival black groups.

Mr Mandela also has to get his African National Congress back on the path towards negotiations with Pretoria after it cancelled next week's preliminary talks, ostensibly because police opened fire on black demonstrators at Sebokeng last Monday.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk prepared to deliver a major speech to Parliament, spelling out the Government's strategy and giving the official view on the ANC's decision to call off the April 11 meeting.

Another related development is that the SA Council of Churches is to seek urgent meetings with the ANC and the Government to avert the violence in Natal.

It is widely believed that in his speech today, Mr de Klerk will announce that large troop reinforcements are to be sent to quell the heavy faction war in Natal.

However, Defence Ministry sources could not confirm this.

Government sources also believe that Mr de Klerk will unveil a two-step plan to contain the violence, balancing security measures with positive steps to upgrade physical conditions in the worst-hit areas, especially in Natal.

The ANC's decision on Friday to call off the historic exploratory talks with the Government has been greeted with shock and dismay in political circles. NNP and Government sources said the talks might have had a calming effect on the violence.

However, they were optimistic that the talks could take place again, especially after Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement yesterday that he would see Mr de Klerk again to discuss the nationwide violence.

Huge crowd

Mr Mandela, speaking at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth to a huge crowd, estimated at 60,000, indicated that he was having differences with ANC leaders but said he would not discuss that publicly.

He praised Mr de Klerk as the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality and said the President was adopting "a most welcome" approach.

Mr Mandela visits the Natal trouble spots today and is expected to meet Cape Town's Mayor.

Most political observers in Cape Town believe the real reason for the ANC calling off the talks is uncertainty, confusion and lack of preparation in the ANC ranks after negotiations.

This is evolution for the development.
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An SACC delegation, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, was meeting Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today in Durban to discuss the violence in Natal.

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The ANC decision on Friday to call off the historic exploratory talks with the Government has been greeted with shock and dismay in political circles.

NP and Government sources said the talks might have had a calming effect on the violence.

However, they were optimistic that the talks would take place soon — especially after Mr Nelson Mandela's announcement yesterday that he would see Mr de Klerk alone to discuss the countrywide violence.

Huge crowd

Mr Mandela, speaking at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth to a huge crowd, estimated by ANC sources as 500,000, indicated that he was having differences with other ANC leaders but said he would not discuss that publicly.

He praised Mr de Klerk as the first white South African leader to come to terms with reality and said the President was adopting "a most welcome" approach.

Mr Mandela visits the Natal trouble spots today and is expected to meet Chief Buthelezi.

Most political observers in Cape Town believe the real reason for the ANC calling off the talks is disunity, confusion and lack of preparation in the ANC ranks about negotiations.

The ANC's explanation for the decision to postpone the meeting — the police action at Sebokeng — has been dismissed by most political and diplomatic observers as a transparent excuse.

Security sources believe the reason is that the ANC is rapidly losing the support of township youths to the PAC and fears that it will lose even more if it begins to talk to the Government.

The postponement appears to have damaged the ANC's international credibility and its commitment to negotiations has now been questioned.

By contrast South Africa is likely to score heavily, boosting its image as the player more dedicated to negotiations.

The ANC executive committee will meet this week to discuss the matter.

— Political Correspondent, Sapa—Router-AP.
'Carrot and stick' crackdown on the violence sweeping the country

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday declared a "carrot and stick" crackdown on the violence sweeping the country.

"While making it clear that the full weight of the security forces is to be deployed, he also provided fresh incentives to opposition groups for participation in negotiations.

"The new measures include:

- An urgent four-point action plan to deploy both police and troops to clamp down on unrest and lawlessness in Natal and the rest of the country.
- A conciliatory package aimed at boosting negotiations by granting amnesty to all exiles involved in talks with the government, as well as allowing for permanent indemnity for certain categories of rebels and convicted security prisoners.

"Speaking at a joint news conference, Mr de Klerk said the ANC's "hesitation" to fully align itself with the negotiation process had in itself excluded the possibility of a peaceful resolution. Government officials had been instructed to keep in touch with ANC members and report to the presidency from time to time on the development of their negotiations with the government.

Politics mauls the share market

JOHANNESBURG - The Stock Exchange was yesterday manhandled by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President FW de Klerk.

"News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6.6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a spike of nervousness in the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the $375 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's 380 after trading in a narrow band in a weak trend today.

"Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R28 was high by historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R1 187. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R38 was high by historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

Filly fetches R425 000

"Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG - Mrs Bridget Oppenheimer paid R425 000 for the filly Fairy Garden, consigned by Oaklands Stud.

"The highest price for a yearling is R3 650 000 paid for Mr Hawkey's colt by Mrs Oppenheimer.

Chimneys fall in UK as quake hits

"UK - The house of Margaret Thatcher fell in as an earthquake in Britain left at least 70 people dead and injured. The prime minister, who was visiting the scene of the disaster, said in a statement: "The government will do whatever is necessary to help the victims of this tragedy."
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday declared a "carrot and stick" crackdown on the violence sweeping the country.

While making it clear that the full weight of the security forces is to be deployed, he also provided fresh incentives to opposition groups for participation in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced:
- An urgent four-point action plan to deploy both police and troops to clamp down on unrest and lawlessness in Natal and the rest of the country.
- A conciliatory package aimed at boosting negotiations by granting temporary indemnity to all exiles involved in talks with the government, as well as legislation allowing for permanent indemnity for certain categories of exiles and convicted security prisoners.

Addressing a joint session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk criticised the ANC's "hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiation process" but emphasised that "my door remains open".

Government officials had been instructed to keep in contact with ANC members and report to the president on developments on the negotiation front, and he hoped "the ANC will find it possible to join these already talking".

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that arrangements had been made for a meeting later this week with Mr Nelson Mandela.

"Deadly serious"

The ANC deputy president said yesterday that the meeting would take place on Thursday — the same day Mr De Klerk will be meeting for talks about a new constitution with the leaders of the non-independent homelands and senior tricameral politicians.

Announcing the security crackdown, Mr De Klerk said South Africans who still believed in armed struggle and continued domination "must realise that we are deadly serious about building a new South Africa without brutality and without unrest".

The government had decided on "urgent steps" on four levels:
- Nationally, the police and the defence force had received instructions to 'without fail' act firmly against incidents of unrest and violence.

This would include a greater visual presence of security forces, roadblocks, the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft and the stricter application of the law against "criminals, intimidation and unrest".

"Everyone must understand that these decisions can lead to an increase in the number of people detained," he warned.

In Natal, where Mr De Klerk described the destruction of life and property as "really shocking", conditions necessitated the use of the Defence Force "over a broad front and in great numbers".

The "co-ordinated security plan" for the province — implemented as of yesterday — included stepped-up police and troop action and the setting up of extra courts.

Mr De Klerk, however, cautioned that the causes of the unrest were multi-faceted and that solutions would not be found overnight. There would thus be a special attempt to channel funds to alleviate immediately some of the socio-economic factors contributing to the conflict in the area.

- In the non-independent homelands, where "unacceptable unrest and violence is widespread", urgent investigations had been launched into security needs and steps had been implemented to stabilise the situation.
- In the case of the "independent" homelands, the SA government was in touch with the governments of the TRC territories on ways to curb the unrest and violence in these areas.

Mr De Klerk said the steps were designed to
Warrant for Winnie is issued

JOHANNESBURG. — A warrant of arrest was issued yesterday for Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, for failing to appear in the Magistrate's Court here on allegations of failure to pay unemployment fees for her workers.

A warrant for Mrs Mandela's arrest was authorised on March 16, but was held back till March 30 to enable her to make a later appearance in court.

The warrant was formally issued yesterday because Mrs Mandela made no subsequent appearance.

According to documents before the court, Mrs Mandela has allegedly failed to pay and render statements for employees at a business owned by her, Richmond Fish and Chips.

The charges relate to the period January 1 to December 7 last year. — Sapa
Nine escapees 'helped by ANC'

LUSAKA. — Nine members of the ANC who escaped from prison last month while awaiting trial emerged here yesterday, saying their dash to freedom had been organised by the ANC's military wing.

Rodney Toka, 27, who acted as leader of the Delmas trialists, said yesterday that the prisoners made their escape on February 18 using a pistol smuggled into Madderbee Prison.
Buthelezi: Church has vendetta against us

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told top church leaders, including Archbishops Desmond Tutu and Denis Hurley, that they should be talking to the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC if they really wanted to stop the widespread slaughter in Natal.

In a strongly worded memorandum to an SA Council of Churches delegation here yesterday, Chief Buthelezi accused the churches of joining a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people were dying.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the peace rally and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with President F W de Klerk.

They were afraid because peace negotiations could expose them as not having the following they claimed, he said.

Meanwhile people were being "chopped up and burnt alive... and a whole new generation is being warped by violence".

The SACC had channelled millions of rands of overseas money to causes funded by the pro-ANC, UDF and Cosatu organisations, and nothing to the Inkatha projects, he said.

The ANC's Radio Freedom in Lusaka had repeatedly called on youths to band together and kill black town councillors, policemen and others denigrated as "collaborators" because they did not accept the ANC's violent strategies.

"I and my followers are (in those terms) already sentenced to death. It is as simple as this."

Addressing the Rev Frank Chikane of the SACC, he said he would continue his peace efforts and that he still believed black leaders should go and stop the killing.

"I still say it is hideously wrong and cowardly of the ANC to stop Dr Mandela from sharing a platform with me so that we could stop the killing."

An SACC statement said the church leaders asked for the reactivation of a peace plan involving a conference between Inkatha, the ANC and other political and trade union organisations.

They also suggested a major peace conference in Natal, jointly organised mass peace rallies and joint peace committees at grassroots level. — Sapa
ANC bungling peace process, says UK press

LONDON. — The ANC is bungling the peace process, while President F W de Klerk's stature as a “man of peace” grows.

This was the perception yesterday of several major British newspapers, including the left-of-centre Guardian, following the ANC's decision to call off its April 11 meeting with the government.

The Guardian said it was “widely believed that the ANC's decision to call off the talks with Pretoria was motivated by tactical considerations, and that Sbekom was an excuse. The shooting took place last Monday, but by late in the week there was no indication that the ANC was considering such action”.

The Guardian continued: “It is assumed that factors behind the decision include fears within the ANC that it is in danger of losing its radical black supporters by being seen as too conciliatory towards the De Klerk administration.

“There may also be a sense that the ANC has been stampeded down the road to negotiations by Pretoria.

“Although both arguments may have merit, the way the ANC is handling the peace process is potentially damaging to its cause.”

This decision, and the one to call off the joint rally with Inkatha, it said, contributed to “the impression of an indecisive, and possibly divided, ANC. Mr De Klerk's image as a 'man of peace', meanwhile, continues to grow”.

“Cracks are appearing in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally claimed, and the mood is ugly and rebellious,” The Times wrote.
PAC stalwart fights on

AFTER spending 26 years of his life either in custody or under restriction orders, Mr. Mark Mabitsi Shinnars is still determined to continue with the liberation struggle.

Shinnars (47), an Atteridgeville Pan Africanist Congress member, was released last Friday after serving 11 years of his sentence.

He was detained in January 1977 and found guilty in June 1979 in the Bethal trial. His co-accused included PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng and Sowetan staffer Moffat Zungu.

Before this he spent 10 years on Robben Island for conspiracy and terrorism. He was sentenced in 1963 with Japhna Masemola, Dikgang Moseneke, John Nkosi, the late Simon Banda, Chlaaz Mashishi and Peter Rikhoto.
SOWETO community leader Dr Nilton Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the Government’s new R3-billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Motlana was quoted in a Johannesburg afternoon newspaper as saying: “We are going to say (to President de Klerk) ‘Go to hell, man!’

“This is a question of principle, we are not going to touch that money.”

His statement has caused an outcry among blacks and has even drawn criticism from organisations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People’s Organisation.

Recordings

The Soviet Union’s correspondent in Washington, David Braun, has insisted that he had accurately reported Motlana’s speech to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington.

Two tape recordings were made of the meeting.

Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups in South Africa were reluctant to touch money made available by governments who were friendly to South Africa.

“I never said ‘Go to hell’ to the State President. I would never use such language.”

“But I certainly said the money was too little,” he said.

He had commended Mr Jan Steyn, who will head the special trust fund, for his willingness to consult with grassroots and community organisations on the allocation of the money.

However, the money should have been “written into the main Budget” and should not have been placed in a special fund, Motlana said.
Azapo hails ANC retreat from talks

THE Azanian People's Organisation has welcomed the controversial decision by the ANC to suspend talks with the Government because of the Sebokeng shootings.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus on Sunday, Azapo called on the ANC to totally withdraw from negotiations with the De Klerk administration.

Azapo said the ANC decision was a vindication of its own long-held position that the white Government had not changed sufficiently for blacks to hope to get freedom through such exercises as negotiations.

"We call on the ANC to seek unity with organisations of the oppressed, instead of unity with enemies of black people," the resolution stated.

It further said the "ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance" should "stop pretending that the alliance is the only spokesperson of the majority of Azanians and call on its so-called young lions to stop attacking members of other black organisations".

Azapo general secretary, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said that Azapo, while committed to peaceful co-existence with other organisations, reserved the right to retaliate when attacked.

He said the central committee would discuss with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania in Zimbabwe next week - Sapa.

PAN Africanist Congress stalwart Mr Japhata Masemola received a surprise gift when the committee that prepared his welcome home rally presented him with a cheque for R7 000 in Atteridgeville at the weekend.

The presentation was made by Mr Forte Mhlimakulu, manager of a liquor company, at a special ceremony attended by friends and members of the Masemola Reception Committee.

Also present were committee members Advocate Dikgang Moseneke, who served 10 years on Robben Island for PAC activities, Dr Lerole Mabe, attorney Mr Willie Seriti, former president of Azapo Mr Nkosini Molala, and Mrs Joyce Matube, a social worker.

Mabe told Masemola: "This is part of the money that was donated by the people during your welcome home rally on December 16 last year," said Mabe.

Masemola, moved by the surprise gift, said: "I have spent 6 years in prison, was released and have been with you for about five months.

"I thought people had already forgotten me. I am deeply moved by this generous gesture and I thank the committee and this committee for the donation."

Masemola served 26 years of a life sentence and was released last year.

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City at (011) 337-1648.
Troops deployed countrywide

FW unveils plan to stamp out violence

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday deployed large numbers of troops and police countrywide and instructed them to use their full might to stamp out violence.

Addressing a specially convened joint sitting of Parliament, De Klerk unveiled a four-pronged plan to restore law and order in SA's townships and homelands, and special measures to bring an end to violence in conflict-ridden Natal.

De Klerk said SADF troops would be deployed over a wide area to support police in putting an end to unrest.

The intended security force action would result in a large increase in detentions. But, he stressed, this was not intended to be a goal in itself. The main priority was still to negotiate a new dispensation.

De Klerk said the countrywide security clampdown would include:
- A greater presence of security forces, more roadblocks and the patrolling of roads and areas with vehicles and aircraft.
- A police reserve arm had been set up to compliment forces on the ground.
- A crackdown against crime and intimidation and an increase in detentions.

The President said the killings and destruction of property in Natal had reached a shocking point. Investigations had revealed diverse reasons for this conflict.

Finding a solution would be lengthy and costly. As such government planned to implement a more embracing plan of action than elsewhere in the country. This included:
- Immediate implementation of a security plan devised by all the concerned parties and the immediate deployment of sufficient SADF troops.
- Increased policing.
- Arrangements for extra courts.
- A special plan, to be co-ordinated by Provincial Affairs Minister Hermant Kriel, to provide socio-economic support for people affected by the violence.

De Klerk said the independent homelands had been singled out by radicals and government had institutional an urgent inquiry into their security needs. It had already taken steps to stabilise the security situation in these areas.

Sapa reports from Maritzburg that shots were heard yesterday as ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and his visiting ANC delegation moved along Mpelele Road, which divides Imbali's Inkatha and UDF sections.

Across the road, in Imbali Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

"See. They are Inkatha," a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots were heard. It was not clear who fired them. Nobody appeared to be injured.

Police said in Pretoria no shots had been fired at Mandela. Police units had stayed with the Mandela entourage throughout its journey across Eschendale valley.

Mandela later told about 2500 people crushed into the Edendale Lay Centre the 4/15/90.

FW unveils plan

ANC was fighting apartness, not Inkatha, to make peace. One day I hope to have the opportunity to speak directly to them to assure them that we are freedom fighters," Former in Durban, ANC internal leader Walter Sisulu said the level of violence would have to subside before Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet on the same platform.

WILSON ZWANE reports Buthelezi told top churchmen yesterday they were wasting their time talking peace in Natal with him.

In a strongly worded memorandum to a high-powered church delegation, Buthelezi said they should be talking to the ANC—which wished to intensify the armed struggle— if they really wanted to stop the bloodbath in the region.

The delegation included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Denis Hurley, Archbishop Thomas Nhlangana, Bishop Michael Ntall, Bishop Manos Buthelezi and SA Council of Churches (SACC) secretary general Frank Chikane.

"On no occasion have I ever exhorted Inkatha to violence. Why this hidden misrepresenation of Inkatha as the perpetrator of violence?" Buthelezi said.

He also accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the Mandela Buthelezi peace rally scheduled for today and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with De Klerk.

Buthelezi accused the SACC of joinixng a party-political vendetta against Inkatha while people were dying.

Sapa reports that in a joint statement issued afterwards, the church leaders said they had requested the meeting as the first in a series with leaders on violence in the Maritzburg area. Meetings had also been requested with De Klerk and Mandela.

Sapa reports that another 11 weekend deaths in Maritzburg's neighbouring townships brought the official toll to 53 since Tuesday last week.

Sapa also reports the British government has announced an immediate grant of 1100000 to provide assistance to victims of war-torn Natal.

British Ambassador Sir Robin Henwick said in Cape Town this was an immediate response and further British assistance would follow.
Mandela to meet FW

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and three advisors will meet President FW de Klerk on Thursday at 4pm.

Mandela said this in a phone call to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen from Durban's Louis Botha Airport yesterday morning shortly after arriving in Natal to tour Maritzburg's trouble spots.

The venue for the meeting is not yet known.
Chief slams ANC, SACC

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday accused the ANC of cowardice in calling off the Mandela-Buthelezi Natal peace rally and in cancelling its April 11 meeting with President FW de Klerk.

They were afraid because peace negotiations could expose them as not having the following they

To page 2
ments for extra courts had been made.
At the same time a special socio-economic campaign would be launched in the province.

Minister of Planning Mr Hermanus Kriel would co-
ordinate this in co-operation with the officials con-
cerned, and funds would be channelled there from vari-
ous sources.

De Klerk said the intensified national security
measures would include a greater visible presence of
security forces, roadblocks and patrolling of roads and
areas with vehicles and aircraft.

Law enforcement

A police reserve air arm, to supplement the capabili-
ty of the police and the SADF, had been founded
recently and was functioning.

There would also be intensified law enforcement
against crime, intimidation and unrest.

"Everyone must understand that these decisions
could lead to a rise in the number of people being
detained," he said.

In addition to Natal and KwaZulu, the other self-
governing territories had been singled out as targets by
radicals.

Unacceptable unrest and violence was widespread.

"Accordingly, an urgent investigation into the
security needs of the areas concerned, and steps to
stabilise conditions there, is presently getting under
way."

At the same time the TBVC states were also the
target of radicals.

To page 2

Soweto SRC leader released

KHOTSO SEATHLLO

KHOTSO Seathlolo, one of the
acclaimed student leaders who led
the 1976 Soweto uprisings, was
yesterday released from Robben
Island, two years before the expiry
of a 15-year jail sentence.

He was among several Black
Consciousness Movement mem-
ers released from Robben Island
since the weekend.

The others are Khumbulani
Mnikana, Daniel Matsobane and
Mogale Phlusa.

Seathlolo was imprisoned for
recruitment and incitement to
revolt in the Vanderbijlpark Cir-
cuit Court in December 1981.

His co-accused, Masabata
Loate, was jailed for five years and
died brutally when she was
necklaced shortly after her release
in 1987.

Seathlolo shot to prominence
in August 1976 when he took over
the leadership of the Soweto Stu-
dents Representative Council from
Tsatsi Mashinini who fled the
country during the Soweto 1976
uprisings.

In January 1977 Seathlolo fled
the country and was instrumental
in the formation of the South Afri-
can Revolutionary Youth Council
in exile.

He was arrested on June 1976
and re-entered the country.

Seathlolo was regarded as a
history-maker by both seasoned
political leaders and his followers
for being part of the young leader-
ship which change the course of
events in South African politics.

The Azanian People's
Organisation yesterday quoted
him as saying on the Govern-
ment's negotiations initiative:
"When (State President) de Klerk
says he has an open door policy"
AS the negotiating process takes shape, the African National Congress is likely to experience increasing pressure from the Frontline States to make compromises in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The Frontline States—Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique—will continue to be staunch public allies of the ANC and will not be party to any settlement unless the framework in which gradual and subtle pressure will be exerted is now firmly established.

The process will gain momentum once President FW de Klerk demonstrates that the end of destabilisation of neighbouring states has come to an end.

Nudging

The Frontline States have already played a central role in nudging the ANC towards negotiations.

Since Mozambique's Frelimo government signed the Nkomati Non-Aggression pact with Pretoria in 1984, the ANC's infiltration routes from the north have been systematically closed off.

The turning-point in the waning fortunes of the ANC's armed struggle came in August 1988 when, in terms of the Geneva Protocol—Angola hastily agreed to close the ANC's military camps in Angola in return for Pretoria cutting aid to UNITA.

While the ANC publicly agreed to this request—in the name of assisting the process leading to Namibian independence—leaders of UNITA now openly admit that it was a major setback to the armed struggle.

The relocation of the ANC's military camps from Angola to Uganda and Tanzania involved a massive logistical operation which made demands on the ANC's resources, effectively suspended military planning and infiltration, and disrupted the morale of MK cadres.

Pressure

Further pressure has been exerted on the ANC to open talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has a proved political host to the ANC headquarters in Lilongwe for the past decade.

Shortly after ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela visited Lilongwe last month, Kaunda broke ranks with other Frontline leaders by calling on the ANC to suspend its armed struggle.

He has not pursued the issue since then but is clearly impatient that the negotiating process should make rapid progress and deliver early results.

After his first meeting with De Klerk in Livingston in August last year, President Kaunda pledged support for a summit of Southern African leaders after Namibia won its independence.

Isolation

Despite ANC efforts to disassociate frontline leaders from meeting De Klerk, he has succeeded in breaking through the cordon of isolation that once kept South Africa apart from its neighbouring states.

But the ANC has succeeded—so far—in preventing a full Southern African summit that would include De Klerk.

At the Namibian independence celebrations on March 21, De Klerk scored a significant diplomatic breakthrough by reclaiming a platform with Namibian President Sam Nujoma, who held his first face-to-face meeting with Mandela's President Nelson Mandela.

Conspicuous by his absence at the celebrations was Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who had said that his election campaign commitments would be so fun that he would not attend the meeting.

But the general feeling in Windhoek was that Mugabe wished to avoid a face-to-face meeting with the South African leader. Mr. Mugabe had taken a notably hard line towards De Klerk, and his and his colleagues have warned the ANC not to abandon the armed struggle immediately.

Significantly, this is the line advocated by the Pan-African Congress (PAC), which Mugabe has willingly hosted in Harare on several occasions.

Another factor where the ANC could soon begin to lost pressure is from the process—ultil elections are held under a new constitution.

The ANC's more recent insistence on a democratically-elected constituent assembly to draw up the constitution is intended to compensate for the loss of the guarantees implicit in the "interim government."

But it is not either part of the Harare Declaration or the UN resolution and its attainment will require additional ANC leverage.

Once De Klerk has succeeded in locking the ANC into the negotiating process—and escalating both the armed struggle and sanctions—the ANC will have few levers.

Options

It is at this point that the Frontline States could join with the international community in closing off the ANC's exit options.

John Battersby is the Southern Africa correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.
Councillors quit: Crisis for black local authorities

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Black local authorities have been plunged into an unprecedented crisis with the resignation of almost 10 percent of the Transvaal's 982 councillors last month.

And the outspoken president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, has revealed that plans are in the pipeline to discuss with the ANC the continued existence of black local authorities.

He has also called a special meeting of Transvaal councillors to decide whether “we should continue in the present political climate”.

The unbanning of the ANC on February 2 has given new impetus to the extra-parliamentary organisations' protracted campaign against unrepresentative apartheid structures, particularly local authorities and homeland governments.

Mr Olaus van Zyl, Transvaal MEC for local government, confirmed that 81 black councillors resigned in March after severe intimidation and violence.

He denied, however, that the system of black local authorities was crumbling, saying a relatively small number of councillors had resigned.

Mr Murphy Morobe, assistant publicity secretary of the UDF, said the system was “heading for the conclusion of its crumbling” and had been destined to fall since its inception.

Reacting to Mr Van Zyl's call for the use of political avenues — and not intimidation — to voice opposition, Mr Morobe said: “That is nonsense. Mr Van Zyl knows only too well how deep the resentment goes. The people have all along voiced their opposition through political channels, as was demonstrated by the low percentage polls during elections.”
Mandela losing moral authority, says UK press

The Argus Foreign Service 3/1/86

LONDON. — Amid the strife in black townships and tribal homelands, Mr Nelson Mandela’s moral authority has begun to falter, says The Times.

Correspondent Gavin Bell says the problem is not Mr Mandela, “an intelligent and reasonable man committed to a peaceful settlement of his country’s racial dilemma”.

The problem, he says, “is that he may have far less influence over the voteless black millions than anyone expected”.

Bell writes that cracks are appearing in the vast constituency which the ANC has traditionally claimed “and the mood is ugly and rebellious”.

“The fissures are spreading to the African National Congress leadership, in danger of being outflanked by militant tendencies in the townships and undermined by similar factions within its own ranks.

“The violence is attributed to a lost generation of youths, whose crude political views were forged by similar strife in the mid-1980s. Their allegiance to the mainstream of the ANC is doubtful, and the slogan ‘Liberation before education’ is gaining popularity.

“Certainly, both Mr Mandela and Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi seem to have failed the test of leadership presented by the conflict in Natal, where their peace overtures have generated more heat than light.”

RITUAL REJECTION

Peter Taylor of the Daily Telegraph writes that the ANC’s credibility and authority is “fading fast” following its weekend decision to postpone talks with the South African government.

Christopher Munnion of the Evening Standard wrote recently that the mythology and aura which had built up around the world’s most famous prisoner “have swiftly fallen away to reveal just another African politician. We are now seeing Mandela the man, not the myth”.

Blacks in Natal had not heeded Mr Mandela’s call to “throw your weapons into the sea”, because to the young combatants in the townships there, Mr Mandela was no longer a hero. “They have cut, torn and sliced the portrait of Mandela from their T-shirts in a spontaneous, ritual rejection of his appeal for peace with the arch-foe, Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

“As far as they are concerned, Mandela’s conciliatory remarks have merely indentified him as another ‘sell-out’.”
Freed prisoners back ANC decision to pull out of talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

SEVEN African National Congress members freed from Robben Island yesterday have come out in support of their organisation pulling out of the April 1 talks with the government.

In a statement soon after their release, they said they were, still committed to the ideals and principles of the ANC.

"We endorse the stand of our organisation to suspend talks with De Klerk until the regime creates conditions conducive to peaceful negotiations," the statement said.

The seven freed from prison are Mr Cleopas Ndlouv, Mr Naledi Tsiki, Mr Trueman Magobane, Mr Wiseman Ndlovu, Mr Aitken Ramudzuli, Mr Sipho Binda and Mr Collins Chabane.

Mr Ndlovu and Mr Magobane were charged with terrorism in 1977 and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Mr Tsiki was jailed for 14 years in 1978, Mr Ndlovu of Guguletu was sent to jail for five years in 1966, Mr Binda was imprisoned for six years in 1986, and Mr Chabane was jailed for seven years in 1988.

An eighth Robben Island prisoner, Black Consciousness Movement member and former Soweto student leader Mr Khotso Seathlolo, who was jailed for 10 years in 1981, was also released yesterday.

He and Tsietsi Mashinini headed the Soweto Students Representative Council, which spearheaded the protests that erupted in violence on June 16, 1976.
ANC get ready with millions of membership cards

From DAVID BRAUN
The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The African National Congress is printing between one and two million membership cards in advance of a campaign to recruit South Africans of all race groups, according to leading anti-apartheid activist Dr Nthato Motlana.

Dr Motlana, president of the Soweto Civic Association and personal physician to ANC vice president Mr Nelson Mandela, told a meeting of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the ANC had already received enquiries from white South Africans who wanted to become members.

The ANC would demand that its members be active card-carrying members, he said, which was why the organisation was now in the process of printing between one and two million membership cards.

Dr Motlana said once the ANC was ready to sign on members, a number of youth and civic organisations would be disbanded.

Unlike the 1948 structure of the ANC, which was organised into the four provinces, each with its own president, branches, women’s and youth structures, the 1990 ANC would be organised along the lines of 14 regional organisations.
ANC names regional officials

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC interim leadership core yesterday announced the appointment of several conveners to head regional offices in each major district in the country.

Transkei is the only homeland on the list.

Those appointed so far and their areas are: Kga- lema Motlanthe (PWV), Thabo Makunyane (Northern Transvaal), Terror Lekota (Southern Natal), Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Trevor Manuel (appointed co-convenor for the Western Cape), Benson Fihla (Eastern Cape), Arnold Stofile (Border), A Xobololo (Transkei) and Jomo Khasu (Northern Cape).

● The ANC also said Mr Nelson Mandela would address a rally at Umtata this month and visit his birthplace, Qunu. — Sapa
Govt seeks new date for ANC talks

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday that he had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting with the organisation to clear up obstacles to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that he would meet Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday.

He said he did not regard the reasons given by the ANC — the Sebokeng shootings — as sufficient for cancelling the original meeting.

He disclosed that after agreement had been reached to schedule the government and the ANC for April 11, a steering committee consisting of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

The steering committee, he said, had finalised most of the details for the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself.

He believed the ANC's problems about the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the steering committee.

Mr De Klerk said adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations were mutually exclusive. He believed this lay at the root of the ANC's problems with fully committing itself to negotiations.

"You cannot send and threaten to send armed men into the country, send mobs rampaging into the streets, pursue intimidation and at the same time negotiate peacefully. This dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Sapa reports meanwhile that the ANC's decision to suspend the talks has been welcomed by the Azanian People's Organisation.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, on Sunday, Azapo, however, said that suspension was not sufficient and called on the ANC to withdraw totally from negotiations with the government.

Azapo said in the resolution that the ANC decision was a vindication of its own long-held position that the white government had not changed sufficiently for blacks to hope to get freedom through such exercises as negotiations.

"We call on the ANC to seek unity with organisations of the oppressed instead of unity with enemies of black people," the resolution stated.

It further said the 'ANCUDFCosatu alliance' should stop pretending that the alliance is the only spokesperson of the majority of Azanians and call on its so-called young lions to stop attacking members of other black organisations.

The congress, attended by more than 2 000 people from the area, was characterised by singing of freedom songs. It was also characterised by tension generated by the ripping apart of two T-shirts belonging to members of the Azanian Students' Movement by alleged ANC supporters.

Azapo general secretary Mr Pandelani Nefolowhodwe told the meeting the Azapo leadership had met Mr Mandela last week to discuss the ongoing inter-organisational violence.
Motlana denies spurning R3-bn upliftment fund

The Argus Correspondent 3/4/90

JOHANNESBURG. — Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the government's R3-billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Dr Motlana was quoted as saying: "We are going to say (to President De Klerk) 'Go to hell, man'. This is a question of principle. We are not going to touch that money."

This caused an outcry among blacks and even drew criticism from the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

The Argus correspondent in Washington, David Braun, insisted that he had accurately reported Dr Motlana's speech to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. Two tape-recordings had been made of the meeting.

Dr Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups were reluctant to touch money from governments friendly to South Africa.

"I never said 'go to hell' to the State President. I would never use such language. But I certainly said the money was too little," he said.
US will tie ANC aid to non-violence

From DAVID BRAUN The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON. — The United States would certainly want any financial aid it gave to South African political organisations used to promote non-violent democratic procedures as well as the concept of free-market systems, according to a senior American official.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Hank Cohen, said this at a briefing for foreign correspondents here yesterday.

He said Secretary of State Jim Baker had already announced the US government was considering supporting opposition political movements to prepare themselves for negotiations with the South African government.

However, it was too early to say what criteria would be used to select who should receive such aid, so the US government was not ready to talk about organisations that would qualify.

Mr Cohen was asked whether the administration supported an initiative in the US Congress to appropriate R26 million for aid to South African opposition organisations, provided they committed themselves to suspending violence within the context of negotiations with the government.

If Congress had its way, the African National Congress would not be an organisation that could qualify for US aid until it committed itself to suspend its armed struggle.

The ANC's policy of nationalisation may also be an impediment to receiving US aid if the Bush Administration decides to make any assistance conditional on promoting the concept of free market systems.

Meanwhile, Mr Cohen told the media that the US administration was hoping to increase its aid this year to Namibia from $500 million (about R1.3 million) to $10 million (about R26 million), with a matching amount in 1991.

He said that when money was returned from the appropriation allocated to Panama and Nicaragua, it was hoped to give Namibia $10 million.
Move on talks hits trading

MERVYN HARRIS

DIAGONAL. Street was mauled yesterday by a combination of bearish factors, with sentiment being hardest hit by the ANC's cancellation of talks with Inkatha and President F W de Klerk.

News that the talks had been called off resulted in a wave of selling of SA shares from London. Then the second largest one-day fall of 6.6% on the Tokyo stock market caused a ripple of nervousness on the JSE.

The third negative factor in a depressing session of trading was the failure of the gold price to penetrate the $370 level. The metal closed unchanged in London from Friday's $369 after trading in a narrow band in featureless conditions.

The JSE overall index plummeted almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3128 as a sharp 4.2% weakening in the franc and investment unit failed to stem the downward tide with share prices substantially lower in dollar terms.

"Markets are driven by sentiment and yesterday we had not just one but a combination of three negative factors," a dealer said.

Analysts said the noxious in political sentiment on the external front was reflected in the sharp downtrend of the franc while, internally, sentiment could be measured by the Krugerrand's premium of almost 21% on the rand gold price.

The Krugerrand closed R3 lower at R118.7. Analysts said the differential with the rand gold price of R983 was high in historical terms and indicated uncertainty and unease at the current situation in SA.

The 5.2% (103 point) plunge in the JSE all gold index to 1857 was seen as a belated reaction to last week's slump in the price of the metal to five-month lows.

Dealers said gold shares were now at more realistic levels, after showing remarkable resilience last week when share prices recovered almost all of their initial losses by the weekend in the hope that the metal would at least recoup part of its R23 loss.

More depressing was the way leading industrial shares wilted under the weight of the negative factors with the index shedding 3.2%, or 96 points, to 2930.

Dealers said the only positive factor to emerge was the lack of heavy selling after London instigated the initial downturn.

There was only selective offloading of shares by local institutions which also nibbled at some stocks on their way down.
Govt moves to allow ‘wanted’ ANC men into SA for talks

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday announced new incentives for organisations such as the ANC to enter negotiations.

He said government had decided to table legislation providing temporary indemnity from prosecution and civil action to people involved in negotiations. Such indemnity would apply only to brief visits.

At a later stage, further legislation would empower him to provide permanent indemnity to people or groups who could be found guilty of common-law or statutory offences.

MIKE ROBERTSON

De Klerk said as soon as it had been decided to grant permanent indemnity to un-sentenced individuals a basis would be found for freeing those already sentenced for security-related crimes.

“It is our desire finally to close the old books and start on a clean page. Those who on the one hand still persist with such worn-out rhetoric as... the armed struggle continues... and other clichés, and on the other hand those who insist on continued domination, must realise we are deadly serious about building the new SA without brutality and without unrest.”

He had instructed government officials to keep in contact with the ANC in the hope of securing a new date for a meeting between the organisation and government, following the cancellation of the planned April 11 talks by the ANC.

De Klerk said after agreement had been reached for the ANC-government meeting the steering committee of state officials and internal and external ANC representatives had been set up.

“This committee had finalised details for the arrival of the ANC delegation and for the meeting itself. The ANC’s problems relating to the Sebokeng shootings could have been addressed through the committee, he said. Dlomo 14/90

‡ Sapa reports Mandela arrived in Durban yesterday to tour unrest areas and, within minutes of arriving, telephoned Constitutional Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen from the airport inquiries desk. During a short but amiable exchange, they arranged a meeting between De Klerk and Mandela on Thursday at 4pm.

Comment Page 14
SHARE prices tumbled on a combination of negative factors yesterday to send the JSE overall index down almost 4%, or 129 points, to 3,129.

Dealers said selling was initially instigated from London on adverse political sentiment on news that the ANC had cancelled proposed talks with Inkatha and government.

Confidence was also hit by the second biggest one-day fall of 6.6% on the Tokyo market and the failure of gold to penetrate the $376 an ounce level. A sharp 4.2% slide in the franc failed to stem the downward tide of share prices, which were substantially lower in dollar terms.

The gold index shed 103 points, or 5.2%, to 1,927, while the industrial index gave up 96 points, or 3.2%, to 2,800. Heavily weighted diamond leader DE BEERS fell 59c to R51, while R33,900 and mining house leader ANGLOIS lost 59c or 6.4% to R1,925.

Dealers reported only selective selling but the down trend of share prices was accentuated by lack of buyers, with investors tending to sit on the sidelines.

Gold shares were finally reacting to the slump in the price of the metal after holding firm last week.

KLOOF was in the forefront of the falls of quality golds on a decline of 7.7% (235c) to R32, while leader VAAL REEPS fell 4.5% (R16) to R380. Falls among lightweights ranged up to 12.5% as in the case of LORAINE, which gave up 10c to R1,10,50, but was off a low of R1,10.15.

GENCOR was hardest hit among mining financials on a 9.5%, or 115c, plunge to R11, but CONSMNG (Consolidated Mining Corp) went against the softer trend on the mining holding sector by rising 4c to 44c in the sea-
ANC appoints regional organisers

A NUMBER of prominent UDF leaders, including publicity secretary Terror Lekota, have been appointed to head some of the ANC's regional offices in SA.

The organisation's Johannesburg information department yesterday announced the names of nine people appointed to the posts, whose function is to co-ordinate the establishment of countrywide ANC structures.

Lekota is to head the ANC's Southern Natal region. UDF Western Cape secretary Trevor Manuel is to run the ANC's office in the region.

Recently released prisoner Arnold Stofile is to do for the ANC the job he previously did for the UDF in the Border region.

ANC veteran Harry Gwala has been appointed to run the organisation's Natal Midlands region, which would presumably include the violence-hit areas of the province.

Other regional convenors include former NUM organiser Kgalema Motlanthe (PWV), Thabo Makunyan (Northern Transvaal), Benson Fihla (Eastern Cape), A Xobololo (Transkei), and Jomo Khasu (Northern Cape).

Appointments for Northern Natal and Southern and Northern Free State are still to be confirmed, the statement said.

Soweto '76 student leader freed

ONE of the most famous black student leaders, Khotso Seathlolo, who cut his political teeth in the June 1976 Soweto uprisings, was unconditionally released from Robben Island prison yesterday.

He was one of a group of eight prisoners released from the island yesterday, at least a year early.

Civil rights lawyer Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday's releases brought to 40 the number freed from Robben Island since February 2.

Seathlolo, reacting to President F W de Klerk's negotiation offer, said in Cape Town that the NP leader's open door policy was in fact a "trap door".

According to comments attributed to him and distributed by Azapo in Johannesburg, he said: "For as long as he insists on guaranteeing minority rights, it will simply mean that he does not want to destroy racism, but simply present it to us in a different guise.

Seathlolo and Tselsi Mashinini headed the Soweto Students Representative Council which spearheaded the protests that erupted in violence in 1976.

He fled the country after police launched a nationwide manhunt for him.

Seathlolo was arrested on June 17 1981, while on a mission in SA, and jailed for 15 years for recruiting, incitement and conspiracy for armed revolt. -- Sapa.

Aeroflot's 'SA links' examined

HARARE — The question of flights by Soviet airline Aeroflot to SA was the subject of an unoffical investigation, Soviet officials said yesterday.

This was reported by Ziana after a Press conference officially to launch Aeroflot's flights to Harare, which began last Tuesday.

Aeroflot officials yesterday did not initially deny that future flights by the airline to SA were being considered, although Soviet Cultural Centre director Alexander Kirpsha later ruled out the possibility.

Soviet Civil Aviation Department chief navigator Vitaly Kiselev said although an investigation was under way, there were no official negotiations on the matter.

Then Kirpsha interpreted, saying: "The initiative is coming from the South Africans. This has been rejected." -- Sapa.
Finrand slumps as foreigners lose faith

FOREIGN investor confidence in SA has
collapsed since ANC deputy president Nel-
som Mandela's release from prison — sig-
naled by the financial rand's slump of 26%
from its peak just before Mandela's
release.

The investment unit topped at $3.32
amid euphoria after President F W de
Klerk's watershed opening of Parliament
speech, but a sharp about-turn began after
Mandela's release nine days later. The
ANC's nationalization policies and contin-
ued commitment to the armed struggle
triggered the financial rand's tumble.

Political violence and the ANC's deci-
sion to pull out of talks with government
battered the financial rand yesterday,
pushing the currency 3.4% lower from Fri-
day to end the day at R4.23 to the dollar.

A foreign investor now pays about
$9.2364 to buy one financial rand — a dis-
count of about 37% to the commercial
rand. The discount, a measure of foreign
investor confidence in SA, has widened by
leaps and bounds from about 20% before
Mandela's release.

The investment currency opened at
about $9.2436 (R4.10 to the dollar) yest-
day and was "an immediate sell". Small
volumes are being sold, but buying demand
from Europe has dried up in the wake of
political uncertainty and the thin market is

causing exaggerated price movements.

However, one dealer said the investment
unit was "a buy" at a discount of 30% and
predicted that its downside from here was
limited — provided there was no major
foreign sell-off of SA gilts. The gilts mar-
et reacted moderately to negative politi-
cal sentiment and a low gold price yest-
day, with yields on the bellwether Eskom

Loan E658 closing eight points higher at
15.59%.

Gold's weakness combined with a strong
dollar to depress the commercial rand.
The Reserve Bank has been offering dol-
ars to the market to moderate the rand's
descent. The currency closed at a mid-rate
of R2.6549 yesterday from Friday's
R2.6553.

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Motlana denies remarks

Political Reporter

Soweto community leader Dr Nthato Motlana has vehemently denied telling an American audience last week that blacks would not touch the Government's new R3 billion fund for socio-economic upliftment.

Dr Motlana was quoted in The Star as saying: "We are going to say (to President de Klerk) 'Go to hell, man.' This is a question of principle, we are not going to touch that money."

His statement has caused an outcry among blacks and has even drawn criticism from organisations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The Star’s correspondent in Washington, David Braun, insisted that he had accurately reported Dr Motlana’s speech. Two tape recordings had been made of the meeting.

Dr Motlana, a former chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said yesterday he had said that anti-apartheid groups in South Africa were reluctant to touch money made available by governments who were friendly to South Africa.

"I never said 'Go to hell' to the State President. I would never use such language. But I certainly said the money was too little," he said.
ANC slated for cancelling meeting date

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN President de Klerk has slammed the ANC for cancelling the scheduled April 11 talks and has disclosed that it turned down earlier dates for a meeting.

Mr de Klerk told Parliament that the ANC’s continued commitment to the armed struggle lay at the root of its hesitancy about entering negotiations. However, he confirmed that he would be meeting ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela this week.

According to Mr Mandela, the meeting will take place on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk said he had instructed top officials to keep in contact with the ANC.

He reiterated that his door remained open. He hoped the ANC would find it possible to join those already talking.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday, Mr de Klerk said it was “difficult to understand why an organisation saying it is interested in peace refuses to come and talk about that very issue”.

“We say that their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations. We wanted to discuss that.”
Shots ring out as Mandela visits troubled townships

MARITZBURG — Shots sounded briefly as Mr Nelson Mandela and his visiting ANC delegation yesterday moved along Mkpelle Road, which divides Imbali’s Inkatha and United Democratic Front sections.

Across the road, in Imball Stage 2, a group of men stood watching as thousands of chanting youths followed the ANC procession.

“See. They are Inkatha,” a bystander said, pointing them out.

Moments later three shots sounded. It was not clear who had fired them. No one appeared to be injured.

This was the only confrontation as Mr Mandela and his entourage criss-crossed the ravaged Edendale valley, inspecting conditions and talking to the people.

Mr Mandela’s entourage included the ANC’s Natal representative, Mr Harry Gwala, UDF leaders Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Patrick Lekota, and ex-Robben Islanders Mr Wilson Nkwayi and Mr Walter Sisulu.

At Stanger, Mr Mandela called for peace. Enough people had died, he said, but those who had died in the fight against apartheid were to be praised.

At Imbali, he visited two gutted homes. In one, Mr Jabu Ndlovu, his wife and two children had died. Neighbors said the Ndlovus had left behind two more children, who were now homeless.

From Imbali, the huge procession crossed the valley to Ashdown, a UDF township rimmed by Inkatha shacks on the hills.

As the colourful throng of chanting ANC supporters and journalists wound its way behind Mr Mandela, the shackdwellers stood in tight groups silhouetted against the skyline.

At the Edendale Lay Centre, the crowd was initially restless, but when Mr Mandela addressed them, they became silent.

He said: “I know how you feel. I suffer the pain with you. I come here to share in your suffering, your difficulties and your problems.”

There were no weapons in evidence as the ANC deputy president addressed the crowds in fluent Zulu.

“We are not the enemy and the Inkatha people should understand this. Apartheid is the enemy and we are fighting apartheid,” said Mr Mandela.

ANC national leader Mr Sisulu said Mr Mandela would not meet Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during the next two days.

Mr Sisulu said the present level of violence was one of the reasons the joint Inkatha-ANC rally, originally scheduled for yesterday, had been cancelled. — Sapa.
MDM, UDF to bolster group

- From page 1

Mbeki and Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive.

The eighth ANC delegate is Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia trialists released in October with Sisulu.

Missing at the talks will be ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still recuperating in a Swedish clinic after suffering a brain spasm last August.

The inclusion of Modise suggests the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with representatives of the South African Defence Force.

The idea was first mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President FW de Klerk would like to play down the military factor in discussions.

Asked whether the team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates - despite their past records or legal standing in South Africa.

Sebina said he wanted to refute reports in certain South African newspapers that there was disunity within the ranks of the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with De Klerk, or over tactics which the ANC should adopt at the talks.

"That is nonsense," he said. "There is a spirit of complete unanimity within the ANC at the moment."
ANC names some regional conveners

The African National Congress' Interim Leadership Core yesterday announced the appointment of several conveners to head regional offices of the ANC in each major district.

Some of the newly appointed ANC officials are former United Democratic Front leaders.

The appointments are: Mr Kgalema Motlanthe to the PWV area, Mr Thabo Makunyane to the Northern Transvaal, Mr Terror Lekota to Southern Natal, Mr Harry Gwala to the Natal Midlands, Mr Trevor Manuel as co-convenor for the Western Cape, Mr Benson Fhila to the Eastern Cape, Mr Arnold Stofile to the Border, Mr A Xobololo for Transkei and Mr Jomo Khasu to the Northern Cape.

Transkei is the only homeland included in the list. Convenors for Northern Natal, Southern Free State and Northern Free State regions still have to be confirmed.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the task of these conveners is to recruit new membership and set up ANC regional offices. — Sapa.
ANC mum over pamphlet

The ANC has refused to comment on a pamphlet, issued in the organisation's name, which calls on blacks to kill people of other races and to embark on a national strike on April 10.

"A spokesman said yesterday the pamphlet had been brought to the ANC's attention, but he refused further comment."

The pamphlet speaks about Azania, although the ANC does not use that name for South Africa. Distributed on the Reef, it states: "Support your comrades in the ANC. Kill an Indian, a Coloured or a white today!"

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela's name is used frequently. For example: "Comrade Nelson wants us to strike and riot. We must obey him!"

It says: "We will kill all the white racists and we will be free in Azania, free from oppression and discrimination. We must get pangas, kerries, guns, bricks and stones, anything that we can use to fight with and to destroy the white racists."

It says: "If we all strike on April 10, we will win our war against the whites. Go and choose your house in a white area today, when we win that house will be yours."

It says Aids is a "racist plot" developed in Israel and given to South Africa to "use" against blacks.

A police spokesman said yesterday the pamphlet made the task of the police immeasurably more difficult. Describing its authors as highly irresponsible, the spokesman said it would only serve to heat up emotions.
ANC slated for cancelling meeting date

Political Correspondent

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"We say that their adherence to violence through the so-called armed struggle is a stumbling block preventing them from joining peaceful negotiations. We wanted to discuss that."
Administrators stopgap for council resignations

GERALD REAL

PRETORIA - Administrators have been appointed in three black towns where councillor resignations have deprived the councils of quorums, MEC in charge of local government Glaus van Zyl said here yesterday. Last week he said 49 councillors were forced to resign.

The executive committee decided to appoint administrators immediately instead of holding by-elections.

The three towns are Kwagga near Witbank, Tokoza near Alberton and Molele near Delmas.

Van Zyl emphasised the committee viewed democratically chosen councillors as of utmost importance and that by-elections would be held as soon as possible.

The administrators appointments are valid until March 31 next year or until by-elections are held. They will have all the powers and duties of a local authority.

Administrators at three other towns - Bela Bela near Warmbaths, Leobeng near Leandra and Tekane near Brakpan - will be appointed soon.

Nine prison escapes flee to Zambia

NINE members of the ANC's military wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe, who escaped from an SA prison earlier this year, have arrived in the Zambian capital of Lusaka.

The nine men, who were arrested for terrorism and treason in 1988, said their escape from Modderbee Prison and secret trip to Lusaka had been organised by their underground colleagues in SA.

They said a pistol was smuggled into the prison and they had escaped after overpowering their guards and stealing one of their cars. - Sapa.
No solutions until SAP chief goes, says Mandela

MARITZBURG — Nelson Mandela yesterday called for the removal of the head of the SAP saying he was "uncooperative" and had "no sympathy for black aspirations." He mentioned the Press conference he was referring to Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen.

"We can see no solution until the man has been removed from that position," he said.

Viljoen flatly refused to be drawn on whether he would demand De Klerk's dismissal when he met President F.W. de Klerk in Cape Town tomorrow.

Mandela welcomed de Klerk's decision to send troops to pacify townships, but at the same time said the move could be useless.

He criticized De Klerk for not consulting black leaders before taking such action. He said government had to stop taking unilateral decisions for blacks.

"A unilateral action on the part of the government without consultation with black leaders is bound to be ineffective, no matter the merits," Mandela said.

He said he would raise the issue of police impartiality with de Klerk.

RANDY JEAN WOODS reports that former Natal Security Police chief Brig. Jean Burger was sent to Natal yesterday to head the joint SAP/SADF peacekeeping force.

Apparently police now see the task in curbing the violence as mainly a political one which cannot be curbed by force.

In townships to the west of Maritzburg, more than 1,400 people have been reported killed since September 1987.

Police spokesman Mr. Port Botha said yesterday Burger's appointment was effective from last Saturday when he visited the area with Viljoen.

De Klerk announced on Monday that SADF and SAP troop reinforcements would be sent to various areas which, in recent months, had seen escalating violence.

SAP chief

Botha said some SADF troops arrived in Natal on Monday and more SAP and SADF troops would be deployed by the end of the week.

But, he said, the root problems could not be solved by security actions.

"The police could be there for 500 years and nothing could be solved. It is a political problem."

But now the police have another tool to use after the unbanning of the ANC — negotiation.

"They don't have to curb violence by force, now they can try to negotiate an end to the violence," Botha said.

The movement of extra personnel into the areas designated by De Klerk would take a few days because of the logistics of such a move, he said.

These included arranging accommodation for the personnel and the deploying of equipment, he said.

The total number of reinforcements would only be known by the end of the week, he said.

Part of the SAP's strategy to make personnel available in Natal would be to get women to do ordinary administrative jobs in police stations surrounding the stricken areas to free the male staff for work in the field.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, Cosatu said the police "had played a highly dubious role in the war."

"The clearest possible example of police impartiality has been Vlok's consultation with (Inkatha head Mangosuthu) Buthelezi at the weekend about the situation in Maritzburg."

"Why did Vlok not speak to any other concerned parties? The community sees the meeting as a council of war," Cosatu said.

It listed cases of alleged police partiality and claimed the SAP had not seriously tried to stop the fighting.

The SAP, it said, had sided with Inkatha in the conflict and had often not disarmed or dispersed Inkatha impi gathered to attack, but had speedily broken up a peaceful women's march in Edendale last week.

"There are persistent reports of kitskomstabes and other policemen being seen in the attacking impi," it alleged.
ANC criticises Vlok, seeks impartiality

Police the ‘major obstacle to talks’

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The role of the police is emerging as a major obstacle to talks between the Government and the African National Congress.

ANC sources said that when Mr Nelson Mandela meets President de Klerk tomorrow, he will seek assurances that police will act impartially in the unrest.

The sources expressed confidence that the two leaders could resolve the problem which led to the ANC calling off the April 11 exploratory talks with the Government.

Yesterday Mr Mandela attacked Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok for failing to consult fully with blacks over the handling of the violence, especially in Natal.

Calling for the removal of the “head of the SAP”, he said Mr Vlok was uncooperative and had “no sympathy whatsoever for black aspirations”.

He also accused Mr Vlok of openly associating himself with one of the parties in the Natal conflict — Inkatha.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok said today that Mr Mandela’s remarks were “unfortunate at this time”. Mr Vlok had recently tried to consult a wide spectrum of people over the violence.

He had invited the whole spectrum of political organisations, from the ANC to the AWB, in Welkom to discuss the Free State violence and in Port Elizabeth, he spoke to the MDM and the PAC.

Referring to his meeting on Saturday with Kwazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu B. Butler, the spokesman said Mr Vlok had instructed him to work with “everyone” to resolve the situation.
SACP, Cosatu to work together

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) have agreed on a broad framework for economic reconstruction in South Africa.

A 28-person SACP delegation, led by SACP general secretary Mr Joe Slovo, met a 31-person Cosatu delegation led by Cosatu vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini in Harare at the end of last week.

The meeting was the first of its kind between the two organisations.

A statement issued by Cosatu after the meeting said both organisations had agreed decisive action was needed to build political organisation and that most people viewed the ANC as a de facto government.

The meeting agreed Cosatu should retain its independence as "a matter of principle and practice" and that the federation would work in alliance with the ANC-SACP on a programme of action against apartheid.

The meeting analysed events in Eastern Europe.

The statement said that, while events in Eastern Europe provided important lessons, both organisations remained convinced that socialism was a more acceptable solution than capitalism.

This was linked to an examination of the South African economy and discussion about its reconstruction.

Both organisations agreed that nationalisation, the market and the private sector were "essential components" of a programme of economic reconstruction.

Work on this programme in consultation with the ANC is to be a priority for both organisations.

Victory in metal strike

MORE than 130 Paarden Eiland metalworkers who have been on strike for more than three weeks return to work this Wednesday, having won a demand for plant level negotiations.
JOHANNESBURG. — A meeting between Cosatu and the SA Communist Party (SACP) decided at the weekend in Harare to maintain their independence, but to work together on agreed programmes to dismantle apartheid.

A statement issued by the labour federation said the meeting — at which a 31-member Cosatu delegation led by vice-president Mr Chris Dlamini met a 23-member SACP delegation led by Mr Joe Slovo — agreed on the need for decisive action against apartheid.

"Both organisations agreed that Cosatu as a trade union must retain its independence in order to carry out its task of representing organised workers."

They also agreed that a combination of nationalisation, the market and private sectors would be essential components of a new economy in post-apartheid South Africa. — Sapa
ATTEMPTS to revive the talks between the government and the African National Congress will be made at a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela in Cape Town tomorrow.

Both sides have indicated they are keen for the talks to take place at some stage.

ANC sources said today that they saw what had happened as a delay rather than a serious setback.

Mr. De Klerk has stated that he does not agree with the ANC that police action at Sebokeng should stand in the way of the talks. He said such matters could be dealt with at negotiations. He told parliament his door remained open.

The immediate reason for the talks is the ANC's decision to cancel the proposed April 11 talks because of what the ANC has described as the unprovoked killing and maiming of defenceless black demonstrators, especially at Sebokeng. Mr. Mandela has declined to speculate on tomorrow's meeting.

"We hope to have a Press conference afterwards," he said.

**Free man**

He will be accompanied by United Democratic Front office-bearer Mr. Popo Molefe, ANC intelligence chief Mr. Jacob Zuma, the highest ranking exiled member of the movement in the country, and senior ANC member Mr. Ahmed Kathrada.

The meeting, with Mr. Mandela visiting Tuynhuys for the first time as a free man, is, however, bound to develop into an evaluation of how the first exploratory talks to prepare for real negotiations can take place.

While welcoming some of the steps the government has taken to deal with the unrest, Mr. Mandela has criticised the fact that black organisations have not been consulted.

He has been particularly critical of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, saying he was unco-operative and had no sympathy for black aspirations.

Mr. Vlok was not available for comment as he was attending a two-day "retreat" of the Cabinet somewhere in the Boland.

A police spokesman said, however, that Mr. Mandela had made some unfortunate remarks as Mr. Vlok had visited unrest areas in Natal, the Transvaal and the Free State and had in some areas consulted representatives of black organisations.
Mandela hits out at Vlok

MARITZBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday attacked Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, saying he was "unco-operative" and had "no sympathy for black aspirations".

Although Mr Mandela did not mention Mr Vlok directly, he called for the removal of "the head of the SAP" at an international press conference after visiting the strife-torn areas in Natal.

"We can see no solution (to the violence) until the man has been removed from that position," he said.

Warring factions of the UDF and Inkatha have largely been blamed for the deaths.

Mr Mandela said that police were headed by a minister who was "perhaps the most unco-operative in the country's history; a minister who has no sympathy whatsoever for black aspirations".

He also accused Mr Vlok of "openly associating himself" with one of the parties involved in the conflict.

He said in meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday, Mr Vlok had condemned the UDF/ANC alliance "without giving it the opportunity to be heard".

After the meeting President FW de Klerk had given the go-ahead for troops to enter the townships.
Consult leaders, Mandela tells govt

MARITZBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday criticised the government for not consulting ANC and UDF leaders in its efforts to end the violence in Natal.

Speaking at a press conference after a day and a night of visiting some of the worst-hit areas, he welcomed government concern, but warned: "Unilateral action by the government without consulting acknowledged leaders is bound to be ineffective regardless of merit."

Both UDF leader Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's representative for the Natal Midlands, Mr Harry Gwala, should have been consulted, he said.

In meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok had condemned the UDF/ANC alliance without giving it the opportunity to be heard.

The other problem with President F W de Klerk's peace plan for Natal was in fact embodied in Mr Vlok, who was "perhaps the most uncooperative minister of police to date."

"He has no sympathy with black aspirations," Mr Mandela claimed.

Mr Mandela will be making the views of the ANC heard tomorrow when he meets Mr De Klerk, he confirmed.

He would be recommending certain steps to the State President to end the violence, he said, but could not divulge these beforehand.

With Mr Mandela having voiced doubts about new government measures, and with a meeting between the ANC and Inkatha still unconfirmed, the prospect of peace remains uncertain.

And several observers felt the visit could spark new conflict.

Mr Mandela's message was one of peace, however. "People have been running around with weapons. Now they must return to their homes," he told about 7 000 people at a rally at Edendale's Wadley Stadium yesterday.

The crowd, many of them children, roared when he greeted them as "warriors". They roared louder when he said: "The people are hungry." But the biggest cheer came when Mr Gwala called for police to be withdrawn from the townships. — Sapa-Reuters
A mindless cycle of revenge that goes beyond ideology

Sowetan staffer MICHAEL TISSONG visited Natal and pieced together a story of horror out of control in the killing fields of the province. He contends that political affiliations are no longer a factor in the fighting.

WHAT started as a fight for political hegemony between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front in Natal has snowballed into a war that today goes beyond ideology and political affiliation.

Four years ago the area around Maritzburg was known as one of the quietest, politically, in the country.

Community leaders called the shots and people listened, but did not necessarily accept whatever was said.

The political jostling between Inkatha and the UDF increased and became deadly serious when lives were lost in clashes over commemoration dates, stayaways and songs denigrating Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The deaths were avenged by relatives and friends and the spiral started. As more people joined in, political associations became secondary to avenging a friend or relative killed by the rival group.

Differences

Loose groupings under the names UDF and Inkatha were formed in many areas where there was fighting but few, if any, people directly involved in the clashes could say what the political differences between the two groups were or what their political group stood for.

There is also no evidence that these groupings were directly started by either the UDF or Inkatha.

Eyewitnesses to one of the clashes say it was like watching a scene from the TV series Shaka Zulu:

"After shootings at night, large groups gathered on two hilltops in the morning and faced one another across a valley.

There were no flags or placards or the shouting of slogans to indicate which group was Inkatha or which was UDF.

Neither group carried AK47s, which might have indicated ANC support of the UDF group. The weaponry was R1 rifles, handguns, homemade firearms, assegais, sticks, pangas and knives.

The groups charged at one another and met in the valley where there was fierce close-range fighting before the groups scattered and left their dead behind for the police to pick up.

That night again shooting was heard across the hills.

Men, women and children streamed out of the area carrying some of their belongings. Behind them the carnage continued and houses burned.

People who sought refuge in the white areas of Maritzburg were hunted down and increased the possibility of SADF involvement in the fray. (The Government has now sent in more troops into the area.)

In recent weeks, ANC leaders Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leaders Buthelezi and Oscar Dlamini have appealed for the fighting to stop.

Leadership

Despite these appeals by the top leadership on both sides, the fighting has gone on and become worse. In less than a week, the body count has come close to 60.

This has emphasised the point that there is no line of command between either the Inkatha or UDF leadership and the people directly involved in the fighting.

If there was this line of command, the UDF would have pulled in the reins on its members and Inkatha would have done the same because the bottom line is that the horror does not serve the interests of either party nor those of the liberation struggle to which both organisations say they are committed.

A contributing factor is that urbanisation in the growth points of Maritzburg, Pinetown and Durban has increased at an alarming rate.

Durban, which is growing at a rate of 50 and 100 metres a day, is currently the second fastest growing city in the world behind Mexico City.

People living in these areas have also cited tensions between the lifestyles of the people who have lived near the cities for a long time and those who have recently come from the rural areas where customs hold strong.
Africa can't be stopped - PAC chief

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

AFRICANISM is on the rise and more than ever before it cannot be stopped, Pan Africanist Congress chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo said this week.

Speaking from Dar-es-Salaam on Monday, Mlambo said Pan Africanism had always been viciously attacked as an impossible dream by Africa's detractors and former colonisers.

"Africanism has been the grand vision of a giant, united, free and independent Africa. This has led to the birth of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)," he said.

He said the people who were against a united Africa were the same people who are "the protagonists in the unification of Europe scheduled for 1992, as well as the establishment of a united economic front between America and Canada".

LUSAKA - The African National Congress has rejected accusations that by negotiating with the South African Government it would be forging links with the Pretoria authorities.

At the same time it said it was still willing to start the cancelled April 11 talks.

Asked to comment on a statement by the Azanian People’s Organisation that the ANC ought to forge links with the oppressed rather than with the enemy through negotiations, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said:

“The ANC has been forging links with other organisations over the years. It has held discussions not only with the oppressed but also with white people.

“The ANC’s aim is to unite all South Africans for a new South Africa.”

Sebina said the cancellation of the talks with the government did not mean there would be no negotiations.

“A new date will be found. Negotiations are still on.”

He rejected speculation that the talks had been called off because of divisions within the ANC leadership.

“Nothing like that has happened. All along there has been unanimity on issues within the ANC’s ranks, including the decision to cancel the April 11 talks,” he said.
Cosatu, SACP in
Zimbabwe talks

THE ANC was justified in postponing its April 11 talks with the government, Cosatu said yesterday, claiming the onus for creating a climate for negotiations remained with the government.

"In the current situation of violence precipitated by the actions of the security forces, the ANC was justified in postponing the April 11 meeting with (State President FW) De Klerk," Cosatu said in statement yesterday.

Cosatu's statement follows the trade union federation's three-day meeting with the SA Communist Party in Zimbabwe last weekend.

The meeting - which brought together delegations of the two organisations for the first time - also agreed that Cosatu would work in alliance with the ANC/SACP on a programme of action to dismantle apartheid "as soon as possible".

The Cosatu delegation was led by vice-president, Chris Dlamini, and the SACP by its general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo.

Solutions

The SACP and Cosatu also agreed on various issues, including:

1. The continued independence of the federation so that it could carry out the task of representing workers;
2. Both parties remained convinced that socialism provided more acceptable solutions than capitalism; and
3. That nationalisation was an essential component in the reconstruction of the SA economy.

Cosatu said the SACP would be building "a large, above-board party" representing immediate and long-term interests of the working class in a new South Africa.
Khotso arrives today

A FORMER president of the Soweto Students Representative Council, Khotso Seatholo who was freed from Robben Island on Monday, will be arriving at Jan Smuts Airport at 2pm today.

Seatholo, who helped form the South African Youth Revolutionary Council in exile, was arrested in June 1981 when he re-entered South Africa after receiving military training in North Africa.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said the Black Consciousness Movement did not regard the release of political prisoners as an indication that the Government was changing.
SACP, Cosatu to work together

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The meeting was the first of its kind between the two organisations.

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This was linked to an examination of the South African economy and discussion about its reconstruction.

Both organisations agreed that nationalisation, the market and the private sector were "essential components" of a programme of economic reconstruction.

Work on this programme in consultation with the ANC is to be a priority for both organisations.

Victory in metal strike

MORE than 130 Paarden Eiland metalworkers who have been on strike for more than three weeks return to work this Wednesday, having won a demand for plant level negotiations.
Drive to recruit millions

THE ANC's plan to build a massive "home-based" organisation has been given impetus by the election of powerful regional executive committees throughout the country.

The ANC's regional teams include key United Democratic Front leadership figures, trade unionists and activists.

On the same weekend that the ANC called off the April 11 talks with the government, it began to mobilise publicly for the first time in 30 years with the aim of recruiting millions of members.

**Western Cape**

In the Western Cape, UDF regional secretary, Trevor Manuel, has been appointed co-convenor of the region.

He is expected to be joined soon by ANC National Executive Committee member, Reggie September.

The ANC's first regional committee was appointed at a welcome back rally for Nelson Mandela in the Boland region last weekend.

The 14-member committee, appointed by the ANC Leadership in Luvak, is to be presided over by the former UDF Border president, the Reverend Arnold Stofile.

The following day, Mandela announced a 14-strong regional executive committee for the Eastern Cape at a meeting rally in Port Elizabeth.

Stofile said the membership of the regional committee was decided on March 15 by the ANC's internal leadership core which includes Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Raymond Mhlaba.

The members were informed of their appointment a few days later, and the national executive committee.

"Our task will also be to give political education to the branches," Stofile said.

Stofile said people who became members would be subject to the strict discipline and code of conduct of the organisation.

**Border**

The Border committee includes: UDF regional co-presidents, Mhuleki George, Alfred Mosele, and regional secretary of the South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), Rossa Skuku.

The others are Glen Thomas and Ntshandu Zimba of the Queenstown Residents Association, Zuma Kwekwa of the Dumisa Youth Congress and

On the same weekend that the ANC called off its April 11 talks with the South African government, the organisation was starting from scratch elsewhere — building structures which have been dormant or under-ground for three decades.

**Northern Cape**

Mandela said: "The task of the convenors is to re-recruit new membership and set up ANC regional offices."

The convenors for the Northern Natal, South African Free State and Northern Free State regions are still to be confirmed.

The task of the convenors is to recruit new membership and set up ANC regional offices. The convenors for the PWV area have not yet been finalised.

Acceding to sources, Barbara Hogan, the first women to be found guilty of high treason and sentenced to 10 years, and Eastern Province, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and former treason trialist will form part of the region's structure.
E Cape ANC regional exec named

PORT ELIZABETH — The 14-member ANC regional executive committee will be headed by the president of the newly-formed Association of Former Political Prisoners, Mr Benson Fihla, who spent many years on Robben Island for ANC activities.

The REC includes prominent trade unionists and activists from civic, youth and political structures.

Other ANC regional members include Cosatu's second vice-president, Mr John Gomomo, UDF regional president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, UDF regional general-secretary, Mr Gugile Nkwinti, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peypco) executive member, Mr Mike Xego, former UDF Natal president, Reverend Mncebisi Xundu, Rhodes University staff member, Ms Marian Lacey, Pecbo member, Mr Ernest Malgas, Mr Neela Hoosen, Mr Silus Mthongana, Uitenhage Women's Organisation member, Ms Nozizwe Mabizela, Mr Ronald Niegaardt, and Mr Mbulelo Goniwe, the brother of slain activist, Mr Matthew Goniwe. — PEN
Mandela's bid for peace

AGONY OF NATAL: stunned residents watch their homes go up in flames

BY CHRISTINA SCOTT
PIETERMARITZBURG — Talks on a Natal ceasefire between ANC and Inkatha have been put on ice after KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried to hijack a joint rally proposed by Nelson Mandela.

"Our people are not fighting Inkatha," stressed Mandela, who later added: "we are vigorously searching for peace."

"But not fighting does not mean we will not defend when attacked."

An "astounded" Mandela said a press conference here that Buthelezi had flouted an agreement to leave the venue and date of a joint rally to the decision of local leaders.

Mandela vetoed Buthelezi's suggestion to host the rally in an Inkatha territory because it did not involve grassroots decision-making, then heard on radio that the two would address a rally in Taylor's Halt on April 2.

"This angered our membership. Our people felt very much distressed and the feeling became so intense that I had no choice but to cancel," said Mandela.

Mandela, visited the "Valley of Death" and offered words of hope but no snap solution.

Roads barricaded with burnt-out cars — the smell of burning rubber still in the air — Mandela viewed petrol-bombed homes and entered a church to meet some of the 10 000 people displaced by the fighting in Edendale Valley.

The Natal war started here three years ago and the 80 deaths in a week of recent fighting is threatening to sidetrack the path to reform.

"We are not fighting against Inkatha at this moment," he told a surging crowd of hundreds of youths at the Edendale Lay centre.

"We are fighting against Apartheid and the policy of racial oppression."

"The violence must end," he said — then added that ANC leaders would not "do anything you, the people do not want us to do — even if we think our way is correct."

Although Mandela was unable to offer any solutions to the fighting, he left the way open for a meeting with his regional rival, KwaZulu homeland leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Religious leaders including Nobel peace prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, consulted Buthelezi in Ulundi and briefed Mandela in Pietermaritzburg at the end of his township tour.

The Natal war will also be on the agenda when Mandela meets informally with State president FW De Klerk on Thursday.

In the meantime, an independent commission of inquiry has asked the United Nations to step in and appoint impartial overseers for a peacekeeping force to replace police and soldiers now patrolling the townships.
**First 'legal' congress of 'Young Lions'**

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG.—The South African Youth Congress (Sayco) will be able to meet and deliberate as an above-board mass movement for the first time in its brief history.

Its third national congress, due to be held in the eastern Transvaal over the Easter weekend, will be attended by more than 1 500 of its militant "Young Lions".

Since its launch, Sayco functioned virtually underground, surviving the toughest repression in the country's history.

Its national congress will be more than a gathering of fresh-faced youth. Discussions will be dominated by the question of Sayco's relationship to the ANC Youth League, which has produced South African leaders such as ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

**Negotiation**

In an interview, Sayco's publicity secretary, Mr Simon Ntombe, told SOUTH the congress would be officially opened by Mandela.

It would be his last official duty before leaving for Britain to attend the much-publicised welcome concert at Wembley Stadium.

The congress, which starts on Good Friday, will be held at the Elijah Mango College of Education in Nelspruit. It will last four days, culminating in a Sayco festival on Easter Monday.

Ntombe said the ANC's international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, would read a paper on negotiation. The SACP's general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo, would give an analysis of the recent events in Eastern Europe.

Former NUM organiser, Mr Kgalema Motlanthe, would present a paper on the Anti-Apartheid Coalition.

Sayco's general secretary, Mr Rapu Molekane, said the congress would map out practical steps towards transformation of the 2.5 million-strong organisation into the ANC Youth League structure.
ANC names Cape leaders

THE ANC has unveiled its national structure and named convenors in most of the organisation's 14 regions within South Africa.

Officials named for the Western Cape are Reggie September, Trevor Manuel, Christmas Tinto, Mzonke Jacobs and Johnny Issel.

Manuel will deputise as convenor for the region until September returns from exile.

The names of other officials on the Western Cape committee will be announced later.

* See page 7
From page 1

He said that after the shooting at Sebokeng, the ANC had no option but to postpone the talks with the government.

Former president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Molana, said he supported the ANC's decision "whole-heartedly".

"I am firmly behind the decision taken by the ANC. Unwarranted shooting by the police on innocent people cannot be tolerated," said Molana.

The president of the South African Youth Congress, Mr Peter Mokaba, told SOUTH Sayco supported the ANC decision which had been taken "in the best interests of the struggling masses".

"The ANC action is directed towards saving the lives of our people who continue to die because of irresponsible army, police and vigilante action in our townships," said Mokaba.

He said the Sebokeng massacre emphasised the call by the oppressed to embrace demands made in the Harare Declaration — that troops must move out of black townships to help create a climate conducive for negotiations.

"Our people cannot negotiate with the enemy's guns against our necks," he said.

Sayco called on state president FW de Klerk to take decisive steps so that the talks could continue.

The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) also support the controversial and shock decision by the ANC to suspend the April 11 talks.

In a resolution passed at its regional congress in Mahwelieng near Potgietersrus at the weekend, AZAPO called on the ANC to withdraw totally from negotiations with De Klerk's administration.

There has been no further official comment from Lusaka, the headquarters of the ANC, but sources close to the ANC said another special NEC meeting was scheduled to take place later this week.
'Uncertain times' —
UDF postpones talks

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front has postponed its national general council meeting indefinitely "because of the uncertainty of the time ahead", said one of the organisation's senior office-bearers, Mr Trevor Manuel.

Key issues and decisions would have been taken at the meeting, which was due to have been held in Cape Town from April 6 to 8.

However, the UDF will hold a workshop — to be attended by 300 delegates — in Cape Town over the same period "to try to address some of the questions related to future structures and relationships".

Senior internal and external members of the ANC and Cosatu will be involved in the workshop, which will be held behind closed doors.

Mr Manuel said the UDF would not be seeking exploratory talks with the government.

"The ANC would have talked about obstacles to negotiations with the government on April 11. They have led the struggle. It is appropriate at this stage that the ANC continues to lead."

The UDF was assured that the "ANC would consult us before the April 11 talks. We understand that those talks would have been about removing the obstacles to negotiation as outlined in the Harare Declaration".

RETURN OF EXILES

Some of the obstacles were the release of political prisoners, scrapping of the Internal Security Act, lifting of the state of emergency and the unconditional return of all exiles.

He said the UDF had co-authored the Harare Declaration and the Mass Democratic Movement observers were present when the Organisation of African Unity had adopted the declaration.

"For our part we will try to win over the constituency we represent. Transition is always difficult."
ANC wants 'non-violent revolution'

Staff Reporter

The ANC wants the revolution to unfold without violence "to the benefit of all sections of the population," ANC member Professor Jack Simons said yesterday.

Professor Simons, who returned to the city a month ago after 25 years in exile, was speaking at a lunchtime meeting at UCT yesterday.

"We want a revolution that will encompass the whole country and bring us increased prosperity, peace and, in the end, a constructive parliamentary institution in which all national groups can participate equally.

"This parliamentary institution should be one in which the political process could be fought out through an interplay of forces, not black against white or white against black, but a common society in which all could share," he said.

"We shall talk about talks. In the beginning this will lead to a negotiated settlement and in the end the establishment of a constituent assembly where all parties will be represented."
Skilled and qualified workforce ‘vital need for SA’

BLOEMFONTEIN. — One of the most important needs of South African society today and tomorrow is a skilled and qualified workforce.

This strategic economic need would prevail no matter who the government of the day was, Miss Isabel W Direko, president of the National Council of African Women (Ncaw) said here.

She was delivering the 19th Bertha Solomon memorial lecture at the 54th conference of the National Council of Women of South Africa.

Miss Direko said no matter the political dispensation, it followed that the development of the managerial core to lead and motivate the ever-increasing numbers in the workforce deserved priority attention.

Pace slow

Until now the pace of black manager training and development had been slow. Black managers reconciled with difficulty to the society in which they live and work.

In their personal lives, they were expected to show solidarity with the common communal cause for freedom. In the workplace, they were pressured to fit in with the predominantly white managerial corps. This stressful situation led to a loss of security and low self-esteem, said Miss Direko.

This kind of friction would be compounded by the fact that “We live increasingly in a society of fission”.

“The bogeys of yesterday vanish leaving a bemused and unsure populace, suddenly exposed to different values, different preachers. The question of loyalties becomes more urgent and problematic under these circumstances.”

Miss Direko said a new perception was needed more than ever, a new way to look at problems, relationships and people. a new force of negotiation that look heed of the one side of the coin while working earnestly to forge the whole piece.

“The ANC, as an element in the negotiating process, has to be sensitive to the struggle in which it shares the same goals for which many have died. At the same time, its leaders must work unstintingly at reworking the rhetoric of the past to address the new issues of reform and white fears,” she charged.

President De Klerk had to reassure his constituency that the reform measures were the best strategy to implement a more dynamic policy of power-sharing. At the same time, he had to display continually the results from the sincerity for which he had been widely praised, said Miss Direko. — Sapa.
Van Eck warns on township 'warlords'

By MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, warned in a hard-hitting speech in parliament today that the seeds of another Natal conflict were being sown in townships in Cape Town and elsewhere by the authorities tolerating the activities of "warlord" mayors.

Speaking on the first day of debate on the Cape budget, Mr Van Eck said it was not the ANC which had made townships ungovernable, but these "uncontrolled, unaccountable black local authorities".

He warned: "By allowing the warlord mayors to continue, the seed of another Natal conflict is being planted in every black township, a seed that will grow into a monster that will attack the very fabric of our society, as in Natal."

FRAUD ALLEGATION

He also announced that he was sending to the Attorney-General of the Cape details, including two account numbers, of an alleged fraud in Crossroads.

Black local government had failed dismally and in an era of negotiation the government could not do better than to "bury them as soon as possible".

"If the government is unwilling to do this I can assure you that the communities will do it themselves," Mr Van Eck said.

He said the councillors were never given a mandate, there was widespread corruption and bribery, intimidation and attacks on opponents.

By way of illustration, he claimed that in Crossroads only supporters of the mayor, Mr Johnson Nxgonovana, were allowed to buy new houses.

In another case, he said, "monies deposited into one bank account were secretly transferred into another account and then spent totally differently from the way it was intended."

"The money that was fraudulently spent in this way was collected by the people of this township and was controlled by the mayor of Crossroads, who must explain what happened to this money. I am forwarding the account numbers to the Attorney-General," Mr Van Eck said.
Ex-SADF officers go to Lusaka for ANC talks

Argus Africa News Service April 4, 1990

LUSAKA. — Several former South African Defence Force officers will arrive in Lusaka this week for talks with the African National Congress's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The former officers will be accompanied by members of the End Conscription Campaign.

ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) was organising the talks.
Cosatu and SACP agree to work together

COSATU and the SACP have agreed that the two organisations should, together with the ANC, work in alliance on "an agreed programme of action to dismantle apartheid as soon as possible", Cosatu disclosed yesterday.

However, the two also reached consensus that Cosatu, as a trade union organisation, must, as a matter of both principle and practice, "retain its independence in order to carry out its task of representing organised workers".

These decisions on the future relationship between SA's largest trade union grouping and the most prominent political party seeking to represent working class interests were reached at a meeting in Harare at the weekend.

Cosatu's 31-man delegation was led by vice-president Chris Dlamini, while general secretary Joe Slovo headed the 26-strong SACP team.

The SACP told Cosatu that in the new situation the SACP would be building "a large, above-board party".
ANC talks to shape policy on economy

SIXTY economists representing or associated with the ANC and Cosatu will meet in Harare for four days from April 28 at a workshop whose deliberations are likely to form the basis of detailed economic policy for the ANC and its allies.

ANC economics department head Max Sisulu said yesterday the last two years had seen a growing emphasis on economics and the new political situation had focused attention closely on the ANC's economic policy.

He said the workshop aimed to increase the ability of ANC/MDM leadership to formulate economic policy.

A memorandum on the workshop states that the ANC "feels very strongly the need to urgently fill the policy vacuum in relation to their position on the economy".

In addition to Sisulu, ANC participants are likely to include Tito Mboweni, Vella Pillay and Rob Davies. Executive members Thabo Mhesi and Patto Jordan will also be there as will the SACP's Joe Slovo.

Among the Cosatu delegates will be Numsa education officer Alec Erwin and NUM education officer Kgailema Motlanthe.

A number of prominent university-based economists who have served on Cosatu's Economic Trends project are also scheduled to attend. They include Fauad Cassim, Doug Hindson, Stephen Geltj and Mike Morris.

ANC policy

Cosatu and the SA Communist Party made a thorough assessment of the implications for socialism of recent events in the Eastern European countries, Cosatu said yesterday.

Both organisations agreed that events provided important lessons, "but remain convinced that socialists should offer vastly more acceptable solutions to the social and economic problems of SA than those offered by capitalism."

They examined the present SA economy and a programme for its democratic reconstruction.

"A broad consensus on the framework for how such a reconstruction could be undertaken was reached. In such a reconstruction nationalisation, the market and the private sector would all be essential components," Cosatu said.
Leaders demand probe of Sebokeng killings

By Montshlwa Moreke

About 10,000 mourners in Sebokeng, Vereeniging, yesterday heard leaders call for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into last month's police shootings in which 17 people were killed.

The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Mr. Joe Naidoo, went so far as to call on President de Klerk, to sack the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Viljoen.

The speakers were among leading labour, political, business and religious leaders who addressed the large crowd at a more than three-hour mass funeral service at the Zone 1 stadium, Sebokeng.

Speakers said the people wanted Mr. Viljoen to explain what happened on the day of the Sebokeng killings and to say who gave the police orders to shoot.

Among the dignitaries were representatives from the Canadian Embassy and the Swedish Legation. A representative of the Christian Council of Churches in New Zealand, also attended.

Those buried were Mr. Philip Motaung, Mr. Copesite Chikummen, Mr. Dumaziwe Nkasi and Mr. Joseph Nkomo.

Silence fell as the thousands of mourners bowed their heads in tribute to the "dead heroes.

The coffin were draped in colours of the African National Congress while khaki-elapsed youths with wooden guns formed a guard of honour.

A police helicopter hovered above, monitoring the entire funeral proceedings.

The general secretary of the South Africans Council of Churches, the Rev. Frans Chikane, said during his visit to Sebokeng Hospital he had found some of the injured with bullet wounds in their heads and others with pellets all over their bodies.

"In a just and normal country the President would have given orders that a judicial commission of inquiry be appointed that same night for the murdered. It took the Government days to say they considered appointing one.

"Our black people are also human beings like other people. The value of our lives are the same as those of the oppressors," he said.

Mr. Naidoo said the violence was meted out against black people everywhere because the ruling class wanted to maintain cheap labour.

"We call on De Klerk to charge the murderers and send them to jail, where they belong. We also call upon him to fire Viljoen as the person in charge of the police," Mr. Naidoo said.

This young "soldier", armed with a wooden gun and in full uniform, formed part of the guard of honour for four of the victims of the March 25 Sebokeng police shootings. Among the dignitaries present at the event were representatives of the Canadian Embassy, the Swedish Legation and the Christian Council of Churches in New Zealand.

© Picture by Herbert Mbuthia.
Many people will never forget "Black Wednesday" — the momentous day of October 1977 when the then Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, moved to crush all extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid.

On that day, police raided scores of offices, detained hundreds of people, seized documents and assets and issued five-year banning orders on many people.

It was a dark day for South African journalism, too. The Government summarily closed down the Argus-owned newspapers The World and Weekend World and police detained its editor, Mr Percy Qoboza. Also closed was the Christian Institute's monthly journal, Pro Verteit.

The major targets of the crackdown were the widely supported black consciousness organisations of the day, such as the Black People's Convention and the South African Students' Organisation.

The black consciousness philosophy, which had gradually emerged after the political vacuum caused by the banning of the ANC and PAC in the 1960s, was regarded by the Government as a grave danger to apartheid ideology.

The crushing of the black consciousness organisations had come in the wake of the Soweto uprising of June 1976, the death in detention of Steve Biko and ongoing student unrest in 1977.

Most South Africans were not surprised that the Vorster government also crushed the multi-racial Christian Institute, led by a former moderator of the NG Kerk in the south ern Transvaal, Dr Beyers Naude, who was served with a banning order which was lifted only in 1984.

The Christian Institute, formed in 1963 with the aim of dissuading Afrikaners from supporting apartheid theology, had become radicalised by the upheaval in the 1970s until it stood firmly for the peaceful realisation of black aspirations.

The public had been conditioned to expect action to be taken against the CI and Dr Naude. In 1975 the notorious Schiebusch Committee of Inquiry into Certain Organisations had declared the CI to be a danger to the State.

**Personal undertones**

Yet the attack on the CI had personal undertones. Prime Minister Mr John Vorster and his brother, Dr Koot Vorster, a leading minister of the NG Kerk, had both publicly attacked Dr Naude on numerous occasions.

The action taken against him and the CI in 1977 was the culmination of years of threats voiced by these two "brothers in arms."

The closure of the newspapers and organisations was greeted with outrage by opposition politicians and newspapers in South Africa and by leaders abroad.

Yet their unbanning by President de Klerk in February went unnoticed by the media, which heaped at tention on the older liberation movements, the ANC and PAC.

The lack of interest in the unbanning of the black consciousness organisations and the Christian Institute is probably because, unlike the ANC and PAC, they did not continue underground after their bannings. Instead, in the 1980s, they were replaced by new organisations.

Some of these, such as the Azanian People's Organisation, continued to promote the black consciousness ideology, but others such as groups affiliated to the United Democratic Front followed the non-racial Charter path.

The Christian Institute, too, had its successors which carried forward some of its non-racial, Christian principles.

Yet the younger organisations also broke new ground. While the Christian Institute was primarily a white-led organisations, the Beyi-dende Kring (a movement representing anti-apartheid theologians from the NG Kerk family of churches) and the Institute of Contextual Theology both emerged with a strong black leadership and constituency.

The dark days of 1977 may be a blur in the fast-changing political climate of 1990, but many people still bear the scars. Hundreds of people left the country to join the exiled liberation movements or to seek new lives abroad, many at great sacrifice to themselves and their families.

Others, such as the leaders of the Christian Institute, endured years of house arrest in the form of stringent banning orders.

At least three leading members of the Christian Institute — Theo Kotze, Brian Brown andennie Khoapa — were subsequently "listed" by the Government.

Although none of the men were ever charged or informed what crimes they were accused of, they were regarded, as enemies and silenced for more than a decade.

One question which remains to be answered is whether the unbanned organisations can expect the return of their documents and assets seized by the State.

At the time the organisations were closed down, a State-appointed liquidator reported that at least R300 000 had been confiscated from their bank accounts. In addition, two buildings belonging to the Christian Institute, in Maritzburg and Cape Town, were forfeited to the State.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, senior research officer at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said the Internal Security Act merely stipulated that the property of unlawful organisations should be confiscated.

**Return of property**

"There's nothing in the Act which allows for restoration but as a matter of principle these organisations could request property and money to be returned with interest," he said.

In the unlikely event that the State does return this property, compensation can never make up for the losses.

When the police raided the Christian Institute, for example, they confiscated all its documents, including its valuable archival library material.

Dr Naude told The Star that a few years ago the Minister of Law and Order had been approached about whether this material could be returned and deposited in the University of Cape Town's library.

"The response received was that all the Institute's documents had been destroyed in a flood at John Vorster Square," he said.
The big boost this year on inquiries to Canada doubled.
Ignore ‘kill pamphlet’, say police

Staff Reporters

Police are investigating the origin of pamphlets which call for the killing of whites, coloureds and Indians on April 10, but have appealed to the public not to panic as it was "doubtful" that the call would have any success.

The security forces were ready for any eventuality and lawlessness would not be allowed, said police public relations chief Major-General Herman Stadler.

"These pamphlets are an amateurish effort which appear to be aimed at creating uncertainty and panic, especially among the white community.

"Although it is a good thing to be prepared for any eventuality, it is doubtful whether this type of appeal has any chance of success.

The SAP appeals to those groups mentioned not to become panicky, as this is exactly what the distributors of pamphlets have in mind.

"An appeal is made to the public to report anything untoward to their nearest police station," he said.

The ANC has dissociated itself entirely from the contents of the pamphlet, which states that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has called for these acts of violence.

Yesterday, Mr Mandela described the pamphlet as a "smear" and said it was contrary to the ANC's policy of non-racialism.

"There is no way the pamphlet was issued by anybody who is a member of the ANC or the MDM," he said, adding that he did not believe it was issued by the Pan Africanist Congress either.
Partition may be negotiable

By Shirley Woodgate

Professor Carel Boshoff's partition plan viewed it as "sacrificial partition, not greedy partition".

The director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said this in an address to the Wits Business School Association yesterday.

Stressing that increased volatility from the Right was inevitable under the present circumstances, he said it was crucially important to differentiate between the "weirdos, the bushveld ramblers and the genuine white homelanders".

Outlining recent developments, Dr Slabbert said white minority domination had never before been negotiated away by those in power, and never before had democracy been negotiated by the people involved.

This process had not occurred in Namibia or Zimbabwe where the major parties had never negotiated with each other, the actual process being largely left to outsiders: "Lord Soames in Zimbabwe and (to laughter) Lord Pienaar in Namibia."

It was therefore inevitable under present circumstances a sense of confusion was to be accepted while all parties from the PAC to the CP experienced a period of readjustment.

Lauding President de Klerk, whom he described as "infinitely more intelligent" than his predecessor, Dr Slabbert said he had given his MPs a sense of personal liberation and had made it easier to be an Afrikaner walking through customs and immigration check points in other countries.

He said Mr de Klerk's concept of normalisation of political structures and the creation of circumstances for all legitimate people to play their part together had caught everyone by surprise.

"Not least the ANC which did not expect him to seize the Harare Declaration and act on it," he said.

To expect a 71-year-old (Mr Mandela) to come back and give answers, or the ANC to react instantly, was unrealistic, he said.
WASHINGTON — Canada’s 1 million aboriginal Indians want their government to fight for them as hard as it did for South Africa’s African National Congress.

Mr Chris McCormick, chief executive for the Native Council of Canada, told the Canadian media this week he wondered how the Canadian government could make such a strong plea for Canadians to donate money to the ANC while cutting nearly R25 million in native Indian funding in its most recent budget.

Canada’s External Affairs Minister, Mr Joe Clark, recently asked Canadians to raise funds for the ANC to help it establish and run offices in South Africa.

Mr McCormick has written to Mr Clark, saying the recent cuts in the budget for Canadian Indians had virtually eliminated funding for the community’s newspapers and sown a crop of acrimony.

“it astounds and shocks me that this should happen at the same time that Canadians are being asked, quite rightly, to support the movement towards reconciliation and democracy abroad,” Mr McCormick said in his letter.
CAPE TOWN — The UDF has postponed its national general council meeting indefinitely "because of the uncertainty of the time ahead", said Mr Trevor Manuel, a senior office-bearer.

Decisions on key issues were to have been taken at the meeting in Cape Town from tomorrow until Sunday. The UDF will instead hold a workshop for 300 delegates "to try to address some of the questions related to future structures and relationships". Senior members of the ANC and Cosatu will attend.

The UDF hoped the workshop would lay a better basis for "facilitating discussion in the eight regions of the UDF, and prepare people better for a situation that is changing rapidly".
ANC blamed for talks withdrawals

TOS WENTZEL on the Presidency
PRESSURE from the African National Congress appears to have led to the withdrawal from talks with President De Klerk today of at least four of the six leaders of self-governing homelands.

ANC deputy-leader Mr Nelson Mandela has also tried to get the Labour Party not to attend, but labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said he would attend but would ask for a postponement.

Late this afternoon Mr De Klerk will meet Mr Mandela and three other ANC members.

Mr De Klerk is to go ahead with the meeting with homeland and parliamentary leaders although it appeared that only the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and possibly the Qwa-Qwa leader, Mr Kenneth Mopek, would attend.

Surprised government
The chief ministers of KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo surprised the government yesterday by announcing that they would not attend. Government sources said the meeting was planned at the request of the black leaders.

The government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said it appeared that considerable pressure and intimidation had been applied to some of the chief ministers.

Another senior minister said it was quite clear the ANC had intimidated the leaders not to attend today's talks where negotiations for a new constitution would be discussed. As far as the government was concerned there was no link between today's two meetings.

Apart from the black leaders the chairmen of the four ministers' councils in parliament, Mr Hendrickse (Representatives), Mr Kobus Coetzee (Assembly) and Dr JN Reddy (Delegates) will attend the first meeting today.

- Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Mandela telephoned him last night with a request that the Labour Party not attend the meeting as a gesture of solidarity with those who had decided not to attend.

R5-million boost for wildlife conservation
The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG: Wildlife conservation has had a R5-million boost - R1-million a year for the next five years.

Speaking at the launch of the Mazda Wildlife Fund, the chairman of the National Parks Board, Professor Fritz Eloff, said he was "stunned" by the gift from the MMN division of the South African Motor Corporation (Sascor).

"In a competitive world South Africans..."
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Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Mandela telephoned him last night with a request that the Labour Party not attend the meeting as a gesture of solidarity with those who had decided not to attend.

He said the Labour Party would attend, but would request Mr De Klerk to adjourn the meeting until the obstacles preventing the others from being there had been addressed.

So far the homeland leaders have not given reasons for pulling out of the meeting.

Mr Hendrickse said his party appreciated Mr De Klerk's sense of urgency and his concern for visible signs of progress in the negotiation process.

But he maintained that this could not be achieved without the presence of those originally invited.

The Labour Party would be making contact with leaders to try to get the talks back on track. Government sources said that contact with the individual leaders, including those who were not attending, could continue.

R5-milllion wildlife fund

The Argus says JOHANNESBURG has had a R5 million year for the "Speaking Voice Fund of the Parks Board, was "stunned" by the decision of the conservation trust (Samcor).

"In a decade the Government has not supported the cost, which is in the millions," the newspaper said.

"Africacobuild" has been the "essential element in the development of the diamond industry," it said.
Workshop on ANC economic policy

JOHANNESBURG. — Sixty economists representing or associated with the ANC and Cosatu are to meet in Harare for four days from April 29 at a workshop whose deliberations are likely to form the basis of detailed economic policy for the ANC and its allies.

ANC economics department head Mr Max Sisulu said yesterday that with growing emphasis on economics, this was a new political situation that had focused closely on the ANC's economic policy.

A memorandum on the workshop states that the ANC "feels very strongly the need to urgently fill the policy vacuum in relation to their position on the economy".

In addition to Mr Sisulu, ANC participants are likely to include Mr Tito Mboweni, Mr Vella Pillay and Mr Rob Davies, and executive members Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Pallo Jordan.

Among the Cosatu delegates will be Numas education officer Mr Alec Erwin and NUM education officer Mr Kgaile Motsamme.

A number of prominent university-based economists, who have served on Cosatu's Economic Trends project, are also scheduled to attend. They include Mr Fuad Cassim, Mr Doug Hindson, Mr Stephen Gelb and Mr Mike Morris.

SA specialists at various UK universities — including Mr Ben Fine, Mr Raphael Kaplinsky and Mr Laurence Harris — have also been invited.

It is envisaged that working groups at the seminar will examine in detail such areas as international and finance, monetary and fiscal policy, including investment policy, control over monopolies and employment creation; industrial restructuring; mining; agriculture; food production and the land question; and industrial relations, and education and training.

Mr Sisulu has stressed that the ANC wants the gathering to be policy-oriented, and that "academic treatises" will be inappropriate.

He said the workshop was in line with the ANC's view that policy should be formulated only after broad consultation.

Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, at a meeting in Harare last weekend, made "a thorough assessment of the implications for socialism of recent events in Eastern Europe", Cosatu said yesterday.

Both organisations agreed that events provided important lessons, "but remain convinced that socialism still offered vastly more acceptable solutions to the social and economic problems of SA than those offered by capitalism".

They examined the present SA economy and a programme for its democratic reconstruction.

"In such a reconstruction nationalisation, the market and the private sector would all be essential components," Cosatu said.

The ANC said yesterday that a meeting was being arranged between its guerrilla leaders and former South African Defence Force officers, reports Sapa-Reuter.

The talks would consider the role of former SADF officers in moves towards ending apartheid, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said.
Homeland snub to FW on talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a shock move the majority of leaders of the non-independent homelands last night pulled out of the crucial Tuynhuys talks scheduled for today.

The homeland leaders were due to meet President P W de Klerk before talks between the government and a top ANC team led by Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last night the government's chief negotiator, Dr Ger- rit Viljoen, said: "It appears considerable pressure — and even intimidation — have been applied to some of them."

A second senior government minister said: "It's nothing but intimidation."

It now appears that only Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, and possibly Chief Kenneth Mopeli of Qwa-

Qwa might attend today's meeting.

Government sources said that it appeared the leaders of KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele and Lebowa could be "no shows".

The failure of homeland leaders to attend today's talks constitute a significant blow to the government's plans to ensure that a large number of moderate "sys-

tem" leaders play an active role in talks about a new constitution.

However, Dr Viljoen said last night that in view of the importance "of getting negotiations off the ground" the government had decided nonetheless to "proceed with the discussions" with those leaders who do attend. He noted that Chief Buthelezi had confirmed his intention to turn up.

Another government source also blamed pressure from the ANC for the boycott but said that talks sched-

uled later today with Mr Mandela and his three-man team would proceed.

At the talks Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela will both lead top teams.

Mr Mandela will be assisted at the meeting by recently released ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF

general-secretary Mr Popo Molele and ANC intelli-

gence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, who last month came to

South Africa to help set up talks between the ANC and the government.

The government's four-man team is expected to be Mr De Klerk, Dr Viljoen, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coet-

see and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Despite the ANC's decision to suspend the official round of talks scheduled for April 11, the fact that four senior members from both sides will be meeting in Tuynhuys was seen as significant.

Mr De Klerk last week insisted that preliminary talks with the ANC would not only deal with impediments to negotiations but would involve a search for "a clear and unambiguous commitment to peaceful solutions".

But yesterday Mr Mandela indicated he did not intend talking about peace proposals.

"If the State President says this meeting is intended to discuss peace, he is mistaken. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations," he said.

These include the return of all exiles under a general amnesty, the release of all remaining political prisoners, an end to all political prosecutions and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Turning to the scratching the scheduled official meet-

ing, Mr Mandela said suspension of talks was the unani-

mous decision of the national executive committee (in

Lusaka) supported by the leadership inside the country after people had died in police action.

Mr Mandela said he had been involved in attempts at bringing about talks between the government and the ANC for three years and would not now turn around and give "filthy reasons" for not meeting with the govern-

ment.

The suspension of the talks prompted speculation of an open split in the ANC over talks with the govern-

ment.
Peace on edge as FW meets Mandela

He said the prospect for resuming the talks-about-talks with the government, postponed by the ANC last Sunday, would depend on the outcome of today's discussions.

The fact that he had accepted De Klerk's invitation for talks today refuted the perception that the movement was backing out of the negotiations process, Mandela said.

"It shows we are keen to find a solution, but we are not going to allow the government to preach peace on the one hand and conduct a war against us on the other."

He stressed that the ANC was still strongly in favour of speaking to the government.

"We would not work so hard over three years to secure a meeting between the ANC and the government if we were going to turn round (for) flimsy reasons and refuse to see the government. We would like the government to create the conditions which would allow us to start discussions."

Mandela said the "mowing down of between six and 14 unarmed and defenceless blacks involved in a legal form of protest" in Soweto was a situation which the ANC could not accept and was a valid reason for suspending the April 11 talks.

"People who feel that this was not sufficient reason for suspending discussions have not yet grasped the intensity of feeling among blacks."

Mandela again issued a scathing attack on Adriaan Vlok, calling for his removal from office.

Referring to the Natal war he said he believed no progress could be made "while you have a minister who is totally uncooperative and who is hostile to black aspirations in the country."

He said the ANC welcomed the measures announced by the State President to deal with the conflict in Natal, but did not believe they would succeed unless "acknowledged black leaders" were involved, at least in the areas affected.

Mandela added that the ANC did not consider the police "a proper agency for bringing about peace."

He said Pietermaritzburg residents preferred the army to be used to quell the violence.

The ANC deputy president refuted charges that his movement was in disarray, pointing to the success of mass rallies around the country.

"How can an organisation that is in disarray have such a massive following," he asked.
Violence: issues not clear cut

In citing the Sebokeng shootings as the prime reason for suspending its scheduled meeting with President de Klerk and his senior Ministers, the African National Congress focused on only one aspect of the violence which has swept across the country since February 2.

Its sense of outrage is understandable, whether or not one agrees with its narrow focus or its decision to suspend the talks.

The shooting of demonstrators by police in any society is, of course, a highly emotional issue; in South Africa, with its long history of police action against black crowds, it is particularly so.

Writing 16 years ago, Mr Albie Sachs, an ANC man who was later the victim of a bomb explosion in Maputo, identified "direct violence" by police against blacks as a crude but effective technique of maintaining white control.

"Police have opened fire on protesting crowds on roughly 30 occasions in the last 60 years and killed approximately 500 Africans," he said of the period from the Act of Union in 1910 to the early 1970s.

In the nearly 20 years since the publication of Mr Sachs's article, perhaps twice as many black civilians have been killed by police bullets in confrontations countrywide.

During the 1976-77 township rebellion, 356 people were killed, the Cillie Commission of Inquiry found. The vast majority, 451, were killed by police action.

Later, with the start of the 1984-86 revolt, there was another round of clashes. Langa, where 20 people were killed when police opened fire on a black crowd on the 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings of 1960, is the best known example.

Now, of course, South Africa is in the midst of yet another upsurge in violence. It, too, has seen confrontations between crowds and police, with the killing of 11 or 16 by the ANC's count — the protesters at Sebokeng only a few days after many of the same protesters had commemorated the 30th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings.

Party action, however, appears to account for a relatively small number of those who have died in political violence since February 2.

One well-informed diplomat puts the death toll at 400, a figure which the heavy toll in the fighting in Natal makes plausible.

The recent violence can be classified into three broad categories: police action against protesting crowds; fighting between rival ideological factions in the black community; clashes between competing interests groups in townships.

Fighting between black political groups can be further subdivided into three categories.

In all three categories forces from the ANC-UDF axis have been involved.

Locked

In Bekkersdal on the West Rand, they have fought battles against black consciousness loyalists; in Natal their adversaries have been Inkatha-linked fighters; and in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape they have been locked in battle with Africanists (who appear to have an alliance with Ama-Africa).

Clashes between rival groups takes different forms: in Kate-hong's bloody "taxi war", fighting was sparked between opposing taxi associations, in Vosloorus on the East Rand, KwaZulu on the outskirts of Witbank, and Ikageng near Potchefstroom, family-based men fought pitched battles against migrant workers living in hostels.

Running through these apparently political but bloody struggles is what may be labelled the "Zulu factor", a belief in a land that its foe was composed of, or reinforced by, Zulus.

The "Zulu" dimension gives these conflicts a political content: "Zulus" are associated with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement and, in the minds of those people, with vigilantes.

In Katlehong some residents spoke of assault by "Zulu-speaking" men. In predominantly Siswati-speaking Sebokeng the first episode of violence — the one that led to the killing of a white motorist, Mr Elwyn Corde — was sparked by fears that "Zulus" were massing to attack all vehicles entering, or even approaching, Sebokeng were suspected of ferrying Zulus.

But underlying all manifestations of township violence is an explosive mix of demographic and socio-economic elements.

The black population is growing rapidly at close to 3 percent per annum; the white population growth rate is closer to 1 percent and that for coloured and Indian people somewhere in between.

Thus, the black proportion of the population is expected to be 77.5 percent by the turn of the century, an increase of more than 5 percent on the 1980 figure; the white share will be barely over 12 percent by the year 2000, a drop of nearly 4 percent since 1980.

As important, however, the black population increase will be highest in the under 20 age group; an estimated 60 percent of blacks are under 20 today — against 45 percent in 1980 — and the proportion is still rising. It is precisely here that the crisis is worst.

Writing in 1985, the educationist Dr Ken Harpurson calculated that only five out of every 100 black pupils who entered grade one matriculated. The rest dropped out along the way.

Outstripped

With the economic growth rate outstripped by population increase, many of the drop outs became in Harpurson's words "leaders of the street children".

The drop-out rate may have improved in the late 1980s. But two developments are calculated to cancel any improvement that may have been made: last year's disastrous matriculation results, which saw the pass rate fall from 84 to 42 percent, and the present educational crisis, marked in Soweto by empty schools and a paralysing strike by teachers.

The street children appear to be out of work, unemployed, and some soon become unemployable. They breed on anarchy. It offers them excitement and an opportunity to pillage.

They often plunder and even kill in the name of ideology. Their ideological attachments are superficial, however.

In Natal research has found that many of the youths at the eating edge of the violence cannot name the leaders of the organisation to which they proclaim loyalty.

Perpetrators of the dreaded "necklace executions" are often drawn from the ranks of the "street children", according to Mr Lloyd Vogelman, director of Project for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Any attempt to discipline them is likely to send them into a different ideological camp or on to the side lines as alienated outcasts, where, filled with resentment, they wait to attack the society which rejected them.
THE Ciskei’s new military rulers basked in reflected glory last weekend when they shared the platform with African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Roars of approval greeted the head of the military council, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, when he welcomed Mandela to the Ciskei. Some 100,000 people were crammed into the Bisho stadium, where some nine years before the flagpole had broken just as the Ciskei flag was being hoisted at the moment of independence.

The council had been nothing if not generous. It was announced before the rally that there would be no charge for services provided by the Ciskei government. The gesture was expected to reduce the R300,000 bill for the rally by about 60 percent.

Mandela was brought in by Ciskei helicopter and escorted into the stadium in an entourage of over 20 luxury cars, most of which were provided by the military council.

When Gqozo stepped forward in the stadium described earlier by a Mass Democratic Movement speaker as the “white elephant of the bantustan”, there were shouts of “Phantisi ngoSebe”, or “Down with Sebe”.

Gqozo raised both hands and called for the ANC leaders to be blessed with long life. His small frame almost completely hidden in the shadow of the stadium roof, Gqozo said: “We will allow democratic ideas to abound within this state.”

Although there were warm shouts of “Viva Gqozo”, there were also sounds of muffled embarrassment when the bantustan ruler spoke of Ciskei as a state.

But there was an unequivocal roar of support when he said on the question of reincorporation: “My people will lead me where to go.”

On the ANC’s side, there was warm approval for Gqozo. Mandela called him the “hero of the moment” and praised him for ousting Lennox Sebe’s “corrupt and repressive regime”.

Gqozo has earned himself the support of the MDM by consulting extensively with its structures, but his new policies have brought him into conflict with the police force.

In a speech to the police force recently, he told members that they would have to prepare for a new role in which they would protect all people and organisations in their duties as neutral peace officers.

“They should help the aspirations of the people by ensuring that the leaders of various political groups can operate without fear or favour,” he said.

He asked police to change their attitude to their duties and said that the days of loitering on the job, misuse of radio communication and the “excuse of bureaucracy for laziness” were over. — Elnews
Hidden tensions burst into rage

BY CASSANDRA MOOLEY

The death of Mrs. Abessy, a registered nurse, during a confrontation at the Agricultural Research Institute in Stellenbosch on 13 September has added another chapter to the volatile situation in this part of the Cape Province.

Mrs. Abessy, who was a member of the Democratic Party (DPA), was killed when the PAC (African People's Congress) tried to secure her hospital for their own purposes.

The PAC has been accused of using violence to achieve its political goals, and many members of the community feel that the PAC is not acting in the best interests of the people.

The incident has caused widespread alarm and has once again highlighted the divisions within the community.

The PAC has denied any involvement in the incident, and has called for an independent investigation to determine the circumstances surrounding the death of Mrs. Abessy.

The DPA has called for the establishment of a commission of inquiry to investigate the incident, and has reiterated its commitment to peaceful and democratic change in the country.

The situation in Stellenbosch continues to be tense, and there are fears that the conflict may escalate into a full-scale civil war.

We stand by our previous statement that the PAC is responsible for incidents such as this.

END
Peace on the edge as FW meets Mandela

By GAVIN EVANS

A TOP-LEVEL four-man African National Congress delegation meets with State President FW de Klerk today.

Nelson Mandela will be joined by the movement's intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, internal publicity head Ahmed Kathrada and internal leadership corps member Popo Molefe in the discussion which will help determine the fate of the initial negotiation process in South Africa.

At a Johannesburg press conference yesterday in which he strongly attacked Law and Order Minister Adri- an Viljoen, Mandela said that the ice-breaking talks were initiated by De Klerk, but declined to reveal their purpose.

According to United Democratic Front sources the issue of the police role in the Sebenza massacre and in other township protests will be the main item on the agenda, and the ANC will seek assurances from De Klerk that the police will be restrained in suppressing legitimate protest.

Manders said that De Klerk was mistaken if he was saying that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss peace.

"We are not going there to negotiate. We are going there to secure the removal of all obstacles to negotiations."

Buthelezi also in Cape Town today

INKATHA President Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be in Cape Town today, as all African National Congress Deputy-President Nelson Mandela, who will be meeting State President FW de Klerk — but there are no known plans for them to meet in the city, reports CARMEL RICKARD.

Both Buthelezi and Mandela said this week they were committed to the private discussions: so badly needed to help bring peace in Natal but there is still no indication when those talks will be held.

A source close to the African leader said yesterday "It was possible..."
THE African National Congress' withdrawal from the April 11 talks with State President FW de Klerk has denied the movement's image, both internationally and among whites at home.

The announcement came the day after another controversial ANC withdrawal, this time from the joint peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha.

In the five days since the ANC's announcements were made, the government has faced a barrage of criticism from foreign governments and the local press — and a sustained attack from the government on SABC television.

At the same time Buthelezi has sought to make political capital out of the issue and used the withdrawals to lambast the ANC.

The dip in the movement's image appears to have been partially remedied by the announcement of tomorrow's meeting with De Klerk and by Mandela's visit to the Natal trouble spots earlier this week.

The unrest — and the resultant breakdown in the negotiating process — has created problems for both parties. It has given fuel to those who criticise the ANC for entering too hastily into negotiations; it has also helped those who criticise De Klerk's reforms for leading to a breakdown in law and order.

The reason given by the ANC for cancelling the April 11 meeting was last week's police violence in Sebokeng and other townships.

The Weekly Mail can reveal that the decision to call off the talks was made shortly after Mandela and his colleague Walter Sisulu visited Sebokeng and spoke to victims of the violence. They were reported to be truly horrified by what they saw and heard.

They told ANC representative Jacob Zuma that they believed the talks should be called off, and this was conveyed to him by the ANC National Executive Committee. This decision was confirmed on Friday and announced on Saturday evening.

Justifying the move at a press conference yesterday, Nelson Mandela said that if it had been whites who had been shot in Sebokeng, "there would be a national uprising of whites which would lead to the fall of the government." Because it was blacks who had been killed, there had been little outcry.

ANC and Mass Democratic Movement leaders are adamant that the police "violence" was sufficient grounds for withdrawing from the talks, stressing that it was a protest which reflected the mood in the black townships.

"We thought the government would refrain its security forces as we move towards initial contacts, but now we find that people staging peaceful demonstrations are being shot down in cold blood," said ANC representative Tom Sebina.

The ANC has been sharply criticised for an inability to control its forces and moving slowly since its unbanning two months ago. However, they counter this by pointing out that they have been banned, harassed and persecuted for decades, and particularly during the State of Emergency. It would be unrealistic to expect them to have the structures to control things.

At the same time, ANC representatives have acknowledged that they have had problems controlling youth elements, usually not active in organisations, who have been incensed by police violence.

Natal ANC convener Patrick "Terror" Lekota says the governmentclampdown over the last few years has led to the creation of a tskoti element with its own agenda.

"These people use the colours of our organisations yet carry out actions alien to the movement."

Lekota says its a "mean trick" to expect the organisation to have control over these people who are not its true members. "The government is responsible for the rot we have to contend with today."

Natal University political scientist Dr Ian Phillips said he believed the ANC was a "politically mature" movement whose leadership was now united in favour of negotiations.

"But at the same time the situation in the country is extremely fragile. People have been too altruistic in believing that peace was about to break out the minute the ANC was unbanned."

"You must remember that the perspective of people in the townships is very different from that in the boardroom."

UDF assistant publicity secretary Murphy Morobe says the situation is "pregnant with expectations" and disappointment will inevitably result in violence.

"Negotiations cannot take place in a vacuum and the ANC's postponement of talks with the government means the organisation is sensitive to the real issues on the ground."

Professor Alf Stadler of the University of the Witwatersrand's politics department said the ANC wanted to avoid a situation "where talks were an exercise in crisis management."

"What the state negotiators would have been doing was to place the violence high on the agenda and try to make the ANC take responsibility for ending the unrest."

"This would have placed them at a severe disadvantage in presenting any demands — like those around the return of exiles or political rights for blacks."

He said the ANC was facing an "impossible situation" where "any kid who can stitch three colours together to make a flag is labelled as an ANC member."

In reality, Stadler argues, the ANC support base is that of a broad resistance movement and has yet to be forged into a coherent front demanded by a political party.

"De Klerk has emerged as a very skilful politician and has been ideally successful in keeping the ANC off-balance. He has allowed concessions but then not allowed space for these to be turned into grassroots reality."
ANC appoints key leaders to regional offices

THE long-awaited formation of African National Congress structures within South Africa began in earnest this week with the appointment of nine regional convenors and the opening of the first regional offices.

Addressing what is believed to be the largest political rally held in South Africa's history, ANC National Executive Committee member Govan Mbeki announced the appointment of a 14-person ANC Eastern Cape regional committee on Sunday.

Joining Nelson Mandela on a makeshift platform, Mbeki told a well-disciplined crowd, estimated at between 200 000 and half a million, who assembled in open plot of land in Motherwell, that the ANC offices would be opened on Monday.

The offices, housed in a building in Main Street in the Port Elizabeth city centre, opened as planned on Monday and have attracted a steady stream of prospective members. The ANC is planning a vigorous membership drive over the next month.

In another Mandela rally in Bisho on Sunday, the new ANC Border convenor, the Reverend Arnold Stoffel, announced to a 100 000-strong crowd the names of the 13 interim regional executive committee members.

Among the new ANC regional convenors, who will take their places on the ANC National Interim Leadership Committee, are UDF national publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, UDF Western Cape general secretary Trevor Manuel and former UDF Border general secretary Stoffel.

Lekota, recently released from nearly five years in detention and on Robben Island, after winning an Appellate Division appeal against a conviction for treason, will now head the ANC's southern Natal region.

Manuel, 34, who has spent most of the last four years in detention, has served on the UDF's national executive since 1983, and will now be convening the Western Cape region.

In the PWV area National Union of Mineworkers official and former Robben Island prisoner Kgalema Motlanthe, 38, has been appointed convenor.

The new Eastern Cape convenor is veteran Robben Islander Benson Felix, who is also president of the newly-formed Association for Former Political Prisoners. Regional publicity secretary will be another former Robben Island prisoner, Mike Xego, 34, a stalwart of the powerful Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

Other new ANC regional convenors include 70-year-old Robben Island veteran Harry Gwala (Natal Midlands), Thabo Makunyane (Northern Transvaal), Jomo Khusu (Northern Cape) and A Xobololo (Transkei).

The ANC's departure from underground politics took a decisive step forward this week, report GAVIN EVANS and THUMBA MAISTRY

Convenors for Northern Natal, Southern Free State and Northern Cape are expected to be announced within the next week.

Other members of this structure are believed to include: National interim convenor Walter Sisulu, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, 71, public information director Ahmed Kathrada, 60, political education department head Raymond Smitner, 45, ANC National Executive Committee member Govan Mbeki, 79, former Umthathi wakwaZulu chief Raymond Mkhize, 69, interim national political organiser Wilton Mkwayi, 67, UDF national general secretary Popho Moole, 38, and former Robben Island life prisoners Andrew Mlangeni, 64, and Elias Motsoaledi, 66.

They will be joined by exiled ANC leaders as they return to the country.

In the PWV area ANC regional committee members whose names have been announced as part of an initial core group are: UDF national executive committee member Titus Mafolo, 34, recently released ANC Pretoria Central prisoner Barbara Hogan, 38, and Transvaal Indian Congress leader Cassel Mathale, 55.

The Border committee includes: UDF regional co-presidents Mthokelwa Mhlophe and Athol Maclay, SA Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union regional secretary Bones Shiku, Queenstown-based field-worker Glen Thomas, Ngazs Zweke of the Queenstown Residents Association, Sam Kwele of the Dimbaza Youth Congress, Mzwakule Mlaba of the Alice Residents Association, Nqabeni Pali of the Port Beaufort Residents' Association, Lucille Meyer of the Buffalo Flats Organisatoin of Women, Hendrets primary school principal Yvonnweze Godula, and Mdantsane Residents Association members Maycoo Mndza, Maigid Ntsiki and Nomsmbazana Roba.

John Gqomu, UDF Eastern Cape president Edgar Ngcobo, UDF officials Gugule Nkwantu, Mthokelwa Mhlophe and Rev Mhobani Xandu, Ernest Majoelis of the Port Elizabeth Black Civil Organisation, Notzile Matzika of the Uitenhage Womens Organisation, Rhodes politics lecturer Dr Marion Lacey, and UDF activist Notha Hooisan, Stilts Nhloganwa, Ronald Ngcobo and Vuyisile Thole.

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Natal crackdown 'cannot succeed'

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk's measures to deal with the situation in Natal were welcomed by the ANC but were unlikely to succeed, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"Decisions which are taken unilaterally by government without consulting acknowledged black leaders cannot succeed," Mr Mandela said on his return from a two-day visit to Natal's trouble-spots.

In his second attack on Law and Order Minister Mr Adrian Vlok, Mr Mandela said Mr Vlok was "totally unco-operative and hostile to black aspirations".

"He lives in the past and thinks the only way to solve black grievances is by brutal force. As long as there is such a minister, any measure will fail."

He added that police were not the proper agency for peace in the province.

Mr Mandela said he was aware of the reasons for the start of the violence in Natal, but said other factors had since come into play.

One of those factors involved the attitude of the police force, which had conducted a vendetta against progressive organisations which had policies that threatened the white minority in South Africa, he said.

The army could play a better role than the police in the Natal towns, he said. "I feel the troops will behave far better than the police."

Mr Mandela dismissed as totally untrue suggestions that his bombshell announcement that the ANC was suspending talks with the government was the result of perceptions among youths in the township that he had become "too old and too soft".

Mr Mandela pointed out that the SA Youth Congress president Mr Peter Mokaba was sitting on the platform next to him during the news conference.

"Relations between the youth and

Mandela, Buthelezi 'committed to peace'

MARITZBURG. — The obvious commitment to peace by Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to be balanced against the demands of their organisations, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

The Anglican archbishop was due to leave for the strife-torn "valley of death" near Maritzburg with the Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev Michael Ntsalinda.

Archbishop Tutu has met both Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela in the past few days to discuss the violence.

"I have no doubt at all about their commitment (to peace)," he said. "But both of them are members of particular organisations, and it is the organisations which are involved to some extent in the strife we are experiencing in these parts. And it will not do for the leaders to be too out of step with their followers."

Asked about the climate needed for the much-delayed talks between the two leaders, Archbishop Tutu said a meeting in itself was advocated by the church to create such a climate.

It was the church's role to bring about "a meeting of minds". — Sapa

the ANC are sound."

Meanwhile, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he sympathised with Mr Mandela, who he said was "caught between warring factions of his own organisation".

It was tragic that the delegation which accompanied Mr Mandela on his tour of Maritzburg's townships — Dr Diliza Mji, UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede and the ANC's Natal Midlands representative Mr Harry Gwala — had advised Mr Mandela not to hold a joint meeting with him, Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa
In every direction, as far as the eye can see, thousands upon thousands wait patiently for their hero, Mandela.
Can ‘no-talks’ PAC put the squeeze on ANC?

WHILE the ANC is obliged to talk peace to whites, its rivals can continue to mount the militant agenda which many blacks want to hear. Will the PAC profit from negotiations at the ANC’s expense? CASSANDRA MOODY reports.

The fact that the ANC has not set up internal structures to consult with its supporters and potential supporters is an unwavering, unambiguous, uncompromising voice that will strongly appeal to radical blacks, says Van Staden, adding that many people want to see the intensification of the armed struggle—a factor which gives the rival Pan Africanist Congress the space to broaden its constituency.

Right now it is only the ANC that is forced to talk specific, the radical forces only have to mouth the February.

During the discussions the ANC executive had reportedly favoured the idea that the PAC should be consulted as a political entity that could be seen to be talking to the government.

“PAC is opposed to negotiations at present because ‘the oppressed are still in a position of weakness’,” says Van Staden.

PAC supporters give the Africanist salute at the Sharpeville commemoration at which PAC supporters were told to remove their flags.

Hidden tensions burst into rage

By CASSANDRA MOODY

THE violent confrontation between Pan African Congress and Black Consciousness Movement supporters at last month’s Sharpeville Day commemoration in Vlakfontein was a reflection of glaring ideological tensions between the two movements, despite superficial similarities.

At the PAC-hosted March 21 commemoration in Sharpeville, PAC supporters ordered the Azanian People’s Organisation to take down its banners and then physically attacked PAC supporters, according to eyewitnesses.

PAC internal secretary-general Benny Alexander dismissed the incident as an “unfortunate one, where PAC members perceived chauvinism by Azambo members as provocative.”

Alexander added that he did not hear of the incident until after the commemoration service and was “amused that the Azanian leadership did not come to resolve the matter with the PAC leadership instead of taking the matter to the streets.”

The incident is in no way indicative of the attitude to Azambo,” he said.

Azambo Vaul branch representative Masimane Marumo condemned the incident, calling it “an attempt by the PAC to coerce us into their way.”

Azambo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said that the incident was highlighted by PAC membership failing to recognise the right of other organisations to campaign.

The PAC/Azambo fracas was regarded with surprise, because the media often conflates the two organisations.

But says Moodley, “We don’t see ourselves as a specific ally of any specific party. We are part and parcel of all organisations in the liberation movement.

We have the potential to swing the mood of the people along an anti-imperialist path.

This process will be stepped up on the occasion because people realise the compromises and sacrifices.

The PAC, like Azambo, is clear in its stand of no negotiations unless there is a guaranteed state and redistribution of resources.

The organisation is clear on the grass roots and on the struggle.”

In a major move, the PAC has restructured itself forming an internal wing, which will operate as a parallel organisation to the external PAC. The internal wing will deal with political issues and the political wing will deal with the external organisation.

But the political wing has a commitment to maintain its role and to have the capacity to participate.”

Van Staden says it is impossible to measure PAC support on the ground or the level of insurgency.

He adds however that there seems to be a lot more support now than a few years ago, and an “improvement” in the external leadership and the guerrilla offensive inside the country.

PAC internal secretary-general Benny Alexander says: “When you engage in a political struggle you never produce a clear-cut result or conviction for every person. You conscientise a significant cadre and then you lead the masses with this cadre.”

The organisation claims support bases in 16 regions with over 60 established branches and over 100 internal structures countrywide. Most of their support is apparently in rural areas.

But the ANC’s political suicide is that PAC is also being supported by the ANC.”

PAC military bases are mainly in Transvaal and parts of a branch in Natal, KwaZulu and some front line states, says Van Staden.

But Van Staden concedes that while the PAC is a “sleeper”, it will not be a strong military wing.

However, he does not believe that a numerical show of strength or the appearance of a strong military wing is needed to win over radical support, now.

“From the ANC’s perspective this means that while the PAC is a sleeper, it does have considerable clout and the more radical forces won’t be of much use to the ANC because of their political inactivity.”

But in the final analysis it is not the support that will determine the victor, but the ANC’s policies, military, economic and cultural resources, the organisation that can harness such power will be the victor, he says.

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ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addresses a media conference in Johannesburg after his return from Natal.
Negotiations: the position that government is in...

Mike Robertson in Cape Town

HAVING learnt hard and valuable lessons in the Namibia negotiations, government is not panicking at the deteriorating security situation or at the ANC's decision not to call off the talks which were to have been held next week.

It is, after all, only 55 days since President P. W. Botha and Nelson Mandela, who meet today, saw each other last. Given this short period of time, the possibility that now abounds at the lack of visible progress in negotiations, especially since the ANC's decision to postpone the April 11 talks, is premature.

What has been overlooked in all the expressions of dismay following the cancellation of the talks is that government and the ANC, who until this year had had little or no contact, have in a matter of months established a structure through which they are in regular contact.

De Klerk told Parliament on Monday that a steering committee consisting of senior government officials, external and internal ANC members had met before but now, that he had instructed government officials on the committee to keep in touch with the ANC.

The importance of the committee should not be underestimated; its establishment signifies the start of a process similar to that followed by the Angolans, Cubans and South Africans in hammering out the Namibian settlement.

As Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden points out, more was achieved in that process by small delegations meeting behind closed doors and identifying at first points of agreement, then differences and finally negotiating compromises, than in any highly publicised meeting. This process is now underway in the quest for a new SA.

What has been remarkable is the readiness of Botha and de Klerk to listen and to De Klerk and his senior Ministers in recent months has been the type of higher echelons of government as the security situation deteriorated and Mandela and the ANC drifted between remarkable reasonableness and a purblind adherence to positions adopted in a previous era.

Even when he decided that the security situation necessitated further intervention, De Klerk coupled his announcement of the deployment of troops with a conciliatory gesture—outlining plans to grant immediate emergency amnesty for negotiators to be followed by permanent measures at a future date.

His message is clear: government is prepared to be more reasonable in removing obstacles to negotiations. But, at the same time, he will not allow good government—which includes the maintenance of law and order—to be compromised.

What is also apparent is that government has learned important lessons in negotiations with Angola/Namibia and is applying this experience in negotiating an internal settlement.

The first of these—and here the ANC has much to learn—is that when problems occur, the talking has to continue—boycotts, withdrawals and suspensions do not provide answers. De Klerk stressed this when he said on Monday: All leaders simply have to find a way to start talking and keep on talking in an effort to find one another in a common purpose for the peaceful creation of a new SA.

Unlike his predecessor who got bogged down in security actions when he went got tough, De Klerk insists that only reform can bring success.

Mandela said in Natal this week that the decision to send troops into townships could backfire because black leaders, presumably including himself, had not been consulted.

If he raises this point today, De Klerk's response, as it was to the ANC's raising of the Sebokeng shootings as a reason for cancelling the April 11 meeting, will be that a forum exists in the steering committee to use it and in so doing, will allow us an opportunity to consult you.

There is certainly a degree of frustration in the way the government at the failure to achieve visible progress in negotiations. But ministers and officials also point out that when someone like Mandela welcomes a decision to send troops into townships as remarkable progress is being made.

Both Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy(Roelf Meyer say that what has surprised them most since February 2 is the degree of fluidity in black politics. They and other Ministers say there is noticeable swing towards the PAC, especially in the eastern Cape outside Port Elizabeth. And, they express surprise that leadership elements in the UDF have chosen for the time being to remain independent of the ANC.

But government's negotiators are quick to point out that the ANC has been unmanned for only two months and that an organisation whose leadership had been in jail or in exile for almost 30 years needs time to establish itself.

Officials say that, in the bid to end the teachers' strike and school boycotts, senior ANC leaders like Walter Sisulu have in private initially attempted to persuade organisations like that of the striking teachers to adopt a reasonable approach. However, unless unsuccessful they have then issued public statements supporting the positions adopted by the striking teachers.

In this particular instance and on a broader level, government believes that the moment is only able to reflect the views of its perceived constituency rather than actually be able to lead it.

This, it contends, is the real reason why the ANC leadership is dragging its heels on entering new negotiations.

De Klerk put it bluntly in his speech on Monday when he said: "Adherence to violence and the joining of peaceful negotiations mutually exclusive... this dichotomy lies at the root of the ANC's hesitancy to fully align themselves with the negotiating process."

Government negotiators do not however expect the ANC to take such a final step as calling for a suspension or end of the armed struggle until the organisation has had more time to establish itself on a grassroots level.

But they hope that in the workings of the steering committee, meetings such as the one today between De Klerk and Mandela and in talks about talks, which they still expect to happen soon, a degree of understanding of the other party's position can be built up to a point where it will be possible for this to happen.

In the meantime, both meetings such as that today with homeland leaders before the Mandela talks, and through a crackdown on violence, government will be far more critical of the ANC that it will not allow it to destroy or force out other contending black political organisations.

De Klerk told his Cabinet at its final meeting before February 2 that they were in for a rough ride ahead, but above all cool heads were called for. In recent weeks he has stressed the need in meetings with businessmen and in public speeches.

He believes he holds the moral high ground and that, from the information reaching to his crack-down and the disappointment expressed from diverse quarters at the inability to cancel the talks, his belief is justified.

De Klerk is a skilled politician and has shown by his actions that he is serious about negotiations. But he intends to maintain the high ground, and the longer he is successful in doing so, the greater the pressure on the ANC will become to take the final plunge into negotiations.
...and what position the ANC will adopt

CONTRARY to initial media speculation, it appears the ANC's explanation for the postponement of the April 11 meeting between itself and government was a genuine one, not simply a pretext for masking a split in the organisation.

The ANC announced at the weekend it was taking the step in reaction to the police shootings at Sebokeng in which at least 14 people died.

What the decision shows is that the organisation, like many others, is the prisoner of a tactical tradition which has developed in SA over the last 20 or so years. The tradition is a simple one — whenever a crisis arises, disengage.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe this week explained more clearly than did the ANC the rationale behind the move.

Firstly, he said, there was a great deal of anger on the ground at the Sebokeng shootings, and other recent incidents of police intervention in perceived legitimate protest.

The failure of President F W de Klerk to respond to the shootings by promising action against what are seen as "rogue" policemen only served to exacerbate these feelings.

So the ANC hopes the move will serve two purposes.

Firstly, explains Molefe, "we and the ANC are primarily accountable to our own constituency. When the ANC meets government, it has to ensure it has its constituency fully behind it. If it went ahead with the April 11 meeting it would have appeared to be ignoring its own people's wishes."

Secondly, the move was also designed as a form of pressure against government.

We hope this protest measure brings government to its senses, and

ALAN FINE

makes it recognise the need to deal with undisciplined elements in the police which are trying to pull the entire country, F W de Klerk included, to the right," he says.

This explanation, with strenuous denials from a number of Lusaka-based ANC leaders of any split over negotiations, seems to add up.

As for the fact that the decision appears to contradict the statement by Walter Sisulu earlier last week that the township violence should not affect the talks, one can only assume that — having spent black SA's "boycott" period in prison — he was slow to recognise the consequences of the shootings.

It has become clearer that police behaviour is genuinely becoming a danger to the negotiation process.

ANC national executive committee member James Stuart possibly gave a hint of the sort of issues Nelson Mandela will be discussing with De Klerk today, when he expanded on the ANC's problems with the police.

"We would like De Klerk to curb the use of weapons by police. The march in London at the weekend was far more rowdy and violent than most local marches, and no one was killed by police there," he said.

This is not an unreasonable point. But the very fact of Mandela's meeting with De Klerk shows that disengagement is no longer (if it ever was) the appropriate response to a crisis. It also calls into question the viability of the ANC's stated desire, in terms of the Harare Declaration, to negotiate a "ceasefire" with Pretoria.

After all, it hardly makes sense to threaten to refuse to discuss a ceasefire unless, effectively, a ceasefire is already in place. This is no different to the NP's pre-De Klerk era when it refused to talk to the ANC until the ANC had renounced violence.

There is no reason to disbelieve the ANC's explanation that the depth of township feelings about police shootings made postponement of the talks necessary.

But it does mean that the boycott tradition has left the ANC with a "constituency problem".

If the organisation's leadership has recognised that the 1990s have introduced a new era in SA politics, it is time for it to start educating its rank and file that the automatic reaction to a crisis should not necessarily be disengagement.

LETTERS
Azapo wants its cut of ‘Freedom’

The Black Consciousness movement believes it has a right to the proceeds of Cry Freedom’s screenings in South Africa, despite its objections to the film, reports CASSANDRA MOODLEY.

The Azanian People’s Organisation is attempting to obtain rents from all private screenings of Cry Freedom, Richard Attenborough’s film on the life of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko.

However, Azapo, which opposes the philosophy founded by Biko, still distances itself from the commercial film — due for nationwide release on April 27 — because the organisation was not consulted in the making of it.

When the film was released in November 1987, Azapo criticised Attenborough for cutting the script on the writings of Donald Woods, former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, rather than consulting Biko’s fellow activists and friends in the movement.

Azapo publicity secretary Sriniv Moodley confirmed this week that the organisation is trying to secure the national proceeds from the opening night of Cry Freedom, saying the money raised will go to the Steve Biko Family Trust and the organisation.

Moodley added that despite its organisation’s objections to the film, the film dealt with Biko’s life and that “every effort is being made to secure some of the proceeds for the benefit of Biko’s family”.

“Obviously there are many factual errors in Cry Freedom but we cannot ignore Cry Freedom as a work of art which focuses on the father of black consciousness,” Moodley said.

The first half of the film is a fair reflection of Biko’s life,” Moodley said. “The first half presents a moving account of the last few months of Biko’s life, ending with his torture and death in detention in 1977.

The second half concentrates on Woods’ findings and his flight from South Africa.

Cry Freedom is back on circuit after 17 months. All copies were confiscated from cinemas under the State of Emergency on the day it was introduced in November 1987.

The film had been passed with cuts by the Publications Appeal Board, much to the surprise of even the donee.

Copies of Cry Freedom were returned to the distributors MCA in February this year after State President FW de Klerk’s reform initiatives announced in parliament.

Cry Freedom is just one of the many films which have acquired the Appeal Board’s seal of approval. Others include A Private Life, a true story of inter-racial relationships, starring Hall Fyne and Jada Cilliers, and The Nation Who Cried All the Trouble, based on the play by Danny Keogh, Vanessa Cooke and Nicholas Hayton.

Last week, the Appeal Board unsealed A Dry White Season, which focuses on the story of a white South African who becomes politically involved after the Soweto 1976 uprising and the death of a black associate. It is based on the novel by Anant Basson.

But a severe 2-1/2 age restriction has been imposed, and screenings have been restricted to cinemas seating fewer than 300 people.

The screening restrictions effectively limit showing to upper-class suburbs, making it difficult for township dwellers to see the film.

Perhaps the best of the current political films is South Africa’s A World Apart, written by Shawn Stowe, daughter of African National Congress/South African Communist Party member Joe Stowe and journalist and academic Ruth First, the first woman to be held under the 90-day detention law.

Getting a break in... Denzel Washington as Steve Biko: Azapo says the Biko family has every right to the proceeds of the film’s screening in South Africa.

The Film and Allied Workers’ Organisation, which holds the distribution rights to the film, told the Weekly Mail it would be submitting the film to the censors this week.

A World Apart and A Dry White Season have both been screened at the Weekly Mail Film Festival under special festival exemptions. A World Apart has been sanctioned as an historical account, the FAWO said.

Azapo, which examines a young girl’s relationship with her politically involved parents, was given a 15-minute standing ovation by its premiere at the Curzon Film Festival two years ago and has earned critical praise where it has been shown.
Sayco will merge with ANC for new Youth League

PHIL MOLEFE reports on the first above-ground Sayco congress

THE defunct Youth League of the African National Congress, founded in 1944, is to be reconstituted. The South African Youth Congress, at its first open national congress, voted to begin the process of amalgamation with the African National Congress youth section, presently based in Lusaka.

The congress was held at Kanyamzane, near Nelspruit, last weekend. It was resolved to merge Sayco with the ANC youth section to re-establish the movement’s Youth League by April 1991.

Peter Mokaba, who was re-elected president at the three-day congress, said the Central Executive Committee has been mandated by congress to consult with the ANC youth section with a view to “re-launch the defunct Youth League” inside the country on April 6 next year. “The unbanning of the ANC has made it important that we consider merging with the movement’s youth section in order to have one strong Youth League,” said Mokaba.

He said there would be feasibility studies, workshops and discussions in various regions and this information would be conveyed to the youth section.

One major issue which is likely to come up between Sayco and the ANC Youth Section is the age limit for membership. While the ANC has ruled that membership for the Youth League should be from 12 to 30 years of age, Sayco has recommended that it should be from 14 to 35.

Most of the Sayco leadership is above the ANC’s age limit and it is expected that a compromise would have to be reached to accommodate older activists.

Mokaba said practical conditions on the ground had shown that some people just above 30 years were still suitably placed in youth congresses.

The congress, which was attended by 1,762 delegates representing youth congresses from 11 regions, also adopted the ANC Harare Declaration as “the guiding principle towards the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa”.

The congress called upon the government to clear away obstacles to negotiations. The delegates said Sayco was concerned about the continuing police violence against peaceful demonstrators, as in Sebokeng three weeks ago.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela, who addressed the Sayco congress, told delegates that the ANC will “not allow a situation where the government talks about negotiations and peace and at the same time conduct war against our people”.

If President FW de Klerk continues with arming the police, when the police are shooting the people, when rightwingers defiantly march around armed and shooting the people, then negotiations in this country have no future whatsoever,” he said.

Mandela said negotiations were a “continuation of the struggle”. Mokaba said the congress had no reservation about negotiations and saw them as one process that could lead to freedom.

“The implementation of one method should not exclude other methods. When the ANC adopted armed struggle we did not say it should abandon mass struggle. Our position is clear that we will always opt for the shortest route possible to freedom.”

On the Natal violence, the congress resolved to endorse Mandela’s call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to “apartheid violence”.

Mokaba said it was urgent to address the violence in Natal and other parts of the country. Such a conference, he said, would “focus on violence in Natal and inter-organisational violence in order to promote political tolerance”.

He launched a bitter attack on kwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying Buthelezi would not be invited to participate at the conference. He said the conference, to be called “Peace among the People” will “firstly define Buthelezi as the problem” in the trouble-torn area. He said isolating Buthelezi does not mean “we have declared Inkatha or its members as the enemy”.

“We recognise the fact that Inkatha members are part of the oppressed and we need to separate them from Gatsha and the warlords.”

The congress called on the youth to play a central role in the building of ANC structures inside the country.

Sayco reaffirmed its support for the back-to-school campaign and called upon the government to address the demands of the people on education.

A call was also made for the international community to intensify sanctions against the government.
No easy walk to publication

NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM by Nelson Mandela (Heinemann, R14.95)
NELSON MANDELA’S No Easy Walk to Freedom has become one of the icons of South African political writing.

First published as a 12-page political tract 37 years ago, it was reprinted as one of a compilation of speeches and essays under the same title in 1965, covering an 11-year period from the end of the Defiance Campaign to the Rivonia trial.

This latest paperback edition by Heinemann is the 16th to be published but the first to be distributed legally within South Africa. It comes with a 1990 forward by Walter Sisulu as well as Ruth First’s foreword to the 1973 edition and Oliver Tambo’s introduction to the 1965 edition.

First’s 1973 foreword indicates the enormity of the shifts both here and abroad, over the past 17 years.

“Mandela has been in prison for 10 years,” she writes, “George Jackson, Soledad brother, is dead. But Angela Davis is free, and now and then the doors of a South African prison open for a political prisoner to emerge though only too often to be banished to a wilderness by a government mad with racism but fearful of its victims.”

Writing in the black, green and gold paperback, with the picture of a triumphant Mandela on the cover, Sisulu tells a different story.

“The masses of our country and the international community scored a resounding victory when Mandela was ultimately released after 27 years in prison,” he writes.

The 15 essays, speeches and trial extracts cover five general topics: Streams of African nationalism, Living under apartheid, The fight against apartheid: Our tactics and theirs, Resisted from underground, and On trial.

Many of the postulations and concerns of the title essay, written in 1953, can still be said to apply today. “The campaign to defy unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day,” he writes the year after he led the Defiance Campaign.

But he ends on a more positive note: “You can see that there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires. Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past; they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action.

The way of preparation for action lies in our rooting out of all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will lead its way to Africa’s freedom.”

The book concludes with Mandela’s famous speech from the dock at the Rivonia trial, which sent him to prison.

“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

Addressing rallies of up to half a million 27 years later the world, the country and the movement he leads have undergone enormous changes. But Mandela’s central message remained essentially the same, and the ideal he has strived for has yet to be met.
Sayco, ANC may link

THE South African Youth Congress yesterday announced its first national congress and hinted at a possible merger with the ANC's youth section.

The congress, scheduled for April 13 to 15, will be held in the Elijah Mangu College of Education at Kabokweni, Nelspruit, and would be vital for serious reflection on the movement's past, present and future, Sayco's general secretary, Mr Rapu Malekane, said yesterday.

Malekane said many members had since Sayco's inception been detained under emergency regulations making it difficult to function.
NELSON MANDELA walked through the valley of death this week to witness the carnage of a civil war.

Imbali township outside Pietermaritzburg was still smouldering after a midnight raid as Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other ranking African National Congress/United Democratic Front officials toured the area.

Fourteen houses had been razed, two people killed, a toddler shot, scores left homeless.

The people were jubilant that Mandela had come to see their suffering. They cheered him as they salvaged the remnants of their gutted belongings before seeking refuge at centres in the area.

And they related over and over the events of the night of gunfire, petrol bombs and death they had just survived.

Among the corpses was that of Phangalisa Madiba, who has the same clan name as Mandela. His body was draped in a pink bedspread, and lay in the lounge awaiting removal to the overflowing mortuary.

Madiba, 35, had visited the house to tell the occupants about another death in the township. But the residents were not there — they had gone to attend to yet another corpse. The occupants were neighbours whose home had been razed a few days earlier. Soon after midnight the assassins visited.

Madiba was not their only victim — a young retarded man was engulfed in the flames that followed and his charred body lay amongst the rubble.

Residents said Mandela walked among the gutted houses shaking his head in disbelief, consoling those affected by the raid.

He later told a press conference he had.
been horrified by what he had seen.

Perhaps the experience was responsible for Mandela’s change in tone. When he last visited Natal, he called on the people to throw their guns and pangas into the sea. This time he said the people would defend themselves “vigorously.”

While Mandela was speaking to the press, a fresh battle broke out in nearby Caluza. Residents had managed to repulse the first attack, but the battle continued through the night.
ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk this afternoon for informal talks about the wave of violence in the country. Sunday 5/4/90

Yesterday Mandela dismissed reports that the ANC was losing interest in holding talks with the Government.

"The fact that I have accepted the State President’s invitation tomorrow refutes that perception, and shows we are keen to find a solution," he said.

De Klerk will first meet tricameral Parliament and homeland leaders and then hold talks with Mandela and his team.
At least 15 people died on March 26, when police opened fire on 50,000 people marching from Sebokeng to the National Party offices in Vereeniging to deliver a petition to the Afrikaans University of Pretoria demanding a boycott of the Afrikaans University of Pretoria in protest against the university's refusal to record Kerk in Afrika, Bophelong; Methodist Church, Snel- peville; Faith Mission Church, Retengkotso, Denysville and Methodist Church, Zandela near Sasolburg.

Student leader Khotso Seatlholo is carried shoulder-high by Black Consciousness movement supporters who welcomed him at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. He was released from Robben Island on Monday after serving eight years of a 10-year sentence. At a Press conference in Johannesburg, Azanian Peoples Organisation officials claimed five people were arrested for carrying Azapo banners at the airport.

Pic: LEN KUMALO
No tit-for-tat clashes to blame, says UDF/Cosatu

UDF/Cosatu spokesperson, Dr Siya Khethwa, said that the internal fighting in Inkatha was responsible for the violence.

The violence has escalated in the Nqutu district of KwaZulu-Natal, where Inkatha supporters have clashed with police and local residents.

Khethwa said that the violence was not linked to the UDF/Cosatu alliance or the national elections.

"The violence is purely internal and should not be attributed to the UDF/Cosatu alliance," he said.

Khethwa also denied reports that Inkatha supporters had been involved in the recent violence in Durban.

He said that the UDF/Cosatu alliance was working to bring calm to the affected areas.

Natal's 'hope' gets brutally invaded

A NEW form of retaliation is taking place in Natal. A community gets invaded and the country's future is in serious jeopardy.

The community of Table Mountain was recently overrun by a neighbouring community. Table Mountain had previously been a peaceful area in the troubled province of KwaZulu-Natal. The attack left many people killed and property destroyed.

The JWC report on the conflict states that the Inkatha supporters, led by Colonel Mzimba, invaded the area on Saturday, 24th October, and set fire to several houses.

The police, who refused to enter the area, were forced to withdraw.

By THABEKE GONUNLE

The JWC report concludes that the violence was a reaction to frustrations and the desire for power.

"The violence is a reaction to the failure of the government to address the needs of the people," it states.

Inkatha rejects report on Natal violence

THE UDF/Cosatu Joint Working Committee (JWC) report on the violence in Natal has been rejected by Inkatha's Secretary-General, Dr Osman Dhlomo.

"Cosatu's statements are just another wild charge of unsubstantiated claims and a distortion of history," he said.

Dhlomo said that the JWC report was based on a study by the South African Centre for Applied Legal Studies (SACAL).

"The report is biased and unreliable," he said.

He also accused the JWC of being "politically motivated" and "biased against Inkatha."
Peace talks back on track

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FULL-SCALE talks between the government and the ANC are back on track and a date and venue for the next round of talks will be announced later today, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Announcing the breakthrough after a "very frank" meeting with ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk said agreement had been reached on details for a meeting on obstacles to negotiations.

The crunch discussions, which lasted for more than three hours, produced agreement that a meeting with "exactly the same analysis" as the cancelled April 11 talks that were called off should go ahead soon.

Mr de Klerk said the details of the fresh round of talks between the government would be revealed simultaneously in South Africa and Lesotho soon.

Addressing a press conference at the Tuynhuys ballroom, Mr de Klerk also said:

- The government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into last week's Serakhele shootings, which prompted the ANC to call off the planned April 11 talks. This would be discussed by cabinet at its next meeting.
- In addition, legislation had been introduced enabling requests in such cases to be carried out under judges.
- "Very highly confidential channels of communication had been opened and established by last night's meeting which would hopefully avoid misunderstanding on both sides in future."
- He had expressed his "disappointment" that Mr Mandela had not attended an international conference on armed struggle meetings yesterday with the leaders of the non-independent guerrillas and senior freedom fighters.
- He believed agreement had been reached that violence in South Africa had come to an end in order to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations.
- Mr de Klerk noted that the ANC's commitment to armed struggle had also been examined and that "this matter will be discussed at the meeting that has now been planned."

Another major focus of last night's talks had been "the fairly widespread belief that South Africa and the behaviour of the police in dealing with that," Mr de Klerk said.

Mr de Klerk said he very frankly expressed his view that it was "absolutely necessary" that an atmosphere be established in the country that was conducive towards negotiation and stability.

He said he had told Mr Mandela that the security forces would not be able to support a particular party and that "if there is an exception to this then it is a wrong exception."

 Asked if Mr Mandela agreed with this standpoint, Mr de Klerk responded: "I do not want to speak on his behalf but my impression is that the front of views contributed towards understanding in this regard."

Mr de Klerk was assisted at the talks by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pta Botha, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Gerhard Viljoen, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kiekie Coetsee, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The ANCDF team attending the talks were Mr Mandela, ANC veteran Mr Ahmed Kathrada, UDF general secretary Mr P. N. Moloi, and the newly appointed ANC head in the Western Cape, Mr Trevor Manuel.

Mr Jacob Zuma, the ANC's intelligence chief, did not attend the talks as expected.

Mr Mandela addressed a separate press conference in Cape Town late last night after the meeting.

At an earlier press conference Mr de Klerk yesterday effectively accused the ANC of trying to sabotage yesterday's Tuynhuys talks with homeland leaders which were eventually attended by only two of the six non-independent homeland leaders.

When the talks eventually did get under way, discussion was largely restricted to topics of violence and intimidation" rather than the originally planned agenda of establishing a basis for future political negotiations.

Those attending the talks with the government were KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Venda's Gwaki leader Mr Kenneth Mopeli and the chairman of the ministers' councils in the tripartite Parliament.

A stern-faced Mr de Klerk told reporters yesterday that he would "most definitely" raise the issue of ANC interference in future talks with the organisation "because I have not tried to interfere in any of his [Mr Nelson Mandela's] discussions in any way whatsoever."

He added that he did not believe that the ANC's involvement was "conducive to negotiations."

Mr de Klerk said there was definitely a strategy by radicals to polarise South African politics and not to allow proved leaders "to sit down and present their views."

Many leaders throughout the country were faced with the problems of intimidation, disruption and violent attacks in a bid to undermine their stability, authority and credibility.

Chief Buthelezi also issued a statement saying he had not come to negotiate as a homeland leader, but as the leader of Inkatha, which he said was the largest membership-based black organisation in South Africa.

All the pre-conditions which he kept him from negotiating with successive National Party governments, such as the release of Mr Mandela, had been met and he was now ready to negotiate, he said.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendriks said Mr Mandela had asked him to stay away from the meeting in sympathy with those who had decided not to attend.

Mr Hendriks said the Labour Party would attend the meeting but would ask the President to adjourn it until such time as the obstacles preventing those absent from attending, had been addressed.
Leaders say they were not cowed

THREE of the four homeland leaders who boycotted yesterday's talks with President FW de Klerk yesterday denied that they had been intimidated into not attending the discussions. They were reacting to government claims that they had been "intimidated".

The Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said emphatically that "at no stage was I ever subject to pressure or intimidation from any quarter; nor did I recuse myself from the meeting at the eleventh hour, as alleged".

The governor of Lebowa, Mr Noko Ramodi, and the chief minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntswanisi, said they had not been intimidated in any way.

Mr Mabuza said in an interview: "My decision was taken independently of the other chief ministers and the ANC."

He had called the Commissioner-General of KaNgwane, Mr Hendrik Tempel, immediately after he had heard that the ANC/government talks, which were scheduled for April 11, had been postponed and proposed that the talks with the homeland leaders also be postponed.

Credibility fear

He had followed this up with a letter faxed to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on Monday April 2, and had discussed this with Dr Viljoen that afternoon.

He had told Dr Viljoen that if the decision was taken to proceed with the talks he would regrettably not be able to attend as he believed the meeting would adversely affect the credibility of the chief ministers.

His government was prepared to make an input after a firm commitment by the government and the ANC to hold talks.

Sapa reports that DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday that Dr Viljoen's claim that homeland leaders had withdrawn from talks with the State President because of intimidation was incorrect and in bad taste.

Mr Malan said the government and the ANC leadership would first have to break the political ice before meaningful pre-negotiations could succeed.
ANC, Azapo to hold talks

JOHANNESBURG (AP) - Azapo is to hold its first full executive meeting with the ANC tomorrow in Soweto.

Mr. Nelson Mandela is to head the ANC delegation at the talks.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr. Strini Moodley said yesterday that the formal meeting was spurred by the violence between members of his organisation and supporters of the ANC.

"In the last few weeks, about six Azapo members have died in the ideological fratricide," said Mr. Moodley. — Sapa
GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC

Time of reckoning

President F.W. de Klerk has once again, in the face of tremendous provocation, held out the hand of peace and appealed to black leaders — in particular the ANC's Nelson Mandela — to join him at the negotiating table.

While all present in parliament on Monday expected De Klerk to wield the big stick, he surprised even his supporters when he announced steps to indemnify former en-

emies of the State.

At the same time, De Klerk announced the implementation with immediate effect of a co-ordinated security plan, devised by all the parties concerned in strife-torn Natal. The announcement could be seen as a first major step to combined action between the SA security community, Inkatha — and even the ANC — against future unrest and halting the bloodbath.

A clean page

De Klerk's speech concentrated on two target areas. To those (supporters and opponents alike) who still doubted his reform initiatives, he stated clearly: it is our desire to close the old books and to start on a clean page. However, to those who persisted with acts of violence or who still persist with worn-out rhetoric, as for example, phrases like "the armed struggle continues," and, on the other hand, those who persist on continued domination must realise that he is deadly serious about building a new SA, De Klerk said.

Let there be no doubt that government is intent not to accept violence and chaos, De Klerk went on. The lives and property of all South Africans must be safeguarded and negotiations can only succeed in a climate of law and order.

There can be no gainsaying that the recent appeal by the Black Sash to government to send troops into the unrest areas in Natal could not have come at a better time for De Klerk.

De Klerk stressed that his government had embarked on a deliberate programme of re-
moving impediments perceived to have stood in the way of full participation in the politi-
cial process by all those seeking peaceful solutions.

After the ANC National Executive Com-
mitee's announcement that they intended to meet with him, a number of meetings be-
tween government officials and representa-
tives of the National Committee took place to finalise arrangements for the now can-
celled April 11 meeting.

It was difficult to understand why an or-
organisation, saying it was interested in peace, refused to come and talk about those very issues, De Klerk said. Relevant problems which stood in the way could have been addressed by the steering committee; but this was not done.

Open door

His government was willing to discuss the adherence of the ANC to the armed strug-
gle, which is seen by government as a stum-
bbling block. De Klerk's government was also will-
ing to discuss the issues of political pris-
ners and the return of exiles — which, in turn, are perceived by the ANC to be stum-
bbling blocks.

De Klerk, however, has not given up on the ANC. He announced that he would meet Mandela this week: "My door remains open. I hope the ANC will find it possible soon to join those already talking."

Indemnity for ANC exiles has always been a major stumbling block in negoti-
tions. To remove it, De Klerk announced that temporary indemnity against prosecution or civil proceedings will be granted for those who might be outside the country and who may be delegated to take part in discussions with government. Such indemnity will only apply to brief visits and discussions, De Klerk added.

However, envisaged legislation will em-
power De Klerk to grant indemnity on a perma-
nent basis to persons who could have been guilty of some or other common law or statutory offence.

With this announcement, and the prospect that temporary indemnity will soon come into effect, De Klerk has again placed the ball in Mandela's court. A negative reply or reaction from the ANC leader will strengthen the belief that much dissatisfaction within the ranks of the organisation led to the proposed talks with De Klerk being cancelled, rather than principled differences with government, as suggested. In short, the time had come for Mandela to deliver.

The indemnity announcement has also opened the door for De Klerk to waive any convictions which may be forthcoming as a result of the Harms Commission which is now hearing evidence about his squads.

Politically, De Klerk made a good speech. Unlike his predecessor, he showed himself as a conciliator, always with an open door. To black and white fears of continuing carnage in unrest areas, he promised the full action of the State to restore peace but without the usual kragdoodheid which marked P.W. Botha's speeches.

To those who, in places like Welkom, have shown a readiness to take the law into their own hands, he issued a warning to lay off.

It was a remarkably even-handed speech, by any standards.

Eddie Botha

TALKING STILLS

ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela is expected to announce a new date for the postponed April 11 talks about talks between government and the ANC at a press conference this week.

A well-placed ANC source added the talks had not been cancelled. "It has taken a long process to get rank-and-file supporters to identify with our negotiating position, as set out in the Harare Declaration."

He added: "However, we must be sen-
sitive to those who ask how we go to the negotiating table when our people are being shot... We have moved on from the politics of un Governability."

The postponement was essentially, the source said, a signal to government about police violence being unacceptable.

Mandela was to meet President F.W. de Klerk on Wednesday, as the FhW went to press, and it was thought likely he would make a statement then.

Scuppering Mandela's joint rally with Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was different. The reason, it now seems, is that Buthelezi "unilaterally" announced the date and venue. That was unacceptable. A private meeting between the two is being looked at.

FINANCIAL MAIL APRIL 6 1990

Looking for leaders

The past week's fighting in Maritzburg, the worst this battle-scarred region has yet seen, clearly shows one thing: national leaders have little control over their organisations. As bloody, well-organised battles between
members of Inkatha and ANC-UDF groups reached civil war proportions, both Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi showed their vulnerability as leaders.

For Mandela, the crisis was perhaps the worst. First he had to watch the violence in Natal and KwaZulu escalate to its worst level only days after he made an impassioned call for peace at the ANC’s Durban rally on February 25. Then this week, there was the farcical uncertainty surrounding the cancelled peace rally at Taylor’s Halt, where he was meant to share a platform with Buthelezi in an attempt to end the violence.

From the conflicting reasons given by ANC members for the cancellation — Ahmed Kathrada said the “atmosphere” was not right; Archie Gumede said the venue, apparently an Inkatha-controlled area, was unsafe for Mandela — it seems clear there is some sort of conflict within the ANC leadership. This seems to be manifesting itself as a split between the recently released older leaders and UDF members who have been calling the shots in Natal while Mandela and Walter Sisulu were still in prison.

Natal is proving to be an unhappy place for Mandela. Despite being the home of Inkatha, arguably the ANC’s biggest rival, every time the ANC deputy president has visited the region it has placed a further strain on his political credibility afterwards.

Events following Mandela’s rally in Durban show he has alienated a sector of his following and put his reputation on the line with what some now regard as having been a naive appeal for peace.

This week’s cancelled rally seems bound to lose him more support, this time from the ANC’s more moderate followers. Early this week, he was visiting Maritzburg township with an ANC delegation and a meeting had been planned with Buthelezi for later in the week — and this could be his last chance to make up lost ground in Natal. But arrangements around Mandela showed their customary confusion.

For Buthelezi, the wholesale slaughter in Maritzburg has also strained his credibility as a leader. This time he was the one calling for peace; but the violence has clearly shown that at some level down the Inkatha hierarchy, Buthelezi is being ignored.

There are always claims and counterclaims every time violence flares up in Maritzburg, but this time it is clear that Inkatha cadres have openly been playing a major role in leading attacks on known UDF areas. The scale of organization and logistical back-up behind the well-armed impunity — coupled with wide-ranging reports that many of the attackers were bused in last month from northern Natal — led to suspicions that co-ordination of the violence could be taking place at a fairly high level.

There have been claims that UDF-ANC members provoked the fighting by stoning and shooting at buses returning from an Inkatha peace rally. But that seems a flimsy reason for provoking violence of the proportions now seen.

In the attacks which have been taking place in the past week, the pattern seems to have been one of well-armed Inkatha bands systematically moving through Maritzburg townships, flushing out “enemy areas” and hunting down ANC-UDF members. A disturbing new trend is that women and children have become indiscriminate victims of the violence, which in the past was generally limited to fighting between the men and youths on either side.

Even the police acknowledge that they have had to persuade armed groups of Inkatha members to turn back. All of which seriously undermines Buthelezi’s call for peace and raises questions about the amount of control he has over his organisation.

The death toll reached horrific proportions. At least 50 people were killed in the week to Monday April 2, with unofficial reports quoting the figure as high as 100 dead.

Last month alone, around 300 people were killed in violence in Natal.

Hundreds of houses have been razed and an estimated 11,000 refugees have flooded into the city of Maritzburg, with authorities and support groups trying to house them in churches and community halls. Officials are now asking for the Edendale valley, centre of the violence, to be declared a disaster area, while Maritzburg mayor Mark Cornell wants martial law to be declared in the area.

Commerce and industry have been particularly hard hit by the violence, with absenteeism reaching record levels. SA Chamber of Business president Brian Kurz has been meeting members to decide how best to respond to the violence and the plight of employees. The chamber is also contacting Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok in an attempt to resolve the violence.

Vlok, who met Buthelezi on Saturday, has promised that reinforcements from around the country will be sent to Maritzburg. The SADF, which in these situations falls under the command of the riot police, have also been doing patrols, which are now likely to be stepped up. Vlok also acceded to a request from Buthelezi to remove black SADF members from the townships; the KwaZulu leader said they were in some cases supporting the ANC and UDF. In turn, accusations are again being made that the SAP are favouring Inkatha in the conflict. Reports from the Democratic Party unrest monitoring group earlier this week said it appeared as if the police were beginning to disarm people selectively, effectively taking weapons away from “comrades” only.
The mandate that never was

Unbanned for two months, and the ANC stands revealed as a threadbare outfit, intellectually 30 years out of date and incapable of exercising discipline over “the masses” in whose name it rhetorically acts. Its latest absurdity — suspending talks with government on the ending of violence because of the continuation of violence — reflects not decisiveness, but impotence.

It is difficult not to believe that President F W de Klerk’s reforms have outpaced the ANC — that it is plagued by disunity and rivalries, and its actual support on the ground is limited. It is certainly far less monolithic in appearance than in the days of its banning, as Nelson Mandela was a far more substantial figure in Victor Verster Prison.

Part of the ANC’s problem lies in a misreading of contemporary history: in the Sixties it was possible for a liberation movement, led by one or another charismatic leader, to assume confidently that it would be swept into office by the tide of decolonisation. There was no need for such paraphernalia as a detailed economic programme, nor for any particular social planning beyond the moment of triumph. The enemy was clearly and boldly defined and was there to be overthrown.

The enemy of the ANC was apartheid. So it still is — but De Klerk has made it clear that it is his enemy too, and the real debate, therefore, revolves on what comes afterwards and how to get there. Unquestionably, there are elements in the police who shoot first and ask questions later; but no one seriously believes that the Nationalists are indistinguishable from the police.

The process of negotiating entailed a quid pro quo: government accepted that while there would be no overt relinquishing of the “armed struggle,” at least not yet, the ANC would not (even if it could) prosecute an armed uprising. In turn, the ANC until this week appeared to accept that elements of the security forces were beyond the control of Pretoria but that a number of things were being done to curb that power. A low-level “ceasefire” still prevails.

The steps which were initiated this week to end the nationwide violence, particularly in Natal, were necessary and at one stage it looked as if the ANC was prepared to cooperate in at least unofficial structures to halt mindless destruction of property, murder and factionalism. Perhaps, once it has sorted out its priorities as a legitimate political party which will one day have to face the judgment of an electorate, it will still do so. There is a reservoir of peaceful-minded people who would welcome this.
by the black education crisis. Black children continue sporadically to boycott classes in protest at poor education standards, inferior teaching facilities, poor and poorly paid teachers, massive black unemployment which perpetuates the cycle of deprivation of inadequately trained black school-leavers and, above all, frustration that political and economic empowerment have not followed directly on the heels of Mandela’s release.

In his first mass rally in Soweto, Mandela stressed the need for discipline and called on pupils to return to their classes. He was ignored and, even if the children had gone to school next day, they would have been faced with a strike by teachers protesting at low pay.

The children are now used to the violence of street politics and, as Fanie Cloete, of Wits University’s Centre for Policy Studies sees it, their response underscores the difficulties faced by Mandela and the ANC in changing policy lines. The armed struggle has been fundamental to the ANC’s strategy for years and the organisation’s supporters will find difficulty in shifting quickly towards the new strategy of negotiation. The same goes for the NP whose supporters have been told for years the ANC was Evil incarnate and who are now trailing way behind President FW de Klerk in the move to political reform.

The difficulties are worsened by Mandela’s ambivalent calls at mass rallies. Recently in Natal he urged ANC and Inkatha supporters battling for dominance of black townships to throw their pangas into the sea. In almost the next breath he called on them to intensify the armed struggle against apartheid.

Cloete believes the ANC is facing a crisis of existence and that it deepens the longer the organisation delays establishment of offices and organisational structures inside SA. This, in turn, is affected by the intensification of the leadership struggle within the ANC as the organisation seems the closeness of real political power.

The crisis is also worsened by the challenges to the ANC apparently being mounted by groups such as the UDF and Cosatu, headed by strong and politically ambitious leaders and which have well-structured organisations throughout the country and can mobilise their followers effectively.

Ironically, the ANC needs the NP if it is to survive and become the unquestioned dominant force in black politics. The ANC needs to demonstrate rapid progress towards black empowerment if it is not to lose support to more militant organisations such as the Pan-Africanist Congress. Many blacks expect empowerment to arrive more quickly than seems politically possible at present and could well heed the calls of radicalism as frustration sets in.

The converse of this is that De Klerk needs the ANC to ensure that progress towards accommodation and negotiations is smooth enough to satisfy white supporters. If violence persists and black demands seem too radical, apprehensive whites could swing increasingly behind the CP or the AWB, scuppering chances of a negotiated settlement.

Opponents of the political drama’s two principal actors are winning support as violence in the black townships escalates almost daily. De Klerk has never said so, but it seems plain he was expecting some violence once he lifted the lid on the political pot. But whether he expected the present level — more than 400 people have died since the start of the year and 1990 threatens to become the bloodiest and most deadly ever — is another matter.

For the present the police and security forces are struggling to contain the killings, but with little apparent success. Increasing levels of violence are understandable, says Cloete. The exuberance blacks felt at Mandela’s release has boiled over into an already existing violent state of affairs with the release of pent-up frustrations over education, unemployment and so on.

Cloete warns of the danger that the situation could spiral Lebanese-style. He does not believe a Lebanese situation will necessarily develop but warns of the killing if it is not contained. Boraine adds that De Klerk’s room to manoeuvre is restricted. He has played the ANC card and now has little left in his hand if violence rises more and black anger continues to boil. One real option, Boraine fears, is repression, which would undo all the good of De Klerk’s recent moves.

Fundamentally, the NP and ANC have to move fast to ensure negotiation and SA’s own version of perestroika work. Both have been pushed willy-nilly into moderate, centrist positions in an SA polarising between the Left and Right. The country’s outlook is more uncertain than when Mandela took those first steps to freedom.
Unrest in Gazankulu "not caused by ANC"

JOHANNESBURG. — Unrest in Gazankulu had not been sparked off by the African National Congress, Gazankulu Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi said yesterday.

In a statement, Professor Ntsanwisi said he had met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela concerning the unrest, and they had concluded that the situation was undesirable and should be discontinued.

"During the meeting it was ... resolved that continuous boycotts and marches are counter-productive and not in the interest of the nation," Professor Ntsanwisi said.

According to the statement, no major incidents of unrest had been reported during the past 24 hours.

However, a seventh petrol-bomb attack had occurred and 13 people had been arrested, bringing the total number of arrests to 2,294. — Sapa
Mandela's 'Struggle' is now legal in SA

CAPE TOWN — The Directorate of Publications has announced that "Nelson Mandela: The Struggle is my Life", by Mr Nelson Mandela and published by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London, may be imported and distributed in South Africa.

The publication was found to be not undesirable and the restriction on the publisher, all of whose publications are not desirable, was lifted for this publication only.


Mary Benson's "The Sun Will Rise", and "Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination" (Pathfinder Press) have been unbanned on review and may be imported and distributed. It is no longer an offence to possess these two publications.

"The Story of a Dispossessed People (Ethel Klop- pung), and "Asking for Trouble" (Donald Woods), were found to be not undesirable on review, while the Christmas 1989 edition of Bunny Girl (Sonskyn Uit- gewers, Jeppeslown), was declared not undesirable on appeal.

Films rejected

During the past week 24 films were submitted for examination, of which 11 were unconditionally and 11 conditionally approved. Two films, "Domino" and "Bloody Birthday", were rejected.

From today it was a breach of the law to import and or distribute the following publication/objects (name of author/producer in brackets).

"Longarm and the Lone Star Legend" (Tabor Evans).
"The Secrets of Emmanuelle — Her Intimate Views on Life and Loving" (Emmanuelle Arsan).
"From All the Girls At the Office" — greeting card (Whiteway Publications Ltd London).
Condom enclosed in a glass frame with the words: In case of emergency smash glass — object (not stated).
4509 Photo Ektekeheart Gurlitt — take two — postcard (Printed in the Netherlands).
"The Hope" (Revolt Press AB Sweden).
"The Loggers" (Tom).

From Friday it was a breach of the law to possess the following publications and it is in the interests of persons who possess copies of these publications to destroy them immediately unless they have a permit (name of author/producer in brackets).

"Sindisa Ubomi — Pretoria: Hanging Capital of the World" (not stated).
Playboy Vol 35 No 2 February 1988 (Hugh M Hefner).
"High Society" (Spesiale uitgawe van beroemde vroue) (not stated).

Workers' Revolution No 1 August 1989 (Workers Revolution).
Help to end jitters, ANC is urged

By Michael Chester

The SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) has urged the African National Congress to make a clear-cut declaration of its economic policies in order to end business jitters about a future political scenario.

Sacob executive director Mr Rudi Botha yesterday said it was vital for the Government to take urgent moves to scrap the Group Areas Act. This would further erode tensions and remove a justified cause of black bitterness.

He urged political and business leaders to shift the debate from its high emotional overtones. What was needed was realism about the inevitability of change and a pragmatic attitude towards coping with it.

Uncertainty about prospects was also hitting the level of new job opportunities, with the number of vacancies advertised in the newspapers, measured by the columns, now running at the lowest in three years.

Mr Botha said the dramatic impact of political statements on the business mood had been fully demonstrated in the past few days.

On April 2, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange overall share index was mauled badly when the ANC announced the cancellation of April 11 talks with the Government.

Within 24 hours, the JSE index shot back higher when President de Klerk outlined moves to stamp out violence that was sweeping across the country.

Much of the nervousness was based on ANC talk about nationalization — yet the fact that the ANC had announced talks on its stance suggested that the issue was still not settled as a policy objective.

Sacomb economist Mr Keith Lockwood said the lack of precision about ANC policies was feeding a sense of uncertainty in the business world.

"It is important that the ANC gets the message that now they are operating freely, they must take responsibility for the actions and statements of their leaders," he said.

"The ANC must co-ordinate and set out a precise set of policies to end the political tension. It's vital for economic stability."

Mr Botha said uncertainty was also delaying a potential reversal of capital outflows and a surge of new capital inflows.

Overseas investors were delaying decisions until there was more clarity about the political outlook.

The sharp drop in the value of the rand on currency markets since the release of Mr Nelson Mandela has been attributed to overseas nervousness about the ANC's nationalization statements and its continued commitment to armed struggle.

Since the beginning of February, the financial rand had depreciated by more than 28 percent in dollar terms.

"Political uncertainty has predictably replaced the euphoria after President de Klerk's watershed speech," Mr Botha said.

He said business confidence levels were likely to remain vulnerable until a number of critical factors had been addressed:

- Progress had to be made in meaningful negotiations between the Government and key leaders in the black, coloured and Indian communities and the envisaged constitutional model needed to be developed.
- A lasting end to anarchy in certain black townships via the stamping out of criminal syndicates and armed struggle between rival ethnic groupings.
- A policy to spell out its economy on Page 1.
Rescind land transfer, urges UDF

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

The United Democratic Front yesterday called on President de Klerk to rescind a recent transfer of land to Bophuthatswana.

UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe said this week's transfer of land in the Rustenburg, Marico and Vryburg areas was disturbing as it included the transfer of control of the Derdepoort border post between South Africa and Botswana to Bophuthatswana.

He described this as an attempt to force Botswana to recognise Bophuthatswana as a sovereign state.

According to the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria, South African citizens may still travel through the post, but aliens will have to report to the SA Embassy in Mmabatho or the SA border post, Willow Park, at Zeerust to gain entry.

Mr Molefe said the land move — and the apparent "urgency" requiring its proclamation in an extraordinary Government Gazette last Sunday — could have been "in order to dangle a carrot" to those bantustan leaders eager to be incorporated into South Africa to "maintain the system".

The move "raises doubts that the National Party is not yet prepared to dismantle the pillars of apartheid and create a unified South Africa," he said.
Obstacles on road to peace

For quite some time I have debated with an astute Israeli analyst of divided societies the political prospects of our respective countries.

Invariably, he would end the discussion with the words: "Whatever you may say, the fact is that Israel's prospects for peace are much better than those of South Africa.

I eagerly awaited his response to the dramatic developments in recent months. In Israel the peace process with the autonous Palestinian entity on the West Bank and in Gaza, has ground to a halt after the collapse of the Sharm el-Sheikh agreement. By contrast, State President F.W. de Klerk has stunned the world by freeing up the political process, and declaring himself and his government prepared to enter into serious negotiations with all organisations committed to a peaceful settlement. Would my friend in the light of these events be prepared to change his assessment?

Early this week I received a letter from him:

"The South African moves are certainly courageous, promising and overdue," he conceded, but then continued: "There is some justification for the envy some Israelis may feel. The indecisiveness and the eventual fall of the Israeli government have driven many compromising Israelis to despair and anger.

Yet since the advent in South Africa is how to make an undesirable and difficult marriage work while in Israel it is how to conduct a happy divorce. Through ceding the West Bank, Israel's future seems to me much brighter despite the temporary setbacks."

So, who has the best chance — South Africa or Israel?

Three factors can be isolated as decisive in determining the chances of a settlement in a communal conflict. They are the role of external powers, the ability of the sides to come to an ideological re-definition of the conflict and the capacity of the antagonists to absorb unwelcome compromises.

As far as the external factor is concerned, it looks at first glance as if the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is much more amenable to resolution than the South African one. Israel's 15 per cent of its GDP dependent on American and other foreign aid, and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation relies strongly on the goodwill and good offices of various Arab states.

Why can't the US, along with Egypt, Jordan and Syria, not simply force the Israelis and Palestinians respectively to reach a settlement? Why can't the US, along with Egypt, Syria and the US all want a different kind of settlement and have the ability to wreck the peace process. In the case of the US there is a further complicating factor in the enormously powerful Jewish lobby which severely constrains the Bush administration in putting pressure on Israel.

It is now clear that foreign intervention or meddling leads to a most unhealthy externalisation of the conflict. Instead of negotiating with each other on the basis of the national power balance, the Palestinians and Israelis plead their respective cases to foreign powers and beg them to intervene on their behalf.

Hope

In a profound study of Northern Ireland, Mr. Frank Wright aptly commented that successful settlements only occur where the prospects for external intervention are so remote "that no one except a few maniacs hope for such external support to cancel the power of their internal opponents".

In South Africa the Government is prepared to talk to the ANC exactly because it concluded that it will get no further significant support from a foreign power, not even the Soviet Union.

It is the ANC which is now painfully learning that foreign pressure has been aimed at getting the parties to the negotiating table, not to force the Government to capitulate.

US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Hank Cohen has remarked: "We will criticise the first party to move away from negotiations." The ANC is now on its own and has to secure whatever its own internal strength can achieve.

A communal settlement it is also necessary for the main antagonists to come to ideological terms with each other. In Israel there is no willingness at all among both Israelis and Palestinians to grow together into one people.

The only solution is partition, but at half the Israeli electorate rejects giving up the West Bank because it considers Judea and Samaria its sacred land.

Not only the conservative Likud bloc but also many moderates refuse to forego the exclusivity of the Jewish moral and historical claims to Eretz Israel.

And then there is, of course, the two decades of remorseless PLO terrorism which makes it exorbitantly difficult for Israel to accept the bone fides of Arafat and the PLO in controlling an independent state right next to Israel.

In South Africa by contrast, major strides have been made in ideological re-definition. Both NP and ANC are now committed to an inclusive South African nation. Both realise that blacks and whites cannot live without each other. The only disagreement and it is a major one — is whether political power is to be shared or to be monopolised by the majority.

Despite this obstacle, South Africa's chances for peace seem to be marginally better than Israel's on this score.

Finally, there is the question of whether the major contenders have political organisations which could enable leaders to make compromises and sell them to their followers.

In Israel, leaders are hamstrung by a political system in which the major two party blocs paralyse each other and the minor parties have disproportionate influence. All this works against leaders taking major risks.

In South Africa, by contrast, the NP and the ANC are beginning to walk the way, as is evident from the fact that President de Klerk could decide on unbanning the ANC without first consulting the caucus.

Transform

The major question in both the South African and Israeli cases is whether the mainstream liberation organisation can transform itself into a negotiating partner which is prepared to compromise on its ultimate objectives in order to make short-term gains. Put differently, it is whether it is prepared to forsake seizure of power and settle for incremental gains.

Neither the PLO nor the ANC appears ready for this. Neither seems to have erected any significant political and institutional structures that could deal with constitutional as distinct from liberation politics.

What black South Africa does have, and what the Palestinians do not, is a vibrant civil society composed of the press, the arts, the churches and, above all, trade unions.

The internal black leaders may initially be more recalcitrant than those in exile, but ultimately a past concluded with them has a better chance to stick (and be of at least a semi-democratic nature) than one concluded with an authoritarian liberation organisation such as the PLO or the ANC by itself.

These will be my arguments when I reply to my Israeli friend, but I doubt he will be persuaded.
For many years there have been unconfirmed allegations of abuses at certain ANC camps in African countries. Now a group of former ANC fighters has claimed that guerrillas were tortured and killed after a revolt against the movement's leadership. A special correspondent of The Star's Africa News Service reports.

NAIROBI — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters stranded in Kenya and desperate to return home have made claims of torture and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola after mutinies against the movement’s leadership.

They said tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, the dropping of burning plastic on to the prisoners’ skin and their forced enclosure in containers — a punishment known as “Kukukudo”.

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation was carried out by the movement’s own security branch known as “Mboko” (crushing stone).

The group said their pleas for help had been ignored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. They had recently put their case to Archbishop Desmond Tutu during his visit to Nairobi, where the dissidents are living on the streets.

Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molele said they had decided to tell their story after escaping from Tanzania to Kenya, where the UN High Commissioner for Refugees had refused to help them. They now want to be repatriated to South Africa.

Valdez Sibongile (38) said he fled from South Africa after being injured with birdshot during student unrest in the Port Elizabeth area 10 years ago.

**Torture**

He now also bears scars of what he said was ANC torture when burning plastic was dripped on to his skin at an ANC camp for his being involved in the 1984 Umkhonto was Shongweni attack in Angola.

For his part in this, he was sent to the notorious Quartro prison camp in Angola where he stayed until 1988, he said. From there he was taken to Dakawa camp in central Tanzania where he was held in January with the others.

Amos Mazongo said he also spent time at the Quartro camp.

“When you enter there you must just forget you are a human being,” he said.

At Quartro, men lived in communal cells holding up to 15 people and chopped firewood or tree trunks that they fashioned into dugout canoes for local sale. Twice each day they pushed a 200 litre water tank 3 km from a borehole to the prison, he said.

“That was the most feared job in the camp.”

While speaking, Mazongo broke into a chant, which he said the prisoners were forced to use as they were lashed by the warders’ sjamboks. “Stoot hom gelyk.”

Mazongo said: “I wanted to go to school. The ANC has wasted almost 12 years of my time. The only training I got was military or this Marxism.”

The defectors said troubles within the ANC started in 1981 when a South African spy ring within the movement was discovered. At the same time, they said, there was mounting unrest in MK camps in Angola because of poor conditions and the inability to carry out any meaningful fighting in Southern Africa.

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A brutal crackdown was then launched by Mboko, led by the head of national security, Msawil Piluso, and the national commissioner, Andrew Musando, who had since been removed from his position.

Strict discipline had been enforced and cadres had been questioned for drinking illicit spirits or smoking dagga. In interrogations, however, their own loyalty to the cause was questioned, they said.

Amos Mazongo said he had been arrested in March 1981, tortured and sentenced to three months’ hard labour for malicious propaganda against the ANC leadership. Anybody suspected of being a South African spy was sent to Quartro camp, he said.

With discontent rising, Umkhonto had mobilised a brigade of up to 4 000 men to fight UNPROFOR in the eastern front in the Angolan province of Malange.

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ANC, Govt talks ‘back on track’

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

Talks between the ANC and the Government to clear the way for negotiations are “back on course” after a successful three-hour meeting between ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk last night.

Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela announced at separate press conferences that the date and venue for the meeting had been agreed on and would be announced “fairly soon”, simultaneously by the Government in Cape Town and by the ANC national executive committee in Lenasia.

It is understood the meeting will not take place before the end of next week. A steering committee will finalize practical details in the meantime.

Mr de Klerk also said the Government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the police shooting of protesters at Sebokeng. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Mr Mandela – who seemed to regard the inquiry as a fait accompli – welcomed the decision but said it was a pity the inquiry would be conducted by a white judge.

Mr Mandela said the meeting had been “pleasant, cordial and constructive” and that concessions had been made on both sides.

The date and venue for the meeting would be announced after the ANC national executive committee had been briefed.

Mr de Klerk said he had assured Mr Mandela that he had already given instructions for an in-depth investigation of the Sebokeng shooting.

Go ahead

The judicial inquiry appears to be gathering pace and the parties are moving closer to a settlement.

Venda coup: FW gives assurance

Staff Reporters

The lawlessness of the recent coup in Ciskei would not be repeated in Venda, President de Klerk said last night.

He told a press conference only hours after yesterday’s bloody coup in Venda that the South African Government would give the small homeland in the northern Transvaal whatever assistance was needed to protect lives and property and maintain law and order.

The resignation of Venda President Mr Frank Hluleka and his Cabinet was announced on Radio Thohoyandou shortly after 3 pm by Deputy Venda Defence Force chief Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana (60), who said he would be taking over leadership of the country.

No reasons were given for the president’s resignation, and his fate is unknown.

Colonel Ramushwana said the former Cabinet’s “maladministration and incompetence of statesmanship” had forced him to take over.

He declared a state of emergency and said there would be no work until Monday.

Shortly after his radio address, thousands of chattering people filled Thohoyandou’s streets, dancing and singing their way to the government buildings where Colonel Ramushwana later spoke to a crowd of about 20 000.

Standing on top of a military vehicle, he said: “Today, you, the people of Venda, have witnessed the rebirth of Venda…"

“Ravelo’s regime has ended, and I have dismissed the chief of the VDF, Brigadier F’Bokwana.

“On Monday we will form a council for national unity, with me as chairman. Colonel Ramushwana cautioned the crowd against being emotional and damaging property.

He said a press conference would be held at the government buildings at noon today.

First indications of dramatic new developments in the territory came on Tuesday when Lt-Gen RE Mulungu, the Venda Commissioner of Police, was known to be fiercely loyal to President Ravelo, announced his resignation.

President Ravelo’s government had been under constant pressure since January amid widespread boycotts, work stoppages and unrest.

There had been allegations of corruption.

COME AND SEE SOUTH AFRICA’S TOP SELLING AUTOMATIC POOL CLEANER IN ACTION
ANC, Government talks ‘back on track’

From Page 3

The ANC and Government have agreed to resume talks after a breakdown last week. The ANC withdrew from the talks, accusing the Government of being “unresponsive” to its concerns.

Mr. Mandela said that the talks had been “difficult” and that there were “major differences” between the two sides. He added that the ANC was prepared to continue the talks, but only if there was a commitment from the Government to address the issues.

Mr. de Klerk responded that the Government was also prepared to continue the talks, but that it needed to see concrete proposals from the ANC. He added that the Government was willing to consider a range of options, including a moratorium on the homelands.

A joint statement from the ANC and Government was expected to be issued later in the week.
Venda: Youths abuse new ruler

THOHOYANDOU. — Thousands of Venda youths packed the National Stadium here yesterday and shouted abuse at the new military ruler of the homeland.

The youths, numbering over 10,000, were part of a crowd estimated at 15,000 which gathered at the stadium to hear Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana at his first public engagement.

The youths, who were wearing ANC T-shirts, chanted "Voetsek, voetsek", "Away with Ramushwana" and "Viva ANC" as the colonel continued to read the speech that he had read the previous day announcing reasons for the coup.

The South African Defence Force has been present in the homeland for the past two weeks since Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha announced that the South African government would not stand by idly while the Venda government was being subjected to intimidation.

Troops of both the Venda Defence Force and the SADF are currently patrolling the homeland's urban streets.

At a press conference held before he was sworn in by the homeland's chief justice yesterday, Col Ramushwana said political organisations such as the ANC, PAC and AZAPO were welcome to operate in Venda if they did not intimidate people to join their activities.

Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana was born at Messiah on July 1, 1941. He worked as a clerk at the Messiah mines from 1963 to 1968. He joined the South African Police in 1966 and transferred to the security branch the following year.

He joined the Venda National Force, which was a combined force of police, army, prisons and traffic departments, in 1978, a year before independence. He became deputy chief of security police until he was transferred to the Venda Defence Force in 1985. He was promoted to colonel the same year and became Chief of Staff in 1985.

Macwetho, Colonel children. Colonel Ramushwana speaks 19 black languages as well as English and Afrikaans. During his service as a security policeman, he infiltrated the ANC in Lusaka until he was withdrawn by the police. — Sapa

He said Thursday's military takeover was not prompted by similar actions in other independent homelands.

Col Ramushwana said he was called back by "authorities" from a military course in Pretoria to take over government. He said his former chief, Brigadier P G Steenkamp, was forced to resign and leave Venda because he was found to be working against the "ideals of the Venda people".

He said a new cabinet comprising people from a cross-section of people would be announced in two weeks' time. Until then, he was sole member of the council.

He said elections might be held in future if so demanded by the people of Venda. However, the council's immediate task was to restore stability and law and order.

The press conference, held at the offices of the deposed president, was attended by a representative of the South African embassy, Mr T L Steyn, in what was seen by many journalists as a show of acceptance by the South African government.

Meanwhile, the chairman of Ciskei's new Military Council of State, Brigadier "Oupa" John Gqozo, yesterday said in a statement that the circumstances surrounding the military takeover of Venda were only superficially similar to what happened in Ciskei recently.

 Brig Gqozo wished the colonel "God's blessing, good fortune and the support of all in Venda".

Brig Gqozo took power in Ciskei in a coup in March this year, ousting President Lennox Sebe from power. — Sapa
SA Jews ‘against US anti-Mandela plans’

Staff Reporter

The South African Jewish community disapproved of plans by a New York-based Jewish organisation to stage demonstrations against Mr Nelson Mandela if he visited the United States, Democratic Party MP Mr Harry Schwarz, who is also on the Jewish Board of Deputies, said yesterday.

Mr Schwarz was reacting to reports that Mr Mordechai Levi, of the Jewish Defence League in New York, said the league would protest against Mr Mandela to draw attention to anti-Semitism in South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said he was once confronted in Chicago by a “very belligerent” Mr Levi and armed guards, who wrongly accused him of being responsible for their having been barred from South Africa.

Mr Schwarz said the Jewish Defence League was a “fringe organisation” and not part of established Jewish organisations.

Mr Mandela was criticised by South African Jewish leaders after he was recently photographed embracing Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yasser Arafat at a meeting in Zambia.
Mineworkers’ leader speaks out...

Year of peace, justice for Num

In this article, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary CYRIL RAMAPHOSA speaks on the challenges facing mineworkers this year: repression; nationalisation; apartheid and the Chamber of Mines’ attitude towards mineworkers.

WE start the last decade of the 20th century with South Africa deeply immersed in a political and economic crisis unknown since the white supremacists came to power in 1948.

The current crisis is a culmination of economic mismanagement by the apartheid rulers for more than 40 years.

Soon after coming to power, the Nats used the apartheid state to regulate the economy in such a way that the nascent African capitalist could grow and develop.

The apartheid state became an indispensable tool of repression to keep the black labour force in captivity while nationalisation of strategic industries facilitated economic growth and capital accumulation.

Affluence

While white South Africa was basking in the sun of affluence, the black majority were impoverished. The wealth of the country was squandered in pursuance of the unworkable policy of apartheid that resulted with the balanisation of SA into nine barren pieces of land called bantustans.

It was not long before the Indians and coloureds were given another costly puppet political structure called the tripartite parliament.

As a rule, this apartheid policy had to be implemented and maintained through the use of brute force against its victims - the black people.

It was not long before the myth of white supremacy was exposed as the repressive measures of the oppressed intensified an all-round offensive against the regime.

The regime suffered serious setbacks as its tentacles of destabilisation in Southern Africa were severed through revolutionary violence.

Weakened isolation, sanctions and trade boycotts hastened the process of choking the regime to economic ruin. As the mass uprising reached uncontrollable proportions the enemy’s repressive machine ground to a halt.

The national state of emergency has failed to dampen the fighting spirit of the oppressed.

Internationally, the new wave of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (oppeness) opened the way for the establishment of world peace.

The oppressed people scored a resounding victory as the regime was forced to release Nelson Mandela, and other leaders after 27 years of imprisonment.

The ANC, the South African Communist Party and other organisations were unbanned.

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In this article, National Union of Mineworkers general secretary CYRIL RAMAPHOSA speaks on the challenges facing mineworkers this year: repression; nationalisation; apartheid and the Chamber of Mines’ attitude towards mineworkers.

on the basis of having a people’s democratic state serving as custodian of the people’s wealth.

The diggers of gold, coal and diamonds and other minerals must have a say as to how the products of their labour are to be distributed.

Appeals

If ever there is any cardinal clause in the Freedom Charter that appeals to us most, it is: The people shall share in the country’s wealth.

With the adoption of the Freedom Charter by our congress in 1987, we consciously took a political step towards our freedom from national oppression and exploitation.

The ANC, in alliance with the SAP, as the leader of the liberation struggle enjoys our unqualified support.

We were inspired by the noble ideas of freedom as enshrined in this alliance when we honoured Comrade Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, as our life president.

As the new non-racial democratic South Africa unfolds, we call on all white miners to sever their relationship with the apartheid regime and its policies and join Num.

Our immediate objective remains that of ending repression on the mines.

This objective has to be realised in line with resolutions adopted in the congresses of Cosatu and Num including those adopted at the Conference for a Democratic Future.

The defeat of apartheid colonialism by the entire oppressed under the leadership of the working class remains our strategic objective.

The transference of political power from the white minority to the people remains the only option that can pave the way for an end to national oppression and exploitation.

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Weekend Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — Thirty years ago tomorrow the African National Congress and Pan African Congress were banned by a Nationalist government in the wake of the Sharpeville shooting and subsequent imposition of a state of emergency.

In the years following the banning, thousands of members of both organisations fled the country to set up "liberation" organisations in exile. And 30 years later those same men and women are preparing to return home.

On Monday a three-part series will start in The Argus on "The Exiles".

During the 30 years in exile the ANC has grown from a few hunted men dependent on the charity of others for their food and shelter to the 20 000 men, women and children, with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rands.

The series in The Argus will record the creation and growth of the ANC in exile as seen through the eyes of the people who made the history.
NEGOTIATIONS are implied a sell-out. Mr. Barney Desai, Western Cape National Education Commissioner of the ANC, yesterday launched a thinly veiled attack on the National Party.

"Positive action" it may be unpalatable for the National Party to accept, but the ANC is seeking a mediated solution to the current political impasse. The National Party must be convinced of the necessity for a negotiated settlement. However, there is a growing realization among the ANC that the National Party is not so far fetched at all.
LONDON. — More than 1 000 journalists wanting to cover the Nelson Mandela pop concert here on Easter Monday have been told by organisers that their press passes will cost them about R450 each.

The £100 fee was to cover "self-financing" press facilities, including the erection of a marquee tent, refreshments and information kits, a spokesman for the public relations company hired by the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee said yesterday.

Journalists wanting telephones to file reports faced extra costs as private arrangements would have to be made with British Telecommunications.

Queries to the public relations company and organisers were met with a blunt response: "Either pay up or you won't be allowed in."

An alternative for journalists on a tight budget was to try to get hold of one of the 70 000 R60 tickets sold out to ordinary members of the public last month and to mingle with the crowd without access to any press facilities.

The four-hour concert, in which a phalanx of internationally known musicians will pay tribute to the ANC deputy president, and Mr Mandela's speech are to be transmitted live via satellite to an estimated one billion people around the globe.

Journalists to pay to cover Mandela concert

Transmissions to South Africa have been banned in terms of the cultural boycott against the country, in spite of attempts last week by the SABC to buy rights to the show.

A number of journalists in London, including those representing South African media, expressed outrage at the concept of having to pay organisers to be able to hear Mr Mandela's speech and report on it at first hand.

There was a clear political thrust to the whole concert and this presented problems when it came to the ethics of striving for objective reporting.

Half the profits from the multi-million-rand concert are to go to the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, with the remainder to be divided equally among a number of other associated organisations and charities.

A spokesman for the organisers insisted that the £100 each journalist had to pay was only to cover the high cost of providing press facilities.

The special tent to be provided for the press cost £11 000 (about R47 300) alone, it was understood.

The spokesman said none of the journalists' money would go into the coffer of the AAM or the African National Congress.

"This is not a profit-making thing. It is not a money-spinner and it is in fact highly unlikely we will break even."

The pop stars taking part had agreed to do so without charge, with many of them breaking into busy schedules at short notice, but their expenses had to be met and in many cases these were very high. — Sapa
ANC TO LAY DOWN

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent
THE African National Congress appears to be on the brink of abandoning the "armed struggle" and renouncing violence.

This emerged today as it was announced that a date had been set for the revival of the postponed April 11 talks between the ANC and the government. Three days, May 2 to May 4, had been set aside for the first stage in the historic "talks about talks".

The talks were announced simultaneously by the ANC in Lusaka and Tokyo last week.

The abdication of the armed struggle and renouncing of violence would be a major breakthrough in the peace process and could mean a giant forward leap in attempts to get constitutional negotiations off the ground.

An indication of changed thinking on the armed struggle was given by United Democratic Front national publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota in an interview with Weekend Argus today.

Mr Lekota, who has been appointed as the ANC's convenor for the key Southern Natal region while still holding his UDF position, attended the UDF's workshop at the University of the Western Cape.

The workshop, in closed session, was addressed yesterday by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who was given a tumultuous welcome.

Mr Lekota said: "As we understand it, the ANC seeks a political solution because the armed struggle is not a principle, but a tactic that was imposed by historical conditions.

"Now that such conditions appear to be clearing off, it is only proper that political tactics should be brought into play. After all, armed struggle is conducted with precious lives."

Mr Lekota said his reading of the situation was that once this was satisfied, the government was "irrevocably committed" to negotiating a settlement, the ANC would not hesitate to abandon armed tactics.

Mr Mandela, in his address yesterday, had told his audience the ANC hoped to build into a broad front all anti-apartheid forces prior to the negotiating process.

Key issues

He had also called on the UDF to do everything in its power to facilitate the formation of such a broad front.

Key issues discussed at the workshop included the future role of the UDF.

The concern that the UDF would have to forgo the role of national leadership which it had been playing so far.

Mr Lekota said the setting up of the ANC throughout the country was "a matter of great urgency" because there was a need to prepare the people on the ground "to respond meaningfully to matters like negotiations with the government."

Local ANC formations were needed so that the movement could consult local communities.

"Conditions are changing... the armed struggle plays with lives"

Mr Lekota said the UDF believes that the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) that the ANC's decision to negotiate with the government amounted to a "sell-out".

"Many of the struggles we know of have culminated in negotiations." Mr Lekota said. As examples he cited Zimbabwe, Ghana, Vietnam and Namibia.

Clearing obstacles

David Breier of Weekend Argus Political Staff reports that the May talks replace those "suspended" by the ANC in protest against the police shootings in Soweto.

The talks were revived after Mr Mandela met Mr De Klerk in Cape Town this week and will deal with clearing obstacles to negotiation.

The government believes the ANC's adherence to the armed struggle is an obstacle. The ANC believes that the state of emergency must be fully lifted and all political prisoners be released, political trials ended and exiles be allowed to return before negotiations can begin.
STRONG nerves needed to reach peace

Political analysts foresee a bumpy road ahead for the peace process. They have emphasised the urgency of getting constitutional negotiations on the ground — f serious tensions, especially in black communities, are to be defused. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent RANS ESTERHUYSE looks at the difficulties that strew the path ahead ...

STRONG nerves and cool heads are going to be needed on all sides if the peace process is to proceed smoothly.

Both President PW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela showed this week that they had the necessary mettle when they brought the tense talks between the government and the ANC to a climax.

One thing seems clear: black society is the core of political realignment within the ANC — the policy of exclusion is in the eyes of black nationalists with the gaps left by years of banning and security methods of enforcing apartheid.

It is not an issue of expediting a process towards the final round of negotiations, but one of the realisation and the division created in the same name of ideology. The basic purpose of which has been to maintain white control over black South Africa.

The bloody battles in Natal, the unrest in the townships, the violence between the homelands of people like Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC, the demonstrations in some areas, trade on action — in one way or another, people in their own black society struggle to maintain their sudden change of status. It is a battle for ascendency which seems won to reach deeply into the ANC itself, with certain factions at loggerheads over tactics. The ANC is, of course, including Mr Mandela, who is more inclined to talk negotiation with the other, points, who favour conflict as a means of forcing the government hand.

What is happening on the emerging black power front is far more complex than the linear theory that Mr Mandela's peace efforts are being hampered by divisions and power struggles inside the ANC.

The withdrawals by black leaders from the talks are perhaps the greatest single event to the ANC, but it is as simple as that and could have another face. Although the ANC's credibility has been undermined, it seems to persist among most political observers.

The ANC and its associates have had little to prepare themselves for formal negotiations, and they have been present from the start of the negotiations and the struggle to formulation, their preparations also require the widest possible measure of unity on their side.

As Kgosana Chief Minister Mr Enoch Maputo said in an interview this week: "The ANC has been banned for decades, with their leaders in jail. They have been a leaderless people. How can they be expected to have their leadership and political structures in place within two months?"

He emphasised that there was great urgency in getting talks off the ground.

Mr Maputo is among the non-independent homelands leaders who have denied emphatically that they were pressured or intimidated into withdrawing from their scheduled talks with the State President this week.

Natal political scientist Dr Ian Phillips, who has made a close study of developments in the ANC, thinks there is important and noteworthy aspects of the ANC's move to pull out initially from the planned April 11 talks.

He believes the move could be seen as a strong signal to Pretoria — a signal sent at a time when everyone is asking whether the ANC is in control of its own people.

By withdrawing in protest against the Sebenza shootings, the ANC seemed to be asking Mr de Klerk whether his government was in control of its own people.

Dr Phillips said the argument put forward by the government and others that the Sebenza shootings were not an order for suspending the April 11 talks could be appreciated. However, these observers were underestimating the extent of anger such incidents provoked in the black community.

Sebenza could not be ignored. The "internal combustion" which the shootings had set off in townships inevitably affected the ANC itself, hence the angry reaction from that organisation.

Professor H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, does not think too much importance should be attached to the initial withdrawal from talks by the ANC and others. He sees it as being part of bargaining procedures.

The ANC itself is in a state of disarray, having lost a great deal of its influence in the last year, and the labour movement is in a state of disarray.
Mandela's family album fills a gap in history

THE return to visibility of the world's best-known prisoner has launched an industry of T-shirts, paintings, badges and artifacts which carry the face and the words of a man kept from his public for over 27 years.

And an already formidable list of publishers have got their presses rolling to produce Mandela books, so far all of them positive.

From August 1962 until February this year the words and pictures of Nelson Mandela were, with few exceptions, forbidden territory.

Penguin's book of Alf Kumalo photographs and Es'kia Mphahlele's text is the latest offering which goes some way to redressing the historical gap.

The 160-page picture-story might be described as the photographic equivalent to poetic praise-singing — which is not at all a negative comment.

It spans three periods of Mandela's life.

The first 40 pages cover the period from the late 1950s until the Rivonia trial, and are dominated by photographs of Nelson himself.

From then on until the time of the releases of Sisulu and Mandela, the pictures are primarily of Winnie, but also include shots of Steve Biko, Marcellino dos Santos, Robert Sobukwe and others.

The last 40 pages cover the period since October 1989 when the Sisulu Seven were released.

Kumalo and Mphahlele were around throughout, and they have done well in being the first off the mark with this portfolio.

Particularly interesting are the early pictures; a carpeted wall with two large photographs of the one-time paramount chief of the Tembus, Chief Jongintaba, who raised Mandela, below a smaller photograph of a 24-year-old Mandela, taken in 1942; Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela together in tribal dress 31 years ago; Mandela, Ruth First and others celebrating their Treason Trial acquittal; defence advocate Ittyy Maisels being carried on trialists' shoulders after their victory; black-haired advocate Joe Slovo savouring the legal victory in the company of the then-beefy attorney cum-Black Pimpernel.

The intervening period, given the absence of the subject, is bleaker photographically, but still historically interesting

Mandela's second son Makgatho is seen reading a book on black nationalism and bearing a striking resemblance to the 1942 picture of his dad; Winnie is shown being visited at her home by Transkei "homeland" leader Kaiser Matanzima; the family dog Kruschev peers mournfully through a hole in the fence "guarding the family home while Mandela was in prison"; Oliver Tambo walks past the coffins

MANDELA — Echoes of an Era. Photographs by Alf Kumalo; text by Es'kia Mphahlele (Penguin, R49,99)

of victims of the 1983 SADF raid on Lesotho; five smiling members of the ANC National Executive Committee celebrate the end of their Kabwe conference five years ago.

The photographs from the recent period are more familiar, but several cast a new light on the ANC leader.

Mandela in a T-shirt playing with his niece; Archbishop Tutu in a T-shirt enjoying a joke with Mandela; the Mandelas visiting PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng.

While most of the photographs are excellent, their reproduction by Penguin is generally poor, with many being printed too light.

There is only one picture of Mandela's first wife Evalina, and perhaps there are too many of his second, Winnie (35 in all).

Kumalo also might have resisted the temptation of including three pictures of himself.

Mphahlele's text covers the key events of the book's 35-year history, but its quality is mixed — here moving, there awkward.

It does not always flow and contains several factual errors.

Demirri Tsafendas, for example, would be surprised to find himself described as an "immigrant cleaner", as would PW Botha on discovering that it was BJ Vorster who entrusted him the job of formulating the tri-camera constitution.

The book also includes the full text of Mandela's release speech delivered in Cape Town.

At a reasonable price by today's standard, this is a family album which deserves a place in the bookshelves of South Africans with an interest in posterity, history and the largely hidden past which has moulded the volatile present and the uncertain future.

Gavin Evans
Mandela guest at UDF meeting

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was the guest speaker at a major UDF workshop which began yesterday at the University of the Western Cape.

Regional representatives from all over the country were present at the meeting, which was attended by about 300 Mass Democratic Movement activists.

A full UDF national general council meeting had originally been planned for this weekend, but the event had been scaled down “because of the uncertainty of the time ahead”, regional UDF and ANC executive member Mr Trevor Manuel said.

It is understood that the relationship between the UDF, its constituent organisations and the ANC is to be discussed at the weekend.

Sources close to the UDF said yesterday that it was likely that the ANC would spend a lot of time consulting with the UDF this weekend in advance of its talks about talks with the government.

The press were not allowed at the event.
Spy scandal: Row over Tutu, ANC cash

Weekend Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG, A claim in a top secret Johannesburg City Hall spy dossier that Archbishop Desmond Tutu illegally channelled money to bank accounts of the African National Congress in Libya and the United States has blown up into a major political rumour.

Last night a shocked Archbishop Tutu and the ANC expressed outrage that such an allegation was made by the city council’s intelligence section — in a document marked “Uiers Geheim” (Top Secret) and passed on to the security police and military intelligence.

Archbishop Tutu said this was how people — including himself — became the target of death squads.

Both the ANC and Archbishop Tutu dismissed the spy report as ridiculous.

Mr Assenmacher then recommended that it might be worthwhile to further question the spy on his knowledge of the alleged ANC bank accounts.

Mr Assenmacher’s report, dated September 6, 1988, and entitled “Channelling of Funds to the ANC via the SA Council of Churches”, was sent to his superiors. At the time, they included Mr John Pearce, chief director of public safety, Brigadier Jan Visser, director of security, and Mr PJ “Fric” Barnard, then chief professional officer, administration, in the security department.

The informant’s code name was 1/HSB6 and his classification was noted as B2. The report was number JH/3.

Speaking from Lusaka, ANC information officer Mr Tom Sonza said: “We have never had any relationship with the Gospel singers. Whatever money was generated from their records or musical shows had nothing to do with the ANC.”
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has invited President F W De Klerk to tour the Natal war region with him.

Mr De Klerk seemed to be willing, but wanted to include KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in such a tour. Mr Mandela declined on the grounds that the atmosphere in the area was not suitable.

**UDF workshop**

This emerged today from a major workshop of the United Democratic Front at the University of the Western Cape. The discussions are being attended by UDF representatives from all over the country.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr Patrick “Terror” Lekota said in an interview that Mr Mandela, who addressed the workshop as guest speaker yesterday, had referred to his invitation to Mr De Klerk at this week’s talks with the State President.

Mr Lekota said when Mr Mandela declined the inclusion of Dr Buthelezi in the proposed tour, the ANC deputy president made an alternative suggestion that President De Klerk could have a separate tour with Chief Buthelezi.

The outcome of the matter, according to Mr Lekota, was that Mr De Klerk gave an indication he would consider the invitation.

A spokesman for the State President could not be reached for comment.

**Baby shot dead**

- Meanwhile, Sapa reports that 20 people, including a baby and a small child, were reported killed in unrest-related incidents across South Africa, according to the official unrest report released today.

- Nineteen of the deaths occurred in strife-torn Natal.

- In unrest incidents in the Mapumalanga area in the past 24 hours, a further nine people were killed, one a baby.

- In a tragic incident at Kokos, near Fochville, a woman was injured and the child she was carrying was killed when police opened fire with shotguns on a group of people allegedly throwing stones and petrol bombs at a police vehicle. A policeman was injured when a stone hit him in the face. The police report described the incident as “regrettable.”
War flares up

MARITZBURG. — Warfare erupted again here yesterday with fighting heaviest at Mpuumalanga, where police withdrew all ordinary patrols and used only armoured vehicles to enter the township.

One policeman was killed and three were wounded in attacks on security forces at Mpuumalanga, between Maritzburg and Durban. Police were under heavy fire by armed groups, some with automatic weapons, on Thursday night.

Many police vehicles were damaged by attackers and on Wednesday four policemen were injured and an off-duty policeman was killed.

Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said the situation had become too dangerous for police to use armoured vehicles only.

An uneasy calm had prevailed in the townships in the KwaZulu-Natal since last weekend, with only sporadic incidents of violence reported in Imbali. Five people were killed in Imbali, according to yesterday's police report.

At least eight people had died in Mpuumalanga since fighting broke out there on Wednesday. Six people — two women and four men — were killed on Thursday and at least 70 homes were set alight and burned.

Work stayaway

Armed opposition groups were reported to be roaming the township and there were incidents of shooting, stoning, burning and looting as the groups clashed.

Major Kitching defended security forces in Mpuumalanga against accusations that they have been taking sides in the conflict.

Cosatu has called for a work stayaway in the area on Monday in protest against police action.

Apparent residents of the troubled Maritzburg area who were exhausted by conflict approached Cosatu in an attempt to bring the fighting to an end. Major Kitching said that when groups "from each side" agreed to withdraw they were escorted out of the area by police.

The times gave a false impression to "defending" parties that police were aligning themselves with the attackers and resulting in attacks being launched on the police patrols who were then forced to retaliate in self-defense.

Inkatha under fire

LONDON. — It was doubtful that "progressive forces" would ever talk to KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, leader of the Congress of South Africa (CONTRA), leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, said yesterday.

He was speaking at a press conference on the approach of Inkatha after presenting a report on the effects of violence in Natal to the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva.

The report, which firmly places responsibility for the continuing violence on Inkatha, was funded by the SA Council of Churches and is independently drawn up by Durban advocate Mr N S Duggan on the basis of about 100 witnesses.

Inkatha refused to participate in the commission's work on the grounds that it was being sponsored by its political opponents.

Chief Maphumulo's visit to Geneva was sponsored by the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Lutheran World Federation.

He said Chief Buthelezi was not the leader of the Inkatha clan and the apartheid-created Zulu tribe in Natal and consisted of about 50,000 people.

"The Inkatha leader is a leader of the Inkatha clan and the apartheid-created Zulu tribe, which does not have the support of the mandate of the majority."

French leader to meet FW on May 4

PARIS. — President Francois Mitterrand will meet South African President F W de Klerk here next month, the French leader's first meeting with a South African head of state, a state radio network reported yesterday.

Radio France Internationale said the meeting...
abolition of the KwaZulu government, which he

described as an "apartheid structure".

Turning to the origins of the conflict, he said it
could be traced back to a "programme of action
embarked on by the KwaZulu Legislative As-
sembly, Inkatha and some big businessmen in
Natal for the creation of a semi-autonomous
government to adminis-
ter the province of Natal
known as the Natal/Kwa-
Zulu Indaba".

He said in response to
a government suggestion
of a referendum in
Natal: "Chief Buthelezi
embarked on a recruit-
ment drive, initially in
the Maritzburg region.

"During the recruit-
ment drive, unconven-
tional tactics, like in-
timidation and duress,
were employed."

The conflict soon esca-
lated into violent
clashes, which in the
past five years had
reached "civil war pro-
portions."

Chief Maphumulo said
Contralesa welcomed
the decision on Thurs-
day by President F W de
Klerk to appoint a judi-
cial commission of in-
quiry into the shootings
at Sebokeng last month,
but asked why a similar
one was not appointed to
investigate the situation
in Natal, where thou-
sands of people had
been killed.

He added that it was
intended to present the
Douglas commission's fi-
nal report, due in about
June after evidence
from Inkatha members
including hopefully
Chief Buthelezi, to Mr
De Klerk as well as gov-
ernments in Europe and
Africa. — Sapa and Own
Correspondent
ANC hardliners have a vested interest in delaying talks with Govt

PATRICK LAURENCE

WITH the energy and stamina of a much younger man, Mr. Nelson Mandela, has — with the help of the seemingly imperishable President de Klerk — put negotiators and government firmly back on the agenda.

Close examination of events, however, provides circumstantial evidence that the septuagenarian ANC leader had to deal with, at least, a temptation by a faction within the ANC to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

The first clear hint of internal opposition came a week ago when Mr. Mandela's shock announcement that the ANC had suspended the talks with Mr. de Klerk and his senior lieutenants scheduled for April 11.

Mr. Mandela told a huge rally in Bisho, Ciskei, that he had been instructed by the ANC's national executive to suspend the talks.

Mr. Mandela's reported choices of words suggested that he might not be in total agreement with the decision, and his actions over the next two days hardened the impression that he was unhappy about it.

At a press conference last Sunday after addressing another massive rally at Mthethweni near Port Elizabeth, Mr. Mandela acknowledged that there had been differences of opinion. He declined to elaborate further.

A telephone call from the airport inquiries desk.

An appointment was set up for April 9, with Mr. Mandela being scheduled to meet Mr. de Klerk on the same day as President Mandela made his first telephone call, appeared to be negociating the ANC executive's decision to suspend talks.

The April 9 meeting took place at Mr. de Klerk's spacious Tuynhuis offices.

Within a week of the suspension of the April 11 meeting, Mr. Mandela and President de Klerk - supported by their chosen advisers — held "fruitful" and "cordial" talks.

In fairness it should be added that the April 5 meeting — which resulted in an agreement to reschedule the suspended April 11 talks — enabled Mr. Mandela to raise the issue cited by the ANC as the reason for suspending the April 11 talks: the shocking public release of "faceless demonstrators" at Soweto on March 26.

At least 11 people were killed or injured during the rioting.

The march had assembled earlier in the day.

The neighbouring white town of Vereeniging, which Mr. de Klerk represented in Parliament until last year's general elections, is expected to be a scene of open balloting and not popular acclaim, as was the case at Mthethweni and Khayelitsha,

The older leaders are expected to live.

Thus, some members of the ANC's "old guard" want to delay progress to be made at the December conference. The assumption is that if negotiations fail or are postponed, there will be no useful,
Close examination of events provides circumstantial evidence that Mr Nelson Mandela had to deal with a bid by a faction within the ANC to slow down the pace towards negotiations.

Mandela, who took office at Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Soweto's(?) Sowet
Another shortfall

GLAD that was a short week; couldn't have coped with a whole five days of it.

The market's gone into soporific mode again; none of the local bops want to take a decision on whether to buy or sell — which means that they just hold and wait for some direction from overseas.

Not that Mandela's team isn't giving them a lot to think about on the local front but even on that score there's a tendency to wait for a response to filter through from overseas.

The gold board did relatively well but industrials were almost ignored — word from the technical guys is that the signs aren't encouraging. Myles reckons that things have to be tougher bottom when the technical guys are trotted out to try and shake some response from investors.

Speculation about what the Durors/TGH team might be selling off provided some light relief and quite a lot of trading activity in the form of just over half a million Gants' shares changing hands. Towards the end of the week some of the attention switched to Arwa — TGH's hosiery and textile subsidiary.

There's talk that the hosiery operations have already been sold off to Burhose (part of the FSI group) but that the parties are waiting for Competition Board approval before making any announcement.

If the board does not give the go-ahead, it's difficult to imagine what other potential acquirers there might be. Then there's all of Arwa's textile interests ... presumably a new home will have to be found for them also.

Given all the talk about it, Myles was quite surprised that Gant's hadn't been bought and sold at least twice during the week. According to rumours at the beginning of the week, the list of suitors for the company included: HLH, Tiger, Premier, SAB, Fedfood, FSI, Brian Joffe's Bidcorp, Royal Corporation, Kanhyam, Lever Bros, Anglovaal. And the price being suggested was a massive 150c a share.

(Myles reckons that the inclusion of FSI has to be a knee-jerk reaction to any takeover speculation.)

Response from the suitors? The HLH board was tied up at a meeting for most of the week; Tiger gave a firm denial; as did Premier, SAB, Fedfood and Anglov. (3)

Brian Joffe is currently overseas and Cecil Smith couldn't be contacted; Lever Bros wasn't taking it too seriously. So this seemed to leave just Royal and Kanhyam in the running and indications from those two sources are that they're not running too hard.

Some sort of official statement from Gant's and/or TGH seems long overdue.

Talking of Kanhyam, it looks as though Miele-Kip is the smallish, listed acquisition that Kanhyam chief executive Dirk Jacobs was referring to when he released the interims during the week.

Competition in the chicken market is fairly tough these days with Rainbow reasonably well ahead of the flock but presumably the Kanhyam guys reckon that the Miele-Kip operation is small enough to provide the raw materials for value-added chicken products so they won't be competing head-on with the big guys.

Myles heard that the Landlock negotiations were close to a conclusion and that a deal had been struck at a fairly good price. Management wouldn't comment except to say that a second cautious publication would be published on Monday — repeating what had been stated in the first one a few weeks ago.

Nothing more about the UAL/Projec saga. Does this mean that somebody has been apprehended and UAL's financial position has been covered? Or does it mean that the scam was so easily perpetrated that all the official bodies involved would prefer to see the story die a quiet death?

Picapil's share price took a bit of a knock this week. This isn't a very good omen ... the results are due out next week and presumably the market reckons that Picapil is going to look just about as sick as it hears Tek is.
Time for investors to go on the defensive

ON Saturday February 17 I wrote in this column that it was time to take a defensive posture on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

I predicted that the uncertainty surrounding the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, the SA Communist Party and several other former radical organisations would not create the right environment for equity investments.

This bit of advice did not even take into consideration the possible effects of a sharp drop in the Japanese market, which, at that stage was very vulnerable.

In the approximately two months since the mentioned article, both local and international equity markets have become increasingly volatile, with the turbulence on the Tokyo market continuing to rock markets worldwide on a virtual daily basis.

Added to this, South Africa's resilience in terms of financial uncertainty, gold, once again behaved in a contrary way, dropping sharply to six months' lows. This certainly did not do much to boost confidence in equity investments.

In real terms, equity prices have dropped only slightly, with the overall index declining from 3139 on February 16 to 3129 at the close on Thursday. The gold index was down from 1942 to 1857 over the same period, while the industrial market, however, sagged from 2973 to 2945 - a drop of about 6 percent.

But these figures belies the underlying weakness of the market. The performance of the overall index has been artificially boosted by the sharp rise in the price of De Beers, which has a very large weighting in the index. During this period the share price of De Beers soared from R5.95 to its current price of R7.50, which boosted the market.

The market will remain volatile and uncertain for a great deal of the year. The events surrounding the unfolding of the political drama in South Africa will no doubt have a major impact on the current market.

Business confidence, as measured by the Business Confidence Index of the SA Chamber of Business, shows clearly that business men are greatly concerned by the widespread anarchy and lawlessness in black townships. Normally this is not helpful to perceptions on the equity markets.

I use the word 'normally', because the JSE has in the past often behaved totally contrary to investment fundamentals. In times of uncertainty the JSE has in the past attracted interest due to the liquid nature of the investment. It might happen again, but I consider that possibility rather remote at this stage.

The largely unforeseen weakness in the gold price is bound to remove much of the euphoria surrounding gold shares and the economy in general. International stock markets are still very volatile and further stocks can be expected from market-makers like Tokyo and New York.

This brings me to the essence of this article: what should one's investment strategy be in such an environment? Is it time to enter the market in a big way, or should one sit on the sidelines in the hope of entering the market at or close to the bottom?

I was asked this question on Monday on Radio 702 by a listener who suggested that one should take advantage of the high levels of interest rates being paid by banks and building societies. Banks, finding themselves under considerable pressure from 'the Reserve Bank, are paying up to 19 percent on six month deposits.

There's no doubt that these rates are indeed attractive and are made even more attractive by the added concessions announced in this year's budget, which increased the tax-free limit on interest on savings from R1 000 to R2 000. But these rates are bound to come down much sooner than most people think and with inflation as high as it is, will wipe out the real return people are getting now.

Anybody with a large amount of money to invest should try and spread this exercise over six to 12 months. Somewhere in that period one should, hopefully, find the bottom of the market.

This approach is called rand-cost averaging in the case of unit trusts and has proved to be a very successful strategy for long-term investments. I would not enter the market in a big way right now, especially if one's constitution is rather shaky and you are prone to sleepless nights.

Currently the market is as nervous and volatile as I've seen it for many a year. Even steel- and scrambled traders are showing signs of cracking under the pressure.

For the average equity investor, which includes unit trust investors, it is time to remain defensive, although there are several shares that are looking very attractive at current prices (Iscor, for instance, at 210c a share is very cheap).

Unit trust investors with regular commitments should continue investing in the market. If one is concerned about a dramatic collapse in equity prices, switch from general equities to a fixed-income fund. This will preserve all capital gains at very minimal costs (roughly about one percent of the market value of the investments) and allows one to opportunistically buy back more units at a later stage, should the market decline.

I have been advocating this approach for most of the year and still think it is sound advice.

Alternatively, one should build up cash with the purpose of re-entering the market at some later stage, if one is of the opinion that the market is going to decline even further.

But this strategy has definite disadvantages in that the market could suddenly take off, leaving one stranded.

Also, trying to read the market and finding the bottom of a bear market is very difficult.
ANC had 'no role' in Venda takeover

THOHOVANDOU — The new Venda head of state, Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, who was sworn in shortly after noon yesterday by Chief Justice D.J. H. le Roux, says the African National Congress has played no role in the government takeover by his National Council of Unity.

At a press conference in the Venda capital, Colonel Ramushwana said the ANC would operate, along with others, as an ordinary political party. He warned no party would be allowed to force its views upon the people of Venda by means of intimidation.

Colonel Ramushwana did not announce the names of other members of the Council of National Unity, but indicated that traditional chiefs would play an important role in the future government of Venda. He said the names of his appointed co-rulers would be released shortly.

'The Venda nation has in the last few years suffered grossly as a result of bad government.'
Sympathy and a rebuke for ANC

NOT for some time has a single question been asked so intently by so many, and produced so few satisfactory answers.

The challenge to the media this week has been to explain what lies behind the ANC's decision to call off its face-to-face meeting with the Government and to tell the public whether negotiations have suffered a terminal blow. You can be forgiven for not yet being 100 percent clear on these matters.

We know, courtesy of the SABC, what the Government says: the ANC is unready and/or unwilling to enter the process and is merely using the Sebokeng massacre as an excuse.

This seems to be the view of most daily newspapers, too. It is worth looking at the "alternative" weeklies for a different perspective.

New Nation, the Weekly Mail and Vrye Weekblad each address, but do not speak with one voice, on the issue. New Nation is adamant that the ANC correctly assessed the mood of its followers in canceling the meeting. "When our leaders negotiate, they will need to take the people along with them...In this context, talking to the Government — whose police were killing people — would have been indefensible."

Vrye Weekblad is the most impassioned of the three. Yes, the shootings were unforgivable, says the Weekblad and no, they must never be repeated. "But we expect more responsibility and statesmanship of the ANC than we do of the Government. We are bitterly disappointed that they will not be in Cape Town next week."

The Weekblad believes the ANC is making heavy weather of the transition from exile to internal politics and finds itself paralysed: "Mandela's potential as the Moses who could lead us all out of the desert is undermined because he is not being given the space fully to play his leadership role." Negotiations will get a real kick start only when the exiles come home and leadership is sorted out once and for all.

I mentioned recently that an ANC newspaper was on the cards: confirmation comes from New Nation this week, with the announcement that the organisation's newly established Department of Information and Publicity's "two immediate tasks will be to investigate and establish an ANC-aligned national daily paper and transform 'Mayibuye' into a weekly paper."

Is this the seed of a "fifth force" in South Africa's newspaper publishing industry?
British tabloid newspapers attack ‘no saint’ Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela’s whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several conservative newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader and a claim that the Reverend Jesse Jackson had likened Mr Mandela to Jesus Christ.

Yesterday morning three tabloids — the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Star — published highly critical reports.

The Mail devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of “Savagery behind the Saint”.

Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mr Mandela should “listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers”.

And he concluded that: “The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius — just a muddled, out-of-date politician with some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas.”

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerillas is headlined: “His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it’s fighting.”

A third report in the same paper by Michael Streeter claimed it is “surely a great irony that … Mr Mandela, spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime”.

The Sun whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that the Rev Jackson “called him the new Jesus Christ”.

Mr Jackson had said Mr Mandela won the respect of the world “in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering”. He described Mr Mandela’s release from jail as a “resurrection”.

The Daily Star calculated the cost of the concert at about R720 000.

A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the left-wing Daily Mirror, which has had unhindered access to Mr Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group’s part sponsorship of his visit. It splashed a colour picture of Mr Mandela holding a white baby across page one with a banner headline: “The hug of hope”.

The newspaper quoted him as saying in an exclusive interview that he “learned in prison not to hate the white man”.

He also said he hoped to meet Mrs Thatcher in May and described her as a “very powerful lady — one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy.”
Stormy meeting bred

PAC 31 years ago

By ZB MOLEFE

F RIDAY marked another important day in black South Africa's political calendar. For it was on April 6, 1959 that a group of angry blacks took a step at a three-day conference in Soweto that was to shake black resistance politics.

The history-making conference was at Orlando township's Communal Hall where the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was born.

Prominent writer-academic Es'tia Mphahlele has caught the mood of black politics at the time.

Writing in the recently-published Mandela: Echoes of an Era he tells of 1958 when there was strife between the ANC and "an influential, highly vocal group of nationalists".

These nationalists were to form the PAC. Wits University assistant teacher Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected president. Sobukwe was to steer the PAC to great heights, though many "old timers" in the ANC thought his movement would be shortlived.

Sobukwe, according to a historian of black South African protest politics, stood out for "his ability as a speaker, his shining intelligence and his deep-rooted duty-bound commitment to his cause, which had already marked him out as a natural leader".

Others who worked with Sobukwe during those years included Zeph Mothopeng, Potlako Leballo, Peter Raboroko and Josias Madzunya.

Mphahlele gives the background to events that led to April 6, 1959. At first, he writes, it appeared as if the PAC were merely carrying in their hostile rhetoric against the ANC's non-racialism.

"But their criticism took on body and a dimension of earnestness that could ironically only have come of the Africanists' participation in the moulding of the ANC," writes Mphahlele.

Today it is generally agreed that Natal-born Mziwakhe Lembede is the spiritual father of Africanism.

After his untimely death, it was Sobukwe who became PAC leader in 1959.

The birth of Africanism, which was to lead to the formation of the PAC, started in the ANC.

The ANC's ambitious and uncompromising Youth League, peopled by Lembede, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ashby Peter Mdla and William Nkomo, was the force which moved the ANC from its stance of moderation.
‘Talks about talks’ set for next month

By CP REPORTER

THE “talks about talks” between the government and the ANC will now be held on May 2, 3 and 4 in Cape Town, President FW de Klerk has announced.

An earlier date, April 11, was put off by the ANC after police recently killed at least 17 protesters in Sebokeng.

The killings featured prominently when De Klerk met ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela in Cape Town this week in a move to save the collapsed April 11 talks.

De Klerk said the government was considering appointing a judicial commission of inquiry into the Sebokeng shootings. The Cabinet would make a final decision at its next meeting.

Also, De Klerk assured Mandela he had given instructions for in-depth investigations into the Sebokeng shootings.

Mandela said Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen was not being sympathetic to black problems, while De Klerk is reported to have been critical of what “some of his (Mandela) followers were doing”.

At the three-hour meeting the two leaders focused on new arrangements for the ANC-government talks which would remove perceived obstacles to negotiations. Also discussed at the meeting was the widespread violence sweeping the country.

In separate press conferences de Klerk and Mandela emphasised the ANC-government “talks about talks” to pave the way for serious negotiations on South Africa’s future were “back on track”.

De Klerk criticised Mandela’s alleged pressure on several homeland leaders and chairmen of ministers’ councils earlier not to join talks with the government.

Only KwaZulu’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwaqwa’s Kenneth Mopeli, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and Solidarity leader JN Reddy were present at the meeting.

But Mandela denied government suggestions that he had intimidated any homeland leaders.

Meanwhile, Mandela was due in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership, an ANC official said.

“We are expecting him today for consultations. He has been in touch with President De Klerk and has been on the scene of the violence in Natal and we would have to consult with him to get a first-hand report,” national executive committee member Steve Tshwete said in an interview.

Tshwete said it was not clear how long Mandela would be in Lusaka. - Sapa.
‘Sport is part of the political struggle’

I am proud to be associated with the Soccer Association of South Africa (Sasa) and its milestone achievements over the years in the face of tremendous hardships.

It is your courageous stand in demanding the unbanning of the ANC in 1987 that made it possible for me to address you this evening.

In the 1950s and during the era of the South African Soccer League (SASL), Moroka Swallows, Orlando Pirates and sports personalities Dan Twala, George Singh, Matthews Mbantane and Scara Sono remain imprinted on my memory.

The toll of apartheid in that era led to the dissolution of the SASL and the creation of independent soccer bodies.

I am heartened, however, by the spirit and desire among soccer bodies to form one non-racial controlling body.

Sasa and its professional wing, the National Soccer League, have an obligation to ensure that the soccer unity talks become a reality so that the new body can get on with the pressing task of developing our people — their prowess in soccer and their administrative skills.

In uniting sports bodies, our primary obligation is to consolidate black sportsmen. However, we should at the same time consider drawing into our fold establishments or white sports organisations which have demonstrated a degree of goodwill and are prepared to conform to our principles of organisation.

In this delicate process, there is no need to display arrogance or remorse. We must exercise the highest form of discipline to ensure the laying of a strong foundation for a mass-based democratic sports movement in preparation for a post-apartheid society.

Through a process of democracy, you have to take great pains to ensure that all soccer spectators, players and administrators are kept fully informed of your initiatives so that one day when you enter the world, we can laud you as a mass-based, fully developed and united soccer organisation — we can laud you as ambassadors of our people and be proud of you.

For the past 30 years the international community has steadfastly resolved, and rightly so, that South African sport was not worthy of occupying its place among the community of nations. Because of the policy of apartheid.

Black sportsmen have aligned themselves with this resolution by the international community and in the process denied themselves the opportunity of furthering their own sporting careers.

To many people, especially white sportsmen, this may sound absurd.

But to black sportsmen, whose every facet of life is dominated by apartheid and the injustices of the South African system, their sacrifices stand as a moral statement.

At the same time, white sports organisations stand indicted — guilty of enjoying the fruits of apartheid.

I take this opportunity to commend Sasa on its acceptance of the sports moratorium and trust that this position will prevail until the world is ready to embrace you.

Your refusal to engage in sports tours is a bold statement of your allegiance to the people’s struggle.

The new South Africa must grow out of the youth and talent of today.

Walter Sisulu . . . heartened by spirit among soccer bodies.

The support given to our struggle by our allies in neighbouring States speaks for itself.

As a gesture of goodwill, we need to exercise caution and not disrupt their sporting infrastructure.

Soccer City stands as an immortal representation of success through struggle. Adequate sports facilities for black people are few and far between.

In many of our communities, especially in the rural areas, we are still playing soccer on undulating fields.

In the schools our sports facilities are a sorry sight. In the early 1970s we were deprived of the use of the Nasal spruit grounds.

Even today racist city councils are intent on depriving us further.

About R150 million is spent on sport each year. I call on sponsors of sport to respond favourably to the needs of our people and ensure a more equitable distribution of funds across the racial spectrum.

In the oppressive nature of South African society, sport is a part of our political struggle. Sportsmen have a dual role to play.

On the one hand you must excel in your chosen field of sport. On the other, and by virtue of your alignment with the people’s struggle, you have a duty to intensify our struggle.
BLACK POLITICS

1990

APRIL
Amnesty a 'stumbling block'

Final chance for peace

LUSAKA — A full and unconditional amnesty for political prisoners, trialists and exiles is a key demand that may make or break the historic peace talks between the South African government and the ANC starting on May 2.

This emerged on Tuesday after the ANC's vice-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, flew here to brief the movement's National Executive Committee (NEC) on the outcome of talks held with State President FW de Klerk last week.

The ANC leadership has expressed concern at the failure of the government to grant permanent amnesty to exiles.

"We urge the South African regime to act without further delay to remove what has become a new obstacle to the achievement of a political settlement," Mandela said in a statement.

A proposal being touted in government circles is that an international jurist be appointed to determine which cases qualify for a general amnesty, a SOUTH correspondent reports.

- The ANC's A-team — See page 2
- The likely agenda — See page 18
This country needs more blacks who know what succeeds

KEN OWEN

he acquired a fresh grasp of the precariousness of life without social order: half-starved men crouched with bows and arrows on the banks of the nearby Nile, shooting at passing fish in the rapids, while a blind old man baited his hooks on the edge of the reeds, oblivious of the crocodiles.

Later, in Angola, I was to see similar villages, where people had been driven by war to wear back clothing and use wooden implements, put to the torch by Portuguese commandos. One man, armed only with a bow and arrow, was killed and pronounced "a communist" because his sandals bore Chinese characters on the soles. Later, in Luanda, I found thousands of identical sandals, imported from Portuguese Macao.

The images run together in my mind. I have listened to British, Portuguese, and Rhodesian and South African intelligence officers, standing before maps and charts, prattle stupidly about "winning hearts and minds". I was to endure the same prattle from Americans about Vietnam.

The only sense I ever heard on the subject came from Laurens van der Post, who had perceived in the hatred of Indians for the Dutch at the end of the Second World War that the rehabilitation of people of colour, after centuries of European domination and scorn, was indispensable and necessary.

In retrospect, we can all see that the great African revolution was inevitable. In fact, Europe's intrusion into this continent did not last long. The French clung to Algeria, key to their empire, for little more than 100 years. From Mungo Park's exploration of West Africa to the birth of Ghana was little more than one-and-a-half centuries. British control of East and Central Africa lasted less than a century.

The seafaring Portuguese, who clung to the coasts and kept their backs turned to Africa, lasted a bit longer. The Afrikaners, their retreat to Holland cut off by British occupation, are still precariously here, 150 years after their Trek into the interior.

Compared with the great wars of Asia and Europe, or the American Civil War, Africa's liberation struggle has been a skirmish. The memories that remain are not of great battles but of the most terrible atrocities and cruelties, committed on a village scale. I learned to carry a flask of brandy to wash the taste of death from my mouth.

Some memories, politically irrelevant, linger for their poignancy. In Cabinda, a young Portuguese man proudly lights a cigarette with his silver claws, and then falls to raving at himself for the moment of panic in which he tried to smother a grenade blown with his hands.

In Zambia's Luangwa Valley, a British soldier, surrounded by corpses and burning huts, is charged by a child with a spear; the soldier smacks the child aside with the back of his hand, and begins to cry.

In Salisbury, the pavements and kerbs have to be adapted for wheelchairs.

We are all left with the feeling that we have seen too many bodies, too many wounds, too much mutilation and cruelty.

Yet, as wars go, it was all on a modest African scale, and what followed was worse. An American has coined an apt phrase, "the Great Breakin'", to describe what came after liberation.

When the much-travelled author, Stuart Cloete, predicted in the sixties that Zaire would "go back to the bush", I dismissed the remark as South African racism, but within a few years the waterways used by the Belgians were clogged, and some regions fell into bottomless isolation.

Since then, the West Indian writer, V S Naipaul, has confirmed in his semi-fictional novel, A Bend in the River, the accuracy of Cloete's foresight.

Nairobi and Lusaka, once stiff little colonial towns, have become dangerous slums, where even modest homes are protected by walls and lights and strangling barbed wire, and where the streets at night belong to youngsters who never work, and expect never to work.

Lusaka and Maputo are crumbling. Kinshasa is surrounded by miles of clumps of slums. Railroads have stopped, lake steamers lie rusting, and the ancient steamer-ships have replaced the ships in Maputo harbour.

Through all these failures, African leaders were encouraged in their folly by whites whose inverse racism expressed itself as fawning. Highly educated blacks, like Mário Vaz in Mozambique, were sent to Tanzania to study the methods of Julius Nyerere, an over-promoted schoolteacher whose socialist ideas brought great misery on his people, to the admiring "oo's" and "ah's" of guilt-ridden Westerners.

Kenneth Kaunda was treated as a Grand Wizard, his ideas were to preach a childish nonsense called "humanism". In Kenya, whites used to say all would be well if the old man (Kenyatta) lasts, just as in South Africa whites are now saying all will be well if the old man (Mandela) lasts.

In Rhodesia long ago I was accused of being hopelessly "left" because I believed in liberty under law, one man, one vote, and a society where every individual could go about his business without fear of the gauleiters today. I am accused of being hopelessly "right" because I believe in liberty under law, one man, one vote, and a society where every individual can go about his business without fear of the commissars.
Mandela in Lusaka for Frontline meeting

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela flew to Lusaka yesterday to meet Frontline state leaders and the ANC national executive, an ANC spokesman said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mandela would be back tomorrow in time to meet foreign ministers of Ireland, Italy and West Germany on Wednesday, he said.

Mandela and other ANC leaders met Azapo members in Soweto on Saturday night with a view to forming a united anti-government front, the ANC spokesman said.

Meetings with other black political organisations, including Nactu, were in the pipeline in the ANC’s drive for a broad anti-apartheid front, he added.

Sapa reports that a joint statement issued by the ANC and Azapo deplored the violence in SA, blaming it on “apart-heid colonialism”.

“Unity in action and peace among our people require urgent resolution,” the statement said, adding that Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Masala, acting as a committee, would contact other organisations to discuss the possibility of a consultative conference.

See Page 2
Mandela: Queen's wish 'upsets' Maggie

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The queen wants to give ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela a private audience at Buckingham Palace when he is in London for the Wembley rock concert tribute on Easter Monday.

And Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher is apparently upset about it — because the meeting would emphasise Mr. Mandela's reluctance to take up an invitation to meet her.

According to a report in yesterday's Sunday Express, the queen is anxious to see a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth. She is also said to be thinking of bestowing a personal honour on Mr. Mandela.

Mr. Mandela has been highly critical of Mrs. Thatcher's decision to lift some of the sanctions against South Africa, before a "profound and irreversible" change had taken place.

Although Mr. Mandela has a standing invitation to visit 10 Downing Street, he has discounted seeing Mrs. Thatcher this Easter.

Negotiations are reportedly going on at the highest level to find a compromise before relations are badly damaged.

Meanwhile, the Mandela concert is not expected to make much of a profit, because of high expenses.

And, according to Mr. Sipho Pityana, co-ordinator for the Nelson Mandela International Reception Committee, Mr. Mandela will speak for only about 10 minutes.
JOHANNESBURG. — Sixty-nine students and teachers were holed up in an Anglican church in Newcastle after Inkatha members threatened to kill them for taking lessons in ANC and UDF politics, Mr Victor Mpanza, a resource officer at the private school, said from Newcastle.

The threatened students had petitioned the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, to arrange an urgent meeting between the South African and KwaZulu governments, Mr Mpanza said.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said from Newcastle on Saturday night that the allegations were provocative and baseless.

“Madadeni (Newcastle township) had, until recently, been one of the quiet areas in Natal,” he said. “The community opened its schools to those who wished to get away from the violence. But now we find many of these students are among those promoting disturbances.” — Sapa
Concern

There is also Government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims. Negotiations are going on "at the highest level" to find a compromise "before relations are seriously damaged".

Elsewhere, in a leading article, the Sunday Express says it is "hard to see what Nelson Mandela hopes to achieve by snubbing Mrs Thatcher when he visits Britain at Easter.

Refused

"Yet the ANC has ruled that he should refuse her invitation to No 10 Downing Street and the signs are that he will obey those instructions".

The article remarks: "Isn't it strange that Mr Mandela has been perfectly happy to visit President de Klerk whose regime kept him behind bars for a quarter of a century, yet seems reluctant to speak to a government leader who has fought consistently to secure his release?"
Azapo, ANC discuss possible conference

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Mosala have formed a two-man committee to discuss with other organisations the possibility of an all-encompassing consultative conference.

This follows talks between leaders of the ANC and Azapo in Soweto on Saturday night.

The discussion centred on moves toward the urgent resolution of the violence plaguing parts of South Africa and the presentation of a united front against the Government.

A joint statement issued by the two organisations deplored the violence and blamed it on meetings about meetings and talks about talks.

Another committee was established to deal specifically with ways to seek an end to the violence and to speak to the leadership of various organisations in an effort to address the people in the war-torn areas and halt the killing.

This committee is to report back within a week on its progress.

The statement said both organisations stressed the principle of political tolerance and therefore unity in diversity.

Saturday night's meeting was not regarded as a one-off event and further contact between Azapo and the ANC would continue, the statement said.

An Azapo delegation also held talks in Cape Town yesterday with a delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress, led by its president Zeph Mothopeng.

The meeting was also to address the nationwide internecine violence and to formulate an anti-Government strategy. - Sapa.
Mlambo briefs
Tanzanian leader

PAN Africanist Congress chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo this weekend met Tanzanian President Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi at Ikulu in Dar es Salaam, a PAC representative said. So what! (14/90 (1/9)

Accompanied by a PAC delegation, Mlambo briefed Mwinyi on the current situation in South Africa, the PAC peace proposals, the movement's position on a united front with all liberation forces and the establishment of a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person-one-vote.

"The constituent assembly will discuss the constitution for a democratic non-racial Azania," the spokesman said.

PAC hails Venda coup

THE collapse of the Venda government significantly strengthened the movement towards genuine democracy in South Africa, the external mission of the Pan Africanist Congress spokesman said at the weekend.

The PAC spokesman said the re-incorporation of the homelands into a united democratic South Africa was a central demand of the movement.

Festival rocked 'em

A HUGE crowd of music fans packed Nasrec's main arena in Crown Mines during the Easter Rock Festival at the weekend.

The accent was on rock-and-roll rhythms with the exception of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, Brenda Fassie, Chicco, Mike Faure and Steam Machine, Marcalex and Walk This Way who, like a fresh breeze, played mbaqanga, afro and township pop, disco and jazz tunes.

However, the predominantly white teenyboppers gave all the artists a positive response while singing along with most of the songs.

Shouts of "Amandla" by the gutsy Fassie were met by throaty replies of "Awethu."

The event was incident free.
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Easter violence fear for Crossroads

Look who's sunning her royal tummy at the seaside...

7000 squat arrive in Cape Town every month

By ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

THERE are fears that Crossroads and surrounding squatter camps could erupt into a "mini Natal" over the Easter weekend unless action is taken to defuse the tensions between the Crossroads town committee and a rival group.

In a letter delivered to Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr. Jan van Eck yesterday, Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adrian Vlok said he was greatly concerned about the situation and was giving it urgent attention.

According to Mr. Van Eck, squatter groupings outside the area are being drawn into the conflict as they ally themselves either with the mayor, Mr. Johnson Nako, or with breakaway headman Mr. Jeffrey Nongwe.

The death of at least four of Mr. Nongwe's supporters this week has fanned emotions and created an explosive situation.

Firemen called

Yesterday Cape Town firemen were called out on three occasions to put out fires in homes in the modern area. Some were in the fast-food industry.

A fire brigade spokesman said the homes, all constructed of brick with asbestos roofs, had been "torched". Quick action by firemen had contained the damage to bedrooms and the front and rear of the houses.

By TOM HOOD, Business Editor

Between 7000 and 10000 squatters regularly reside in greater Cape Town, the largest new concentrations in Crossroads, R.T.C., Nyanga, and Boad Bay.

This has been disclosed by Mr. Louis Western, Cape president of the Professional Land Surveyors.

He called for areas of land to be used to house the poor and set aside for the poor to cope with the burgeoning population.

"It is of paramount importance to identify and set aside land on which people can be accommodated," he said.

Expropriation should follow settlements.

"SWEEP UNDER THE CARPET"

The problem was one of growing, and could not be "swept under the carpet", Mr. Melman said. "It has to be faced as an institute have identified certain mental health problems."

These include recognising that some people had basic skills, such as carpentry, and a desire to create their own environment without harassment. They were generally peaceful and communities would not support them.

A rational development plan should be drawn up by a development team to assess the future need for amenities, schools, shops, creches, clinics, business areas and playing fields.

The institute was prepared to offer its services to the State and various authorities to help formulate a plan to resolve the problem.

Residential plots should be offered on the markets minimum cost by benefits. This would give the squatters a stake.
conflict as they ally themselves either with the mayor, Mr Johnson Nxobongwana, or with breakaway headman Mr Jeffrey Nkugwe.

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**Firemen called**

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A fire brigade spokesman said the houses, all constructed of brick with asbestos roofs, had been “torched”. Quick action by firemen had contained the damage to bedrooms and the front and rear of the houses.

An appeal is to be made to Major-General Flip Fourie, Western Cape Commissioner of Police, today to make special arrangements over the Easter break.

Mr Van Eck warned that any eruption could make “Crossroads 1966 look like a picnic”.

He said that if the causes were not addressed soon, there was a chance that all the squatter settlements in the Western Cape would be drawn “into a kind of Natal conflict situation”.

“It is so tense at the moment, and people are so frustrated that nothing is being done to protect them or to remove the causes of the conflict, that both sides are at a point where they will take the law into their own hands.”

**Driven out**

An urgent memorandum was sent to Mr Hermus Kriel, Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, yesterday at the request of squatters in KTC, Miller’s Camp, Brown’s Farm, Site B and Green Point. These people were driven out of Crossroads in 1966 by Mr Nxobongwana’s supporters.

The memo—drawn up by Mr Van Eck—points out that the present conflict has its origin in allegations that money paid on a monthly basis by residents towards a “Crossroads Housing Fund” has disappeared.

Mr Nxobongwana was in charge of the fund, collected since 1966.

The fund was to have been made available to residents to buy new houses after the upgrading of Crossroads.

Mr Nkugwe and 19 other headmen broke away from Mr Nxobongwana after the alleged disappearance of the money.

Mr Van Eck said the conflict worsened when newly completed homes were sold to outsiders while those who had paid into the fund sat “helplessly” by.

All prospective buyers were first “screened” by the mayor.

Meanwhile, many said Mr Nxobongwana had no mandate to govern them because there had never been an election. “Most residents were not even aware of an ‘election’ taking place,” Mr Van Eck said.

Mr Kriel, who has been in Natal on an upliftment programme, returns to Cape Town today.
Mandela now in Lusaka

To hold talks with ANC national executive members on South Africa

LUSAKA - African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at his organisation's headquarters in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership on recent developments in South Africa.

Mandela, accompanied by his wife Winnie, ANC military intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and United Democratic Front general secretary Mr Popo Molefe, was received by Zambia's Prime Minister Mr Malimba Masheke and Foreign Minister Mr Luke Mwananshiku.

Senior ANC officials who received Mandela included the secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, treasurer Mr Thomas Nkobi, military commander Mr Joe Modise and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

Violence

Mandela, who is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow, will hold talks with members of the national executive committee today.

He was due to meet Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda late yesterday.

Mandela is expected to give a detailed report on the violence in black townships and his meeting last Thursday with South African President FW de Klerk.

Thursday's meeting between Mandela and De Klerk brought back to track exploratory talks that had been postponed by the ANC from April 11 in protest against the shooting of at least 17 people at Sebokeng in the Vaal triangle.

The Government and the ANC said on Saturday the talks on finding a negotiated solution will now take place in Cape Town from May 2 to 4.

Sources close to the ANC said the Lusaka meeting would look at De Klerk's suggestion that he would raise the issue of the armed struggle with the ANC at the May talks.

The ANC demands the lifting of the State of Emergency, release of remaining political prisoners, scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships.

Mandela, freed in February after 27 years in jail, declined to discuss his trip to Lusaka with reporters at Jan Smuts Airport.

"I am going to see friends," he said.

After meeting De Klerk last week, Mandela disclosed that an audacious plan to unite a wide range of anti-apartheid forces was far advanced.

He announced the pooling of resources with all anti-apartheid forces - including several homeland and municipal leaders whom the Government had assumed would be on its side in future negotiations.

Mandela is also engaged in talks to bring the Black Consciousness Azanian Peoples Organisation and the National Council of Trade Unions into the united anti-apartheid fold.

If he succeeds, they will join forces with the ANC and the MDM, which includes the UDF and COSATU, presenting a powerful front to the Government in future negotiations.

Government sources admitted privately that Mandela...

To page 2

continued
Mandela off to report to ANC

From page 1

had won the first round of the power game with his bold coup.

It has left the Government and KwaZulu Chief Min-
ister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement angry
and virtually isolated.

Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipal-
ities of South Africa, confirmed that Umsa was falling
in with Mandela's unity plans. He had already spoken to
Mandela and would hold further talks with him this
week.

Boya also disclosed he had drawn a number of black
local authorities from the more conservative Urban
Councillors' Association of South Africa (Usasa) into
the unity drive.
Speculation is rife that the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, will be moving out of his four-roomed home to the Orlando West mansion when he returns from Lusaka this week.

Weekend reports quoted ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo as saying the decision followed consideration of the organizational obligations and the personal requirements of the deputy president of the ANC.

The 15-roomed mansion built atop a hillside in Orlando West in 1987, has been vacant since because Mandela had preferred to return to his old "matchbox" house.
ANC, Azapo to talk on issue of violence

LEADERS of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the ANC agreed in principle at the weekend to hold a "consultative conference" on violence.

Azapo president Dr Itumeleng Jerry Mosala and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela reached this agreement when they met in Johannesburg on Saturday, Dr Mosala said in Cape Town yesterday.

Violence by the state, violence against the state and violence between political organisations would all be discussed at that conference.

No date and venue have yet been set for the conference but it is likely to be later this month.

PAC leader Mr Zeph Motopeng was at the St James Hotel yesterday with several senior PAC members including Mr Barney Desai and Mr Benny Alexander to pay courtesy calls on like-minded organisations such as Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Cape Action League and Sacos.
Tutu to assist ANC 'victims'

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has requested an African church group to investigate the case of seven former ANC members who said they experienced difficulties in being repatriated to South Africa after allegedly being tortured in ANC camps.

The men told reporter Julian Ozanne of London's Sunday Correspondent that they were stranded in Nairobi after the United Nations High Commission for Refugees refused to help repatriate them. They asked Archbishop Tutu to assist them when he was in Nairobi last week.

A spokesman confirmed last night that Archbishop Tutu had seen the men and had asked the refugee section of the All-Africa Conference of Churches to look into their cases. Archbishop Tutu is the president of the conference.

The men said they were arrested and tortured at the ANC's Pango and Quatro camps in Angola.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment last night. The Sunday Correspondent was also unable to obtain official reaction.

General Herman Stadler of the SAP said the stranded expatriates would be helped.

Claims of torture in ANC — Page 2
UDF, ANC to stay separate

The United Democratic Front and the African National Congress are to continue as separate but closely-linked movements.

The decision to form a pact came out of a national UDF workshop held at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend.

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela addressed one of the meetings, which took place in closed sessions. He was given an enthusiastic reception.

He called for the establishment of a "patriotic front" of all anti-apartheid forces before a full negotiation process began.

ANC strategy appears to be to unite as many movements as it can — including some of the leaders of the self-governing "homelands" — under its banner before it goes to the negotiation table.

President F W de Klerk is keen to have all leaders and movements with significant support at the negotiations. The government wants to avoid the impression that negotiations will only be between it and the ANC.

At the workshop it was decided that the UDF would continue to exist but that the ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making.

One of the arguments in favour of the UDF continuing next to the ANC was that the UDF is made up of a large number of organisations while the ANC consists of individual membership.

Before it was crippled by restrictions, the UDF in many ways functioned as a front for the banned ANC.

Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF Western Cape secretary, who was appointed to run the ANC's office in the Western Cape, today confirmed the decision.

Meanwhile the Pan Africanist Congress has ruled out forming an alliance with the ANC to face the government, says the movement's general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

The PAC had "observed" statements made by Mr Mandela that he wants to talk to them, he said.

"Our positions are so diametrically opposed that I don't see us coming together on a programme of liberation to face the government."

The UDF has challenged Mr De Klerk, to come to Natal and "judge the situation there for himself", following claims that the State is using the black-on-black violence in Natal to further its own ends and that Mr De Klerk is not fully aware of what is happening.

The president of the National Medical and Dental Association, Dr Dlila Mji, yesterday accused the security forces of complicity "to try and break the back" of the MDM.
Dissidents tell of torture in ANC camp

Argus Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) fighters stranded in Kenya and desperate to return home have described torture and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola following mutinies against the leadership.

They said that tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, dropping burning plastic on the prisoners' skin and forced enclosure in containers — a punishment known as "kulukudo".

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation is carried out by the movement's own security branch known as "Mbokodo" (crushing stone).

The group claim their pleas for help have been ignored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees which openly admits supporting the ANC. They put their case to Archbishop Desmond Tutu during his visit to Nairobi where the group is living on the streets.

Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simler Molete decided to tell their story after escaping from Tanzania to Kenya, where the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has refused to help them. They now want to be repatriated to South Africa.

Sibongile, 28, said he fled from South Africa after being injured with birdshot during student unrest in Port Elizabeth areas 10 years ago.

He now also bears the scars of ANC torture when burning plastic was dripped on his skin for being involved in the 1984 Umkhonto we Sizwe rebellion against ANC leadership in Angolan camps.

For his part in the mutiny he was sent to the notorious Quatro prison camp in Angola, where he stayed until 1986. From there he was taken to Dakawa camp in central Tanzania, from where he fled in January with the others.

Mazongo also spent time at Quatro.

"When you enter there you must just forget you are a human being," he said.

According to the defectors, troubles within the ANC started in 1981 when a South African spy ring was discovered.

A brutal crackdown was then launched by Mbokodo, led by the head of security, Mswai Filiso, and the commissar, Andrew Musundo, who has since been removed from his position.

Staff Reporter Dennis Cruywagen reports that the African National Congress today had "no comment" on allegations of widespread torture against dissident members of its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

ANC general-secretary Mr Alfred Nzo said from Lusaka today that he had not read the allegations in a British Sunday newspaper, the Sunday Correspondent.

The exiles — the start of the exodus, page 15.
Row brews as Mandela ducks visit to Maggie

LONDON. — In a development that could have repercussions at Cabinet and even royal levels, the African National Congress here has confirmed that Mr Nelson Mandela will not see British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher when he visits next week to attend an Easter Monday pop concert in her honour.

The Queen and Mrs Thatcher are said to be heading for a clash over the Queen's reported intention of honouring Mr Mandela, a move Mrs Thatcher is said to oppose.

The ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Mendi Msimang, said the invitation for talks Mrs Thatcher issued when Mr Mandela was released in February would be taken up later, when Mr Mandela hoped to return for an official visit to Britain.

PRIVATE AUDIENCE

The London Sunday Express claims Buckingham Palace wants to give the ANC leader a private audience.

Hopeful of seeing a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth, the Queen would like to bestow a personal honour on Mr Mandela in recognition of his courage, the paper says.

But, it adds, No 10 doesn't want to see that happen for fear that it emphasises Mr Mandela's failure so far to meet Mrs Thatcher.

There is also government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims. — The Argus Foreign Service and Sapa-Reuters.
Mansion for Mandelas

JOHANNESBURG. — The Mandela family will be moving into their mansion in Orlando West in Soweto immediately, according to a press statement from Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC secretary-general.

The statement said this decision had followed consideration of the organisational obligations and the personal requirements of the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the rest of his family.

"The NEC (National Executive Committee) will continue to review the housing requirements of, especially, the senior leaders of the movement, including those of the president and the deputy president, bearing in mind their public responsibilities, personal needs and family wishes," Mr Nzo said in the statement. — Sapa
Time to implement the Freedom Charter

The struggle for national liberation in South Africa has clearly entered its final, decisive phase.

The political centres exist in the centre of one around the apartheid regime, the other around the African National Congress.

The apartheid power bloc is becoming isolated, being deserted even by its traditional allies in the bantustans.

For the white power bloc as a whole (the so-called right will not try to insist that the white political might, the power bloc, can remain intact and unaltered, and it cannot cling onto its monopoly of political power — it is the kind of political disempowerment to be retained in the structure, and economic privileges intact.

On the other hand, national liberation movement has learning from the African General experience that Nkrumah's maxim: "Win the first political kingdom," is not enough if it is to govern with the consent of the people — knows the location of apartheid and the transforming society must be accompanied by a substantial improvement in the quality of the lives of the people.

The current phase of struggle extends to both urban and rural areas.

The bantustan leadership is being swept out of power by many homesteads.

In the urban areas, the basic conditions of apartheid — high rents, inadequate services, poor transport, rising prices while wages remain inadequate and large numbers of people unemployed — have also sparked off widespread rebellions.

The massive demonstrations of "dual power" of the apartheid regime's moral and political legitimacy is now the eyes of the people. It is able to maintain power only because of its security forces.

"The struggle must be transformed into a capacity to govern"

The success of the international campaign to isolate apartheid makes it extremely difficult for Western powers to suppress and defend the South African government while it enjoys a monopoly over political power.

Simultaneously, the ANC enjoys overwhelming support among the oppressed and, since the release of imprisoned leaders, have been able to show this broad support — however, without being able to challenge the regime's military power.

These factors pointed to the possibility of the dominant contradiction in our situation being resolved through negotiations.

However, for these negotiations to result in a substantial victory for the liberation movement and the people, certain conditions pertaining:

- Mass-based, democratic political structures have to be created. A situation of widespread, spontaneous struggles without the building and deepening of organisations is clearly not enough.

- The strategic challenge now is for the struggle to be transformed into a capacity to govern.

- Around the main strategy which now encompasses negotiation, it is crucial that the national liberation movement is able to lead a united front of all anti-apartheid forces committed to non-racial democracy.

- Possible policy options for key areas such as rural development, land reform, housing, education and health have to be developed, as well as a capacity to carry them out.

- A serious research project that begins to come grips with investigating policy options for a new South Africa has to draw in the most creative and progressive intellectuals in our country.

- The broad democratic movement, while quite successful in launching a wide-based, all-out challenge against the state, has been far less successful in harnessing in equal measure the intellectual resources our country does possess.

- Serious intellectual work that requires research in libraries, books, government records and so on necessarily creates social distance between the intellectual and the people who would benefit from such research.

- Too often, this social distance is accentuated by activism to be a sign of lack of commitment or an unwillingness to take risks or to be bracketed.

- A consequence of this attitude is that it gives rise to a crude anti-intellectualism.

The correct approach of a progressive movement is to understand the reasons that exist between the need for intellectual work of rigorous and practical work among the people.

- The broad general vision that contains in the Freedom Charter has to be transformed into practical, feasible and possible options for a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

"It gives rise to a crude anti-intellectualism"

However, it is perhaps more necessary to stress that the role of research and writing cannot be restricted entirely to providing the materials for and continuation of all-ready defined policies.

This would reduce research to a purely ideological function and deny any autonomy or values to intellectual work, and hence to the critical yet essential function of such work.

The priorities defined at the political level become also the priorities of social research — however, not as conclusions but as the starting points of investigation.

In such a framework, a crude or mechanical understanding of the country's situation could be avoided and actively countered.

The most notable and comprehensive attempt at policy research within our liberation movement has been the initiative now known as the Centre for Development Studies (CDS). The idea of the CDS, or of the need to create a project that extends or researches policy options for a possible democratic South Africa, was a response to the changed political climate of the country, the shape and content of a new South Africa.

It was not enough to have a broad vision as contained in the Freedom Charter; it became imperative to initiate serious research to identify the concrete possibilities of achieving that vision.

For example, it is one thing to say "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and money industry of the people as a whole" and a quite different matter to work out concrete policies to achieve this.

Some of the questions that need to be asked and investigated are: What is the strength of the working class organisation? To do we possess the technical knowledge to give effect to worker control? What are the implications of nationalising the mines and certain sections of monopoly industry? Would it cause a general flight of capital?

Professor Jack Gerwel

The ANC considered it important to raise the issue of the politics of the situation with the possibility of a decisive breakthrough, to also try to change the shape and content of a new South Africa.

It was not enough to have a broad vision as contained in the Freedom Charter; it became imperative to initiate serious research to identify the concrete possibilities of achieving that vision.

Clarity, to undertake this kind of research, the broad democratic movement would have to enlist the support of the academic and intellectual community — many of whom would not be especially linked to the ANC and some who would have been fairly critical of the ANC.

A necessary condition for progressive policy research to take place is that some kind of relationship must develop between the intellectual leadership of the ANC and mass committed, creative academics!

In my view, the principal objective of the CDS ought to be to undertake research into policy options for a new South Africa.

It must generate research that facilitates the broad democratic movement to the ANC to formulate sound policies on a range of areas such as education, health, industry and their implications.

Our people have long fought a heroic struggle for national liberation, but have sacrificed many lives — including the supreme ones — have now presented us with the opportunity.

It is our task to ensure this was not in vain.

The broad general vision as contained in the Freedom Charter has to be transformed into practical, feasible and possible options for non-racial and democratic South Africa.

People and communities deserve nothing less from our intellectuals, researchers and the broad democratic movement.
UWC trio hold language policy talks with ANC

By JOHN YELD
9/4/90

Education Reporter

THREE University of the Western Cape academics were among a delegation which discussed a language policy for South Africa with the African National Congress at a workshop in Harare.

They are senior Afrikaans lecturer Dr Ikey van de Rheece, representing the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations; national co-ordinator of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) and senior history lecturer Dr Randi Erentzen, and education lecturer and National Education Coordinating Committee Western Cape representative Ms Zubaida Desai.

BILINGUALISM

The workshop's general recommendations for a language policy for all levels of education included:

- Bilingualism in languages of the individual's choice;
- Initial literacy in mother tongue;
- Languages already fully developed as mediums of instruction — such as English and Afrikaans — should be retained;
- Indigenous languages should be developed and actively promoted for instruction;
- Multilingualism should be encouraged at secondary and tertiary level;
- Compulsory trilingualism at primary school level should be dropped;
- Every South African to learn an indigenous African language by the end of high school;
- Private schools to be subject to government language policy; and
- The language policy to be re-assessed periodically.

"The basic premise of a new language policy is to enable people to participate fully in the political, social and economic life of the country," Ms Desai explained.

"No sudden shift was advocated, unlike Swapo who, from next year, will implement English as a medium of instruction."

"TRANSITORY PHASE"

"Introducing a new language policy would be a transitory phase. English would retain its position as a medium of instruction and indigenous African languages will be systematically developed."

There would need to be a reassessment of mediums of instruction at dual-medium schools "as the student population changes", she added.

The CDS will co-ordinate further research on a future language policy on a national basis."
Claims of torture in ANC

At least 60 killed, missing

OWN CORRESPONDENT

LONDON, England — Allegations of the widespread use of torture and murder by the ANC against “dissidents” within its guerrilla ranks were made in a leading newspaper here yesterday.

Up to 60 people were either allegedly killed or went missing during this period, according to seven former ANC guerrillas who have sought refuge in Kenya.

There are clear similarities in their allegations to charges made by former guerrillas against Swopp last year.

A number of prominent ANC leaders, particularly those heading its military wing, Mhongo Ulwa Sezu, are implicated in the liberal Sunday Correspondent’s report.

The report says Archibishop Desmond Tutu last week met the seven in Nairobi where they asked him to find a way for them to be repatriated to South Africa as soon as possible. This was after the United Nations High Commission for Refugees refused to help them.

The Correspondent said attempts to get official comment from the ANC proved unsuccessful.

Reporter Julian Oszané said that in making their allegations the men emphasised that their grievances were against the ANC’s military wing and not against the political leadership, to whom they remained loyal.

He added that it was “worth pointing out that there have been many claims — and some evidence — that the South African government has deliberately infiltrated the ANC’s military wing and sought to bring it into disarray.”

But, the report says, the testimony to him by the seven, who crossed illegally into Kenya from Tanzania last month, “paints a disturbing picture of divisions within the ANC”.

Between them, the group of disillusioned ex-fighters in Nairobi can name at least 60 people who, they say, have been executed or tortured to death, died in detention or disappeared at the hands of the ANC’s military wing in Angola and Tanzania.”

The men, most of whom are named, are aged between 28 and 33 — and joined the ANC following the 1978 student uprisings.

Mr Amos Maxono told the Correspondent he left South Africa after the banning of the South African Student Movement in 1977 and was recruited by the ANC in Swaziland. After doing six months’ military training in 1979 at Novo Catengue in southern Angola, he was sent to Fango camp, north-west of Luanda.

“Tensions within the ANC came to a head in 1981. First a group of ANC officers, including two of Oliver Tambo’s bodyguards, Sidwell Moroka Mbongo and James Nkabinde, began expressing discontent about the way the leadership were living in exile. At much the same time, the leadership claimed to have discovered a South African government spy ring. An extensive crackdown followed in which the leadership were living in exile. At much the same time, the leadership claimed to have discovered a South African government spy ring. An extensive crackdown followed in which the leadership were living in exile. At much the same time, the leadership claimed to have discovered a South African government spy ring. An extensive crackdown followed in which the leadership were living in exile. At much the same time, the leadership claimed to have discovered a South African government spy ring. An extensive crackdown followed in which the leadership were living in exile.

Mr Maxono was arrested as reporting he was arrested at Fango Camp, tied to a tree and beaten with a shambuka by the army commander, Ronnie Khabase. He was then sentenced to three months’ hard labour for “malicious propaganda” against the leadership.

The report says: “During this period, he alleges, hundreds of ANC cadres, frustrated by their inactivity in Angola, were rounded up for criticising the leadership. Many died during interrogation.”

It says a feeling that the ANC should be devoting more attention to the armed struggle inside South Africa, rather than assisting the MPLA against UNITA in Angola, “led to widespread mutiny inside the ANC camps in Angola — a mutiny supported by 90% of the fighters.” This occurred in 1984.

In camps on the Angolan-Zambian border, the report says, the mutineers refused to go back into battle and called for the resignation of three prominent ANC military leaders. However, the rebellion was eventually crushed and its leaders were jailed in Luanda maximum-security prison.

“Their mutiny apparently died later in detention after several months of torture.”

Mr Maxono told the Correspondent that following the mutiny, four companies of “disloyal elements” were taken to Pango Camp for re-education and held at a base called “Siberia”. There they were allegedly beaten and kept in “containers dug into the ground” under the “bloody African sun”.

They then, says the report, “mutinied again and killed five ANC loyalists. After five days the camp was recaptured and seven rebels were allegedly executed by firing squads on the orders of a hastily convened military tribunal under Sizakele Sigxaba, head of ANC intelligence, and Timothy Mokoena, who led the ANC ‘loyalist’ assault on Pango”.

Luvo Mntalo, alias Valdez Sibongile, said he was one of 16 who escaped, but were later recaptured. He said they were later tortured by having plastic melted on to their skin.

“The were told they were battalion and South African agents and would be put to death by firing squad. But after the intervention of Gertrude Shope, head of the ANC Women’s Section, they were transferred to Luanda Central Prison.”

Most were later transferred to an ANC detention camp nicknamed “Quatro”, 13km from Quibaxi in northern Angola.

All seven men in Nairobi were held for four years at Quatro in “crowded cells with no ventilation”, says the report.

There they were allegedly subjected to a number of humiliations and tortures, including being forced to “lie with their faces flat on a cement floor while officers in heavy Soviet boots allegedly jumped on their skulls to see if they would break”.

According to Mr Maxono, the ANC army commander, Mr Chris Hani, heavily guarded, was involved in a confrontation with the group in the assembly hall at Quatro.

“Hani mentioned the 1984 mutiny, so that we were challenged to explain what happened to the people because the mutiny always remained a secret. We told Hani: ‘You are a murderer. There are a lot of shallow graves in Angola because you guys have murdered people’,” Mr Maxono is reported as saying.

The report concludes by saying that without an offer of repatriation to South Africa by the UN, the men slipped into Kenya.
ANC robs NP
Govt's allies join anti-apartheid front

By MIKE ROBERTSON

The ANC's success in persuading some homeland leaders and urban black councillors to pool resources with it has stepped up pressure on the NP to open its ranks.

The ANC, in announcing that talks about pooling resources with homeland leaders and urban black councillors have reached an advanced stage, has succeeded in outflanking the government. These were the very people the government regarded as its potential allies.

And in further moves at forming a united anti-government front, Mr. Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders met Azapo in Soweto at the weekend, an ANC spokesman said.

Meetings with other black political organisations, including Nactu, were in the pipeline in the ANC's drive for a broad anti-apartheid front, he added.

The PAC, meanwhile, met yesterday at the St James Hotel with Azapo, the New Unity Movement, the Cape Action League and Sasco.

Cabinet ministers have for some time believed the NP has appeal far beyond its traditional white support base and the possibility of opening its ranks was one of the subjects discussed at the meeting. Cabinet ministers have been well aware of the ANC's drive for a united anti-apartheid front.

But fears that opening ranks will have a negative impact on its white support base have been effectively countered by the ANC's success in outflanking the government and the apparent support of its key allies.

Early on Thursday morning, government spokesmen were calling for the renewal of efforts to secure the non-attendance of four homeland leaders for their scheduled talks with President F.W. de Klerk.

Mr. De Klerk himself told Mr. Mandela when they met earlier in the day that no leaders should in any way inhibit talks on the widest possible level. He also objected to Mr. Mandela having telephoned Labour...
Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse asked him not to attend the talks.

Mr Mandela replied that the meeting between the ANC, KaNgwane's Mr Enos Mabuya, Lebowa's Mr Nelson Ramotake and Gazankulu's Mr Hudson Ntsanwbisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of pooling the resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to meeting the homeland leaders and Azapo and his planned meeting with Nactu, he also had talks with Mr Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA, Mr Mandela said.

Meanwhile, the government and the ANC on Saturday announced that their first round of "talks about talks", suspended by the ANC in protest at police shootings at Sebokeng, would be held from May 2 to 4 in Cape Town.

The announcements came on the eve of Mr Mandela's departure for Lusaka to brief ANC officials on the outcome of his three-hour Thursday meeting with Mr De Klerk.

Referring to the ANC decision to postpone the talks with Mr De Klerk after Sebokeng, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda told Mr Mandela in Lusaka last night: "We believe it is a good thing to show them (the government) there is always a limit to what mankind can stomach."

The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by the government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known, but the fact that Mr De Klerk said it included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned to SA, is one. On the government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Mr Fanie van der Merwe and foreign affairs director-general Mr Neil van Heerden are members.
Queen, PM at odds on visit – paper

LONDON — The Queen and Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher are on a “collision course” over the forthcoming visit of Mr Nelson Mandela, according to The Sunday Express.

In a front-page report by political editor Anthony Smith, the paper claims that Buckingham Palace wants to give the African National Congress leader a private audience while he is in London for the Wembley concert in his honour.

The Queen, hoping to see a democratic South Africa back in the Commonwealth, would like to bestow a personal honour on Mr Mandela in recognition of his courage, the paper says.

But, it adds, Number 10 does not want to see that happen for fear it emphasises Mr Mandela’s failure so far to meet the Prime Minister.

There is also government concern that the ANC has not renounced violence, the paper claims.

Negotiations are going on at the highest level to find a compromise before relations are seriously damaged.

In a leading article, The Sunday Express says it is hard to see what Mr Mandela hopes to achieve by snubbing Mrs Thatcher.

“Yet the ANC has ruled that he should refuse her invitation to No 10 Downing Street, and the signs are that he will obey those instructions.”

The article remarks: “Isn’t it strange that Mr Mandela has been perfectly happy to visit President de Klerk, whose regime kept him behind bars for a quarter of a century, yet seems reluctant to speak to a government leader who has fought consistently to secure his release?”

A spokesman at Buckingham Palace yesterday declined to comment, saying it was not policy to respond to reports of alleged disputes between the Queen and the government.

He added, however, that any meeting between the Queen and Mr Mandela would be undertaken only at the recommendation of the Foreign Office.

A spokesman for Mrs Thatcher responded in similar vein when approached yesterday, saying, “This is a palace matter and not for us to comment on.”

● See Page 15.
Both ANC, Azapo deplore the violence

Moves toward the urgent resolution of the violence plaguing parts of South Africa, and the presentation of a united front against the Government, were discussed at a meeting between leaders of the ANC and the Azanian People's Organisation in Soweto on Saturday night.

A joint statement issued by the two organisations deplored the violence and blamed it on "apartheid colonialism".

"Unity in action and peace among our people require urgent resolution," the statement said, adding that a two-member committee comprising ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Mr Jerry Mosala had been formed to contact other organisations to discuss the possibility of an all-encompassing consultative conference.

This is seen as the latest move to emanate from a host of meetings-about-meetings about talks-about-talks.

Another committee was established to deal specifically with ways to seek an end to the violence and to speak to the leadership of various organisations in an effort to address the people in the war-torn areas and so halt the killing.

This committee is to report back within a week on its progress.

The statement said both organisations "stressed the principle of political tolerance and therefore unity in diversity".

Saturday's meeting was a one-off event and further contact between Azapo and the ANC would continue, the statement said. — Sapa.
Scare leaflet dismissed by leaders, police

The Commissioner of Police yesterday said the SAP was convinced no attacks on whites by blacks were planned for today.

An inflammatory pamphlet has been distributed, calling for an uprising and mass killings today. The pamphlet has been widely dismissed and ridiculed.

General Johann van der Merwe said police were prepared for any eventuality. But all rumours and reports of such attacks had been thoroughly investigated and proven false.

"I give the assurance that we have no information on any such attacks. I also appeal to people not to take notice of these rumours and not to spread them," he said.

A spokesman for the Mass Democratic Movement yesterday joined other organisations in dismissing the pamphlet.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said the pamphlet was circulated by "people with sick minds" who feared change and wanted to spread fear.

Tissue of lies

Professor Ruben Sher of the Department of Immunology of the South African Institute for Medical Research has dismissed claims in a widely circulated pamphlet, purportedly from the ANC, "as a tissue of lies from beginning to end and not based on any scientific or medical facts".

Police are investigating the origin of the pamphlets and have appealed to the public not to panic as it was doubtful that the calls would have any success.

Professor Sher said he had decided to react to the pamphlet because he had received dozens of telephone calls from distressed people.

The pamphlet quotes the professor as having "proved" that Indian women had the antibody to the Aids virus.

In a statement the professor said: "The fact that a person has antibodies to the virus indicates the person is indeed infected with the virus; is infectious and can pass on the virus to others during sexual contact. To say the only way to protect against becoming infected is to have sexual relations with a person who has antibodies is completely incorrect and dangerous."

Sexual contact with a person with the antibodies would not confer immunity on the non-infected person.

"It is my opinion that the ANC would not stoop so low as to publish such racist filth," Professor Sher added. — Staff Reporters.
ANC grows from seeds of old ‘Ngwenya’

"It is impossible to miss what you have never known."

This is how ANC leader Sam Masekela, his hand tightly balled into a fist, describes how he feels about the meeting he hopes to have soon with his 29-year-old daughter, whom he has never seen. "When I left home I left her in the womb," he says, only his fist breaking the pain the words once again lay bare. "My son was only four. He is 33 now, but I can still only picture him in my mind as a little child."

Ever since he fled his home on April 19, 1960 — the date forever branded into his brain — Sam Masekela has lived in "exile", moving from country to country, from duty to duty — and until last year he had never even spoken to the family he left behind.

Among the old guard of the ANC — the "Ngwenya" as they are called by those who followed in their footsteps — such stories are not uncommon.

Connoisseurs of irony will appreciate that the Afrikaans translation of the Xhosa word "Ngwenya" would be "groot crocodile" — the term that came to be applied to former Stasi President F.W. Bosha.

The world that the early ANC exiles fled to after the organisation was banned, along with the Pan Africanist Congress, on April 8, 1960, was a far-unkind place for exiled African "freedom fighters" than is the case today.

Much of Africa had still to attain "uhuru", and colonial authorities tended to have little sympathy — and even less help.

The first member of the ANC to tread what was to become a well-worn path into exile was the organisation's president, Oliver Tambo, who had previously been selected by the ANC to re-organise the organisation abroad if it were banned in South Africa.

In the early hours of April 11 he was waved into Botswana by a sleepy border guard on the start of a journey that would lead through the then Southern and Northern Rhodesias to Dar es Salaam in colonial Tanganyika.

Well received by the Tanu party of Julius Nyere, he established a fledgling presence for those who followed, before heading off to London in an attempt to address the United Nations General Assembly on the African situation.

Just over a week later Sam Masekela was ordered to follow.

This month, the African National Congress will record (celebrate is not the right word) its 30th year of exile. During this time the organisation in exile has grown dramatically from a few hunted men, dependent upon the charity of others, to perhaps 20,000 men, women and children, involved in an organisation with an annual budget of millions of dollars.

"Also the next group that left, which included Thabo Mbeki, tried to follow in our footsteps but were arrested in Southern Rhodesia and sent back to Botswana. Later groups bypassed it and travelled through Botswana to Northern Rhodesia via Livingston."

By this time the "ANC in exile" had greatly expanded — and now consisted of two over-crowded houses and an overcrowded office.

"We shared an office with the PAC that was known as the 'United Front of South Africa'," says Mr Menyana, "but that didn't last for long because we felt they were listening in on our phone calls."

After what was usually a few months the young men were sent off for study, usually to the Soviet Union, but also to Algeria or Egypt.

Another NEC Ngwenya is James "Jimmy" Stuart, who left South Africa on June 19, 1964. Another date burnt indelibly into another mind.

By the time he left, the path beaten four years earlier by Tambo had become a worn path, but conditions in exile hadn't changed completely.

"We found an Africa on the brink of freedom, full of optimism and expectation — we also found real poverty like we had never seen."

Already banned for some time under the Suppression of Communist Act, he formed part of a group of 46 that travelled to the Botswana border in two Land Rovers and a truck.

They were dropped off near the border where they were met by a man known only as "the pilot" and guided 30 km across the border.

Despite the 4½ years since Tambo had left the country, they were only the second such group to be sent for military training.

When he reached Dar es Salaam two weeks later he found the ANC had gone up in the world and had two "residences" of its own — Luthuli residence and Mandela residence — an office and, luxury of luxuries, two vehicles — a battered Land Rover and a down-at-heel Morris Oxford station wagon.

Food, simple but nourishing, was abundant, and everyone had a camp cot to sleep on. By then we had about 500-600 people in exile and these were to form the core of the group that really created and organised the ANC in exile as we know it today."

"No one ever just left, we were ordered out. I was helped by a group of young whites to cross into Swaziland, which in those days meant just driving across the border because there were no border guards."

Oliver Tambo had left behind James Hadibe as the ANC representative, and after contacting him Sam Masekela was shown to his accommodation.

He found that all the "liberation organisation" exiles in Dar es Salaam were squashed together into one house.

Mr Masekela was later appointed to act as a guide and courier on the ANC's liberation route through Botswana, Zambia and Tanganyika because, following his border experience, he had quickly learnt to speak Kiswahili.

At this time, and for a long time afterwards, the "ANC in exile" was more a dream than a reality. Many of the early exiles spoke of the time of leaving they believed they were going abroad to join an existing "liberation army."

Another Ngwenya is National Executive Committee member Siselo Mkhaya. He left the country in January 1962, a member of the first organised group to leave the country, each expecting to undergo military training.

"But shortly before we left we were taken to a secret meeting with Nelson Mandela at which he told us we had been selected, not for military training, but to study in the Soviet Union."

"We took 13 days to reach Dar es Salaam, a record. Later groups took much longer because word seemed to get back to the SAP that groups were leaving the country and security was tightened."
Mandela in Lusaka to consult executive

LUSAKA — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived at his organisation's headquarters in Lusaka yesterday for consultations with the exiled leadership on recent developments in South Africa.

Mr Mandela was accompanied by his wife, Winnie, ANC military intelligence chief Mr Jacob Zuma and UDF general secretary Mr Popo Molefe.

Mr Mandela, who is expected to return to South Africa tomorrow, will hold talks with members of the ANC's national executive committee today.

Last Thursday's meeting between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk brought back on track exploratory talks that had been postponed by the ANC from April 11 in protest against the shooting of at least 17 blacks at Sebokeng.

The talks between the South African Government and the ANC will now take place in Cape Town from May 2 to 4.

Sources close to the ANC said the Lusaka meeting would look at Mr de Klerk's suggestion that he would raise the issue of the armed struggle with the ANC at the May talks.

The ANC has said the South African Government should clear obstacles to negotiations before an agreement is possible to end hostilities.

The ANC demands the lifting of the state of emergency, release of remaining political prisoners, scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships. — Sapa-Reuter.
CP claims to have secret ANC plan

PRETORIA — The CP claims to have access to a document from the ANC which outlines plans to make the homelands ungovernable.

It claims that in terms of the plan right-wing leaders would be monitored with a view to assassination.

ADELE BALETA reports ANC leader Walter Sisulu yesterday challenged the CP to produce the letter.

He said the CP claims had serious implications and the ANC would like to see the document. "There is no truth in the CP's allegations," he said.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said in a statement government had been informed of the letter's contents.

The letter had been seen by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and had been sent to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.

The document, allegedly drawn up by the ANC's national executive committee, outlined strategies to carry out counter-attacks against Inkatha and to place "terrorist cells" in the homelands to render them ungovernable. "Special comrades" would be infiltrated to carry out attacks in reaction to right-wing deeds.

President F W de Klerk's spokesman said last night De Klerk could not be reached for comment. — Sapa.
THE Pan Africanist Congress has ruled out forming an alliance with the African National Congress to face the Government, says the movement's general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

The movement had "observed" statements made by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela that he wanted to talk to them, he said.

"Our positions are so diametrically opposed that I don't see us coming together on a programme of liberation to face the Government."

"The fact that the PAC has decided to continue the struggle has strengthened us tremendously to be in a position to bargain."

"The ANC said at the weekend that it is prepared to lay down arms and to come naked to the negotiating table. This shows that they won't be in a position to join the PAC in a joint programme of liberation," Alexander said.

However, there was a possibility of the two organisations meeting and agreeing "to respect each other's autonomy and our respective rights to propagate our ideas without intimidation", he said.

Alexander said the PAC had paid a "courtesy call" at the weekend on organisations not aligned to the United Democratic Front or the ANC.

He named the organisations which had met the PAC as the South African Council on Sport, Azanian People's Organisation, New Unity Movement and the Cape Action League.
ANC president Oliver Tambo is expected back in South Africa in December and will hand over to his deputy president Nelson Mandela at the organisation’s first legal conference in South Africa. SARAH CROWE of the Sowetan Foreign Service reports from Stockholm.

In that time much of what he has dedicated his life abroad to has taken place - his organisation has been legalised, his closest allies, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, have been released from life imprisonment, the old triumvirate is back on top, and negotiations between the ANC and the South African Government no longer seem unrealistic.

In all this not a word has been heard or read from the ANC president. That’s why the movement - and the man - want it.

Typical

“Typical of him. He’s a man of immeasurable modesty, always putting others above himself. He’s always turned down awards in favour of Nelson Mandela and he wants him now to take over the leadership,” said a friend.

In February Tambo tried to hand over the reins to Mandela and sent London representative Mondi Msimang to Lusaka to relay his wishes. But the national executive committee voted: “Tambo for president again.”

The ANC has gone to great pains to make sure that its president is as well as a stroke-victim could be expected to be before he is put under the strain of public scrutiny. The chief representative to Stockholm, Billy Bilson, was also travel guards Nåma,仪表, and enjoyed the benefits of a quiet environment and a good diet. The chief representative to Stockholm, Billy Bilson, was also travel guards Nåma,仪表, and enjoyed the benefits of a quiet environment and a good diet.
New role for UDF now that ANC is unbanned

THE United Democratic Front would continue to exist but the "ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making," the UDF decided at a key national workshop at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr. Teror Lekota said on Sunday night the workshop was held to determine the UDF's position in the context of "new conditions" created by the unbanning of the ANC.

The recommendations made at the workshop, attended by more than 250 delegates, would be discussed by UDF regions nationwide and would then be referred to a national general council, which would finalize the decisions.

However, there was no doubt that the UDF would continue to exist and that the ANC would assume leadership of the "liberation" movement, he said.

ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela addressed the workshop on Saturday after his talks with State President FW de Klerk on Friday and "mentioned the need to establish a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces ahead of the full negotiation process".

"Such a patriotic front would have to include even progressive homeland leaders and the national workshop will make it a recommendation to national general council," said Lekota.

Recommendations included:
- The UDF continues to exist, "because it still has a role to play in terms of co-ordinating its affiliate organisations";
- It transforms itself by splitting into "national sectoral federations" which would consist of super federations like youth and women's groups; and
- The base of the "liberation" movement should be broadened to include those who had not previously participated in UDF structures. - Sapa.
ANC quiet on torture claims

NAIROBI - The African National Congress has confirmed that a group of South Africans who claimed to have been tortured by the ANC were once members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's armed wing.

Deputy chief representative for the ANC in East Africa, Henry Chiliza, confirmed the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in Angola.

He would not comment on the allegations of brutality and torture.

The spokesman said the men had been pardoned by ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1987 and had been expelled in January for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

He said the mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week, Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Molefe, Ronnie Masango and Simlet Molele said they

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ANC torture claims

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mutineers against the movement's leadership.

They said that tortures inflicted on suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, the dropping of burning plastic into the prisoners' skin and their forced enclosure in containers - a punishment known as Kulukudo.

They also claimed that the crackdown on dissidents within the organisation is carried out by the movement's own security branch known as Mkokodo (crushing stone).
‘ANC’ carved on man’s arm

A GROUP of men assaulted an Orkney mineworker and carved the initials “ANC” into his arm in Heidelberg, Transvaal, at the weekend.

A Heidelberg resident said the man, Mr Andre Kotze, 18, hammered on his front door and when he opened the door he found Mr Kotze covered in blood.

The resident, Mr Lionel Coetzee, said he was told by Mr Kotze — who is white — that he was assaulted by a group of black men who told him he was being assaulted to see whether “his blood was the same as theirs”.

Staff Reporter
Mandela not to meet queen

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Buckingham Palace said yesterday that there was "no truth whatsoever" in a report claiming that Queen Elizabeth wanted a private meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela, against the wishes of Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie will arrive in London at the weekend for the a giant Easter Monday Mandela pop concert at Wembley Stadium.

A palace spokesman said a meeting between the queen and a foreign visitor like Mr Mandela could be arranged only through the Foreign Office and there had been no request even to consider such a meeting.
ANC confirms dissidents were members

Argus Africa News Service 12/4/90

NAIROBI — The African National Congress has confirmed that a group of South Africans who claimed to have been tortured by the ANC were once members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the organisation's armed wing.

Deputy-chief representative for the ANC in East Africa, Mr Henry Chiliza, confirmed that the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in Angola.

He would not comment on the allegations of brutality and torture.

Mr Chiliza said the men had been pardoned by the ANC's president in 1987 and had been expelled in January for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

APPEAL TO TUTU

He said the mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week Amos Mazongo, Valdez Sibongile, Jacky Moiete, Ronnie Masango and Simler Moiete said they wanted to be repatriated to South Africa and appealed to Archbishop Desmond Tutu for help after they said the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees had refused to help them.

They described tortures and shootings at the hands of the ANC in Angola following mutinies against the movement's leadership.

They said that torture of suspected spies and mutineers included beatings, dropping burning plastic on the prisoners' skin and their forced enclosure in containers, a punishment known as "kulukudo".
'Assassination' plot absolute rubbish — Sisulu

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has dismissed as "absolute rubbish" allegations by Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht that the ANC planned to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr. Walter Sisulu, said today: "Rubbish. There is no such document."

President De Klerk also denied knowledge of a secret ANC document which Dr. Treurnicht claimed had recently been revealed to the government.

A spokesman for the President's office said the government would like the CP to give full details to the police so that appropriate steps could be taken.

The government was determined that law and order should be maintained and that the lives of all citizens, regardless of race, colour or political association, should be protected.

Mr Walter Sisulu

The Democratic Party also dismissed Dr. Treurnicht's claims as "nonsense."

The CP leader said "a trustworthy source" had told him that the government had recently been informed about a secret ANC document sent by the organisation's executive to deputy-ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela for approval.

Dr. Treurnicht said the document, drawn up by the ANC's Mr. Joe Slovo, provided for alternative structures to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, the use of violence to make the homelands ungovernable, the infiltration by "special comrades" to commit acts of terror in retaliation to action by rightwing groups and the security forces and monitoring of rightwing protests to assassinate the organisers and the families of security force members.

DP co-leader Mr. Wynand Malan said he believed the ANC was committed to peace and negotiation, although it had been problems in creating structures after a 30-year ban.

"It has never even contemplated such action against establishment politicians, let alone rightwingers who don't even have power. Dr. Treurnicht's claims smack of trickery and does him no favours. If he didn't make it up, he should at least try to verify his sources."
Buthelezi 'will not be squeezed out' of talks

ULUNDI. — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he is not going to be “squeezed out” of the negotiation process.

He referred to a report which said ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela had won the first round of a campaign to bring homeland leaders into the ANC fold. "Any attempt to squeeze me out will not succeed," he said.

- The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) was dragging Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini into politics, Inkatha’s London representative, Mr Ben Skosana, said yesterday.

He was reacting to remarks by Contralesa leader Chief Mhlabunzima Maphulumo, who said King Goodwill was under the control of Chief Buthelezi’s “apartheid” KwaZulu government as it supported the monarch financially. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
"Torture" by ANC: UN probe

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The United Nations is investigating charges that its officials refused to help five ANC dissidents who fled to Kenya from "torture" camps in Tanzania and Angola controlled by the military wing.

The inquiry by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) could reveal the tip of an iceberg of ANC brutality similar in scale to SWAPO atrocities against its own members, which are still being investigated.

The commissioner has asked for information from Africa following reports alleging large-scale murder, torture and the disappearance of ANC guerrillas.

A UNHCR spokesman said there would be a thorough investigation. Demands for information had already been sent to the UNHCR's Nairobi office.
Mandela talks to exiles

LUSAKA. — Mr Nelson Mandela began talks with exiled leaders of the ANC at a secret venue in Zambia yesterday.

"They are not going to tell anyone where they are meeting. The talks started yesterday and they need peace for their discussions," ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sibina said.

Mr Mandela, the ANC’s deputy president, arrived in Lusaka on Sunday for a two-day visit and immediately briefed Zambia’s President Kenneth Kaunda.

Winnie’s R100 fine admits guilt

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has paid a R100 admission of guilt fine for failing to pay unemployment insurance for workers at her Richmond fish and chip shop, senior Johannesburg public prosecutor Mr Kevin Atwell said yesterday. Mrs Mandela has also paid insurance arrears to the Department of Manpower. A warrant for her arrest has been withdrawn. — Sapa

on events in South Africa.

The ANC, which postponed exploratory talks with Mr F W de Klerk recently, will meet Mr De Klerk in Cape Town on May 2.

The ANC is demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political prisoners, the scrapping of repressive laws and the removal of troops from black townships before they will agree to end hostilities. — Sapa-Reuters
Flare-up fear as two die in Crossroads

By EDWARD MOLOINYANE and GRAHAM LIZAMORE 10/4/70

At least two people have been shot dead and two wounded in Old Crossroads in what is believed to be an upsurge in violence in the township.

According to police liaison officer Lieutenant Denise Brand, police recovered the bodies of at least two people in Old Crossroads. They had been shot in the head.

A man and a youth who had been wounded were taken to hospital. A 44-year-old man and a 35-year-old woman were shot in the head.

Police also found a man in his 40s who had also been shot in the head. He was taken to Groote Schuur hospital where his condition was said to be serious. Another victim, a boy of 12 who had been shot in the calf, was taken to the Red Cross Children's Hospital.

Lieutenant Brand said a suspect aged about 34 had been arrested.

HEARD GUNFIRE

A woman said she was reporting for duty when she heard gunfire. She decided it was safer to run back to the township and saw a man running towards her. She heard screams and saw a white combi heading towards her from the township.

She saw a woman's body at the side of the road. She ran to a house and told residents. When she left the house, the man she had seen in front of the combi was also dead.

She said three more bodies were found in the street. They were taken away by police.
Group plans to bring back 'people's courts'

Staff Reporters

"People's courts" — which were controversial at the height of the 1984-86 unrest — will be re-introduced in Tembisa soon, the Tembisa Youth Congress (Teyco) revealed yesterday.

At a press conference attended by the entire Teyco executive in Johannesburg, Teyco president Mr. Sam Seretse announced that included in the congress's programme of action for the year was the re-introduction of "people's courts", to be manned by "disciplined regiments," in an attempt to combat crime in Tembisa.

He said: "We intend to combat crime (by) forming regiments in our different sections (in Tembisa). Regiments (will) be accountable to the people and be protectors of the people."

Police reacted sharply to the announcement yesterday and said "people's courts" would be smashed.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said "people's courts" were illegal and were associated with the barbaric necklacerings of 1985/86 and other cruel punishments meted out.

The Tembisa Police spokesperson said no appeal for sentences. "Any alternative structures are illegal and we will act against them wherever they are found. If so-called 'people's courts' are found, they will be smashed."

The Teyco executive said at yesterday's press conference that "people's courts" would be revived in a sincere effort to combat crime, and that strict discipline and a code of conduct for the people involved in the planned "regiments" would be enforced.

'Graffiti squads'

"We will continue with the people's courts in a very disciplined way and strictly within regiments. There will be a code of conduct for people in the regiments," said Teyco treasurer Ms Deborah Marakalala.

The organisation's secretary-general, Mr Philemon Ntsinga, said Teyco regarded crime as one of the evil results of apartheid. Consequently, apart from the soon-to-be-revived "people's courts", anti-crime rallies would be held to teach people about the iniquities of crime.

Tasks the Teyco executive has set for itself include:

- Putting more pressure on town councillors to resign and be replaced by "organæ of people's power".
- The formation of "graffiti squads which will continue with the work of popularising our organisations and our leaders, so as to declare our township as an ANC (territory)."
- To embark on educational programmes "to prepare and guide the youth in order to grasp the progressive ideas of our revolution".
- To support the "mother-body", the South African Youth Congress, and participate in all its activities.
- To set up an intensive campaign to call for the release of Tembisa-based political prisoners such as Andrew Maphethi, Obed Madonsela, Chris Khumalo, Vusi Mngomezulu and Paul Mathole, including those on death row such as Joseph Chidi and Boxer Molele. The Teyco executive told of repressive measures and police harassment they had to endure under the state of emergency since Teyco's formation in 1986, resulting in the organisation's inability to hold an annual congress before the only one held three weeks ago.
Natal townships ‘on verge of eruption’

Political Reporter
As renewed fighting broke out in strife-torn Natal yesterday, unrest monitoring groups warned that the province’s black townships were on the brink of exploding and that the police were losing control.

Democratic Party offices in Durban and Maritzburg, the areas hardest hit by the violence which has left hundreds dead and thousands homeless, reported increased tension yesterday.

The DP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje said: “The perceptions are that even the army cannot save the people and if this is so we are faced with full-scale anarchy.”

Upsurge
Monitors said the conflict had moved from Edendale outside Maritzburg, where police backed by troops had managed to contain the conflict, to Mpuimalanga near Hammarsdale, the hillsides around Durban and kwamkhuza near Amanzimtoti.

A DP spokesman in Maritzburg attributed the upsurge in violence to yesterday’s stayaway, organised by Cosatu and the United Democratic Front, and impatience by thousands of refugees to go back home.

Unrest monitoring groups estimated the total number of refugees currently being housed in churches and community halls in town centres at about 44,000.

“Every available hall is packed to capacity,” a DP spokesman in Durban said.

Mr Richard Fowler, convenor of the Displacee Relief Committee — a committee of an ad hoc crisis group of about 30 organisations — said about 14,000 refugees were being given shelter at 10 centres in Maritzburg alone.

An estimated 4,000 refugees have moved into Durban’s central business district, The Star’s Own Correspondent reports.

Durban City Police, Durban Central Residents Association and the Black Sash estimate there are about 800 people, mainly from Umlazi, who have moved on to the beach front; another 800 at Durban station; 400 at the Ecumenical Centre; 300 have joined the growing band of street people; 300 in the Warwick Avenue Triangle; 210 at the Expo Centre; 200 at the Berea Road station; 200 at the Centenary Road bus terminus and another 800 on vacant lots in the district.

Black Sash chairman Mrs Wendy Annecka said an urgent appeal had been launched for clothing, food, medicines, blankets, foam rubber mattresses, soap, towels and nappies.

On Sunday night 210 women and children who escaped from kwamkhuza spent the night at Medwood Gardens, opposite the Durban City Hall. The women and children left the township in minibuses after fighting broke out at the weekend.

Outburst
The Black Sash and the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg said the death toll was much higher on the side of the Cosatu/UDF/ANC and most refugees belonged to that alliance and not Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi’s movement angrily denied the allegation as “just another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims”.

ANC confirms revolt, silent on torture claims

The Star's Africa News Service
NAIROBI — The ANC has confirmed that a group of five South Africans, who claimed to have been beaten and tortured by the movement, were once members of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The deputy chief ANC representative in east Africa, Mr Henry Chiliza, said the men had been involved in a revolt against the leadership and had been sent to Quatro detention camp in Angola. He would not comment on the men's allegations of torture.

The spokesman said the men had been pardoned in 1987 and had been expelled in January 1990 for "actions incompatible with the ANC".

The mutineers had killed several officers when they took over the Pango camp in Angola during the revolt.

Last week, the five told reporters they wanted to be repatriated to SA but the UN High Commissioner for Refugees had refused to help them.

General H stadler of the SAP public relations division yesterday said stranded expatriates should try to make their way to an SA embassy or consulate, or apply to have their cases taken up through a foreign embassy if there was no SA embassy in the country they found themselves in.
ANC has death plot — CP

The Conservative Party claims to have access to an ANC document which outlines plans to make the homelands ungovernable and to monitor right-wing leaders with an eye to assassinating them. Star 10/4/90

A statement by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht says the Government has been informed of the contents of the letter, which has also been seen by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda and has been sent to ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The document, allegedly drawn up by the ANC's national executive committee, outlines strategies to carry out counter attacks against the Inkatha movement, to place "terrorist cells" in the homelands to wage a campaign to render them ungovernable, and to infiltrate "special comrades" to carry out terror attacks in reaction to deeds carried out by right-wing groups or by the security forces.

A spokesman for the State President would not comment immediately, and a spokesman from the ANC offices in Johannesburg available. Calls to ANC headquarters in Lusaka were not answered. — Sapa.
The myth of an 'army of liberation'

The hard reality of exile

THE 30th year of exile of the African National Congress falls this month. During that time the organisation has grown dramatically from a few hundred men, dependent upon the charity of others for their food and shelter, to perhaps 20,000 men, women and children involved in an organisation with an annual budget of hundreds of millions of rand.

In this, the second part of a three part series, KEN VERNON of the ARGUS AFRICA NEWS SERVICE reports from Lusaka, Zambia, on the consolidation of the organisation in exile after the initial wave of exiles following the banning of the ANC on April 8, 1960.

For several years after the move to Lusaka the organisation's headquarters operated from the 'Liberte Centre' set up in the city, which we shared with other organisations such as Frelimo and Swapo, said Mr Mfenya.

By 1965 the initial wave of people fleeing South Africa after the banning of the ANC had dwindled to a trickle and the organisation entered a static period that lasted up until the massive outflow of new exiles following the 1976 unrest.

National executive committee member James "Jimmy" Stuart estimates that during that first five-year period a maximum of 1,000 members left South Africa.

"Headquarters" nominally continued to be the one room office in Dar es Salaam, but in reality it was wherever the leadership could get together.

Most ended up in the Soviet Union, while others went to Algeria, Egypt, Cuba, China and to Scandinavian countries.

"Headquarters" normally continued to be the one room office in Dar es Salaam, but in reality it was wherever the leadership could get together.

As Africa cast off the shackles of colonialism during the sixties, so the ANC came to be accepted as part of the "national liberation fighters" attached to the diplomatic cocktail circuits in the newly independent countries.

Education

Many of these people however, especially those with advanced education and training, such as doctors and nurses, were lost to the organisation because they did not fit the mould of young men wanting to exist for military or other training.

A group of 21 black ANC nurses who fled the country were appointed to hospitals in Tanganyika - an early example of South African "foreign aid" to Africa - but later dispersed around the world.

from his job as main linkman on the Botswana/Zambia/Tanzania/Exilisation route, and early in 1964 left for training in Communist China, followed by a stint in the Soviet Union.

"I have very fond memories of China. Compared to life in Tanganyika, China was very good. There was a lot of food, clothing and equipment. We even had entertainment!"

Another early soldier was James Stuart, who was a member of only the second group of ANC members sent to the Soviet Union for training.

White people

"We were sent to Odessa," he recalled. "That was the first time in my life I had any close contact with white people. In South Africa I had never even been into a hotel."

"There we found we could sit down and talk with our white instructors about everything, about our families, our hopes and fears, and we felt that they understood and sympathised."

Mr James "Jimmy" Stuart, a member of the national executive committee of the ANC, who originally came from Cape Town — an early soldier who was a member of the second group sent to the Soviet Union for training.

Federation of Democratic Youth

After 15 months military training at Odessa, James Stuart found himself posted as commandant officer to the ANC's first military base at Kongwa, near Dodoma in Tanzania.

In 1966 James Stuart left with the first group selected to infiltrate South Africa to organise "mass insurrection."

Secrecy was the keyword, but things went awry and he and his group ended up spending an entire year inside a house in Lusaka, without up to standard — we had to build our own school to bridge that gap."

Another major decision was taken to divide the organisation into three major sections.

An Office of the President was created to oversee the liberation struggle internally and externally. The Office of the Secretary General was created to control the various non-military departments and an Office of the Treasurer General created to control the finances of the organisation.

Funds

An immediate effect of the reorganisation was an influx of funds as countries who had previously decided they could not donate to a military orientated organisation now gave funds, food and clothing to the ANC education or other departments.

"For several years after the move to Lusaka the organisation's headquarters operated from the 'Liberte Centre' set up in the city, which we shared with other organisations such as Frelimo and Swapo," said Mr Mfenya.

"In 1974 when I was transferred to headquarters we had, apart from our shared office, one car and two rented houses for about 160 people."

One of the legends of the ANC in exile revolves around that one solitary car that for years comprised the entire ANC transport department.

"It was an old '32 Fiat and I really looked after it like it was my baby," says Mr Stuart, who for years was in charge of the vehicle.

Museum

"For years it serviced the entire movement in Lusaka, carrying people all over the place. We are trying to save it now to try and find a place for it in a museum."

In 1973 the ANC moved out of the Liberte Centre, and into its "own" office - shared with a Zambian businessman - in an attempt to avoid the
Secrecy was the keyword, but things went awry and he and his group ended up spending an entire year inside a house in Lusaka, without once being granted permission to leave. One member of the group ended up mentally unbalanced by the ordeal.

**Military camp**

"We were all a bit naive about what we thought we would achieve at that time," Stuart admitted.

Later he was put in charge of a military camp on the Rhodesian border, where ANC detachments fought alongside Zulu soldiers against the Rhodesian government. "We only got meat once a month and there were no fresh vegetables or fruit. But eventually we started feeding our own gardens and ended up supplying the nearby town."

were appointed to hospitals in Tanzania — an early example of South African "freedom fighters" attached to the diplomatic cocktail circuits in the newly independent countries.

But while diplomatic contacts were painstakingly made, the first priority continued to be the creation of an army of liberation.

One of the first to be sent for military training was Sam Masecomola, who was recalled from hospital service in South Africa. Stuart found himself posted as commanding officer to the ANC's first military base at Mpondwe, near Dodoma in Tanzania.

"We had to build that camp from the ground up ourselves, including our own vegetable gardens, and we were only allowed out on weekends — for the rest it was military and fitness training and political discussions," he says.

Posted to a similar camp, Sam Masecomola found life "very harsh" after the soft spots of China.

The Organisation of African Unity was in charge and we shared the camp with Swa pads and Mozambique's Fretilin. "We only got meat once a month and there were no fresh vegetables or fruit. But eventually we started feeding our own gardens and ended up supplying the nearby town."

In 1989 the ANC reached a watershed at the Mondole Conference. Here the direction in which the organisation was shifting was subjected to exhaustive analysis. It was decided to move the headquarters from Tanzania to Zambia in order to facilitate infiltration of cadres into South Africa.

Another major decision taken was to expand the organisation from being purely military orientated. Departments of education, health, legal and religious affairs and so on were founded, as well as women's and youth branches.

"When we started to send young men to African countries for further studies, it really brought home to us the inadequacies of the Bantu education system," recalls Sindiso Mienyana. "African countries couldn't accept our students because they weren't..."
Minister loses job

THE Deputy Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, Mr S Pachai, has been relieved of his office.

The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said in a statement yesterday that he had decided to relieve Mr Pachai of his office.

Mr S V Naicker is to be appointed Deputy Minister of Housing.

There will no longer be a deputy minister of Local Government and Agriculture in the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates. — Sapa
EC visit may set new policy on SA

A HIGH-POWERED EC delegation is due to arrive in SA tomorrow morning on a three-day fact-finding visit, the outcome of which could decisively affect the future of European sanctions policies against SA.

The 20-strong delegation, headed by Irish Foreign Minister Gerald Collins, whose country chairs the EC, is to meet a wide variety of SA organisations ranging from the ANC and PAC to CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

Their visit was decided upon at a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the EC in Brussels on February 20. The EC "troika" — as the composition of the delegation is described — will also include, as the immediate past and future chairs of the EC, representatives of France and Italy. They will be French deputy foreign minister Thierry de Beaucé and his Italian counterpart Susanna Agnellì.

The other senior politician in the delegation is EC Commission vice-president Frans Andriessen. The delegation is scheduled to arrive tomorrow on separate flights from London, Paris and Rome.

Italian Embassy second secretary Alessandro Cortese said yesterday the purpose of the visit was for EC representatives to meet all in SA concerned with constitutional development.

The delegation would report back to Brussels on its findings on events in SA since President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech at the opening of Parliament.

It was hoped the visit would assist the EC in developing its policy on SA, he said.

He expected that, with 12 countries having to reach agreement on the question, this would be a lengthy process. But, depending on the delegation's impressions, it could be the beginning of a process of changing or refining EC policy.

Tomorrow afternoon has been set aside for meetings in Johannesburg with the ANC, UDP and Cosatu. An ANC spokesman said at the weekend deputy president Nelson Mandela would be arriving back from his Lusaka trip in time to meet the group.

On Thursday the delegation flies to Cape Town, where it will meet De Klerk and other government representatives.

In the afternoon it is scheduled to see the SA Council of Churches, House of Delegates head J N Reddy, and Treurnicht. It will also meet various members of the business community including, it is understood, a delegation from the SA Chamber of Business.

On Friday the EC group returns to Johannesburg, where it will see Labour Party chief the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the DP compliance with aspects of EC sanctions has already caused dissent in the EC.

The UK regards the iron, steel and coin embargoes as mandatory, but not the investment ban. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has indicated her intention to phase out certain sanctions.

Before 1986 the EC froze scientific and cultural relations with SA. Britain has already announced it is no longer observing the scientific and cultural embargo.
CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk and ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela are set to meet late today in a bid to re-schedule a date for talks to remove obstacles to negotiations.

De Klerk’s office would not issue any details yesterday but Mandela said in Johannesburg that it was scheduled for 6pm. Meanwhile, there was uncertainty as to which of the homeland leaders, scheduled to meet De Klerk earlier in the day to discuss the structuring of negotiations, would actually attend the meeting.

It is expected Mandela will get short shrift from De Klerk if he reiterates his earlier call for the removal of Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Government spokesmen concede that on the ground some policemen’s conduct might be questionable, but reject accusations that the force in general is undermining negotiations.

Police spokesman Herman Stadler said yesterday that individual policemen had taken sides in the Natal fighting and they would be dealt with.

But police did not believe this problem was widespread, he said.

— ALAN FINE reports that Mandela said yesterday the ANC had worked harder than any other organisation for a meeting between itself and government, and it would not allow any flimsy reason to prevent it arriving at that goal.
UDF concedes ‘liberation’ leadership to ANC

CAPE TOWN — The UDF would continue to exist and that the ANC would assume leadership of the “liberation” movement.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela addressed the workshop on Saturday after his talks with President F W de Klerk on Friday and “mentioned the need to establish a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces ahead of the full negotiation process”, Lekota said.

“Such a patriotic front would have to include even progressive homeland leaders and the national workshop will make it a recommendation to the national general council.”

Recommendations included that the UDF continued to exist, “because it still has a role to play in terms of co-ordinating its affiliate organisations”.

It should be transformed by being split into “national sectoral federations” consisting of federations like youth and women’s groups.

The base of the “liberation” movement should be broadened to include those who had not previously participated in UDF structures.

This would include “all homeland leaders and people who have served in government structures but who acknowledge the leadership of the liberation movement, provided that they are genuine and not in conflict with the masses on the ground”. — Sapa.
Mandela, Azapo peace bid

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and Azapo president Jerry Moala represented their organisations at a meeting at the weekend which could lead to closer co-operation between anti-apartheid groups to end internecine violence.

The two leaders agreed to make contact with other "liberation movement" organisations including trade unions, with a view to drawing from them an undertaking to work towards a "consultative conference on black-on-black fighting.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley yesterday said his organisation was attempting to bring the PAC into a three-way conference on the matter.

Following Saturday's meeting in Johannesburg, an ANC spokesman said the ultimate aim was to form a united anti-government front. A joint statement deplored the wave of violence in SA and blamed it on "apartheid colonialism".

Moodley said an Azapo delegation had met PAC officials on Sunday at an introductory meeting, and efforts were being made to set up a meeting between the top leadership of the organisations.

Azapo's intention was "to create a united front against the De Klerk regime by the various sections of the liberation movement", Moodley said.

To the extent that unity proved to be impossible because of political differences, Azapo wanted the groups to encourage an atmosphere of tolerance for political diversity among "liberation" organisations.

Moodley said ANC and Azapo officials had already begun working among their supporters in areas where violent conflict between them had erupted.

These areas included Gyi, Mohlakeng near Randfontein, Bekkersdal, Carletonville, Potchefstroom and parts of Natal and the western Cape.

The intention was for the officials to work out in consultation with local leadership, mechanisms by which conflict could be resolved, Moodley said.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment yesterday.
Flickering hopes

NICOLA CUNNINGHAM-BROWN

DURBAN — It was the lighted candles that broke the ice.

The prayer service in Ntuzuma near Durban recently was tense at first when members of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF) filed into a massive tent and faced each other grimly from opposite sides.

But when it came time to exchange candles, they embraced each other and wept, and promised that never again would they attack and hurt one another.

It was not the first time such promises have been exchanged. There have been several attempts before to secure peace after nearly three years of bloody confrontation, killings, rapes, arson and looting which has left nearly 3,000 people dead and thousands of homes destroyed.

But on each occasion the violence has broken out again. Now Natal residents are sceptical about these grassroots peace initiatives.

In the immediate area surrounding Durban alone, the violence claimed 178 lives in December, 109 in January and 105 in February, according to the coordinator of the Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group, Roy Ainslie. So far this month at least 18 people have died.

Deep-rooted causes

There have been ongoing peace talks between leaders of Inkatha and the Council of SA Trade Unions/UDF alliance, and every so often the violence simmers down, raising hopes among victims that their lives will return to normal once again.

But reality paints a different picture. The violence is far too deep-rooted and complex to simply disappear overnight.

Many political analysts have described the Natal violence as symptomatic of problems apparent in the rest of the country. Appalling socio-economic conditions have created a general feeling of discontent among black people, who are forced to compete for inadequate and limited resources, which in turn has given rise to "totsism" and criminal activities.

Rapid urbanisation, lack of infrastructural resources for residential purposes and widespread unemployment are very serious problems in Natal. Durban, said to be the second fastest growing city in the world, is surrounded by massive and constantly growing squatter areas, where between 500 and 1,000 people can depend on the same single tap for water. Families are squashed into tiny tin-and-mud shacks, which wash away every time it rains. There is no electricity, no water system and no roads.

Gangsterism is on the increase. There are at least 10 well-established gangs operating in Durban's townships, who lead on the political bandwagon and constantly perpetrate atrocities in the names of Inkatha and/or the UDF or ANC.

And the problem of violence is compounded by the political struggle between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance.

Research into reasons for the violence has been widespread. John Aitchison, director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal in Maritzburg, suggests that there are two reasons for the violence:

That it is simply a later expression of the regret over the events of the past, and would certainly explain what he calls "the curious inability or unwillingness of the State's forces to crush the violence."

The role of the South African Police and the kwazulu Police in the violence has been highly controversial, with both Inkatha and UDF members accusing them of partnership on different occasions.

However, although the Chief Minister of kwazulu and president of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, believes these peace talks have not achieved much, the leaders who are involved are cautiously optimistic about their success.

The violence...
Pressure mounts on NP to open its ranks

CAPE TOWN — The ANC's success in persuading some homeland leaders and urban black councillors to pool resources with it has stepped up pressure on the NP to open its ranks.

Cabinet Ministers have for some time believed the NP has appeal far beyond its traditional white support base and the possibility of opening its ranks was one of the subjects discussed at last week's bosberaad (bush council) of Ministers and deputies.

But fears that opening ranks will have a negative impact on its white support have until now directed their thinking along the lines of alliances with black leaders.

However, the ANC, in announcing that talks about pooling resources with homeland leaders and urban black councillors have reached an advanced stage, has succeeded in outflanking government. These were the very people government regarded as its potential allies.

Early on Thursday morning government spokesmen were citing intimidation as the reason for the non-arrival of four homeland leaders for their scheduled talks with President F W de Klerk.

De Klerk himself told Mandela when they met later in the day that no leaders should in any way inhibit talks on the widest possible level. He also objected to Mandela having telephoned Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickx asking him not to attend the talks.

Mandela replied that the meeting held between the ANC, KaNgwane's Enos Mabasa, Lebowa's Nelson Ramohilo and Gazankulu's Hudson Ntuanwisi and representatives of QwaQwa and KwaNdebele was aimed at addressing the question of a pooling of resources of all anti-apartheid forces.

In addition to the homeland leaders, 

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NP under pressure

Mandela also had talks with Tom Boya, president of the United Municipalities of SA, and with Azapo and planned to meet Nactu.

The steering committee set up by government and the ANC to prepare for the May talks between the two will also act as an informal "security commission".

This became clear when both De Klerk and Mandela, after Thursday's meeting, hinted that the steering committee would be the channel used by government and the ANC to deal with security problems as well as to try to prevent further outbreaks of violence.

Membership of the committee is not known but the fact that De Klerk said it included external as well as internal ANC members points to the probability that ANC intelligence chief Jacob Zuma, the only external leader of the organisation known to have returned for a short while to SA, is one.

On government's side, it is likely that constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden are members.

Hinting at a security role for the steering committee, De Klerk said that his meeting with the ANC delegation had contributed towards better communication to avoid misunderstandings that could result in an outbreak of violence.
Attacks were by the whole community, says Inkatha

The following day barricades were set up on the roads and a vehicle belonging to Chief Shiyabantu Zondi — who claims a constituency of 100 000 people in the Mzimkhulu area — was stoned. The chief's child was slightly injured.

"This, and previous violence, which usually took the form of attacks on selected houses, the new fighting has brought assaults on entire communities.

The Joint Working Committee of the UDF and Cosatu bus said the attacks were by large, armed "Inkatha impi". At the height of fighting in the midlands late last month, monitors recorded seeing about 12 000 armed men in the field, most of whom were members of these "Inkatha impi"; according to the JWC.

However, Inkatha Institute researchers said after interviewing large numbers of people involved in the fighting, or closely associated with it, they have come to a different conclusion.

They do not dispute large numbers are involved, but say it is incorrect to say the attacks are orchestrated or planned by Inkatha leadership.

Institute director Gavin Woods said they discovered enormous anger over the "tyranny" exercised by comrades living in "UDF areas".

This growing anger and the potential for an explosion had been detected three or four weeks before the Midlands blew up.

"There was escalating harassment by comrades of commuters going through the valley from outlying areas to town. People reported these incidents to the police. When nothing happened, people complained the police were supporting the comrades."

He said on March 24 a woman and her child were badly stoned on Edendale Road. The next day buses going to an Inkatha rutty were stoned. A mini bus was burnt with a number of passengers inside.

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Woman 'executed' in Xroads killings

Staff Reporters

WITNESSES yesterday described how three men shot and killed a fleeing Old Crossroads woman before walking up to her and cold-bloodedly executing her at point-blank range.

The 25-year-old woman, identified only as "Miriam", was one of four Old Crossroads residents who fell victim to the three gunmen about 7am yesterday.

Another unidentified person was shot dead as violence continued in the camp last night, bringing the total of recorded deaths there to five.

Emergency personnel said scores of people fled their homes last night as a group of people torched about six homes.

Fire engines were at first not able to enter the area and had to wait for police reinforcements because of the intense violence, a spokesman for the fire brigade said last night.

The others who were shot yesterday morning were Mr Nodali Sihunzi, 44, who died instantly when the gunmen shot him in the head, and Mr Lungile Myani, 40, who was later found with a similar head wound.

All three of those executed yesterday morning were apparently on their way to work.

The shootings are almost certainly linked to the ongoing feud between supporters of the Old Crossroads Committee and the breakaway faction of 15 headmen led by Mr Jeffreys Nqzeni.
MDM, UDF to bolster group

Mbeki and Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive.

The eighth ANC delegate is Mr Ahmed Kathrada, one of the Rivonia trialists released in October with Sisulu.

Missing at the talks will be ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still recuperating in a Swedish clinic after suffering a brain spasm last August.

The inclusion of Modise suggests the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with representatives of the South African Defence Force.

The idea was first mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President FW de Klerk would like to play down the military factor in discussions.

Asked whether the team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates - despite their past records or legal standing in South Africa.

Sebina said he wanted to refute reports in certain South African newspapers that there was disunity within the ranks of the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with De Klerk, or over tactics which the ANC should adopt at the talks.

"That is nonsense," he said. "There is a spirit of complete unanimity within the ANC at the moment."
Constitution making: the ultimate hurdle

WHO will be the architects of a new South African constitution? This will be one of the key questions to be answered once negotiations and the peace process get under way.

The ANC’s view is that the constitution must be drawn up by a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person one-vote.

The government has flatly rejected this proposal, saying it would undermine the winner before the race begins. Instead, it favours a system premised on minorities and group interests.

The government fears a constituent assembly may ensure the “bull players” such as homeland leaders and the Labour Party could be eliminated from the political stage.

At issue is the question of who will determine the way the country is governed.

ANC constitutional expert, Professor Jack Simons, says the basis for the demand for a constituent assembly is simple: there has to be a legal framework for how the new South Africa is governed.

The parties at the negotiating table will have to decide how this framework is to be drawn up and who will participate in the constitutional debate.

The drawing up of a new constitution will be the ultimate hurdle to cross in the unfolding peace process in South Africa.

Already the key political forces, the National Party and the African National Congress (ANC), have adopted divergent positions on the mechanics of constitution drafting.

Chiara Carter examines the idea of a constituent assembly that has now entered the debate.

Simons says the ANC’s view is that the constitution must be decided by an assembly representative of the South African people, not the apartheid parliament or any other apartheid institution.

“If we want the future South Africa to be democratically shaped, we must ensure that those who draw up the constitution represent the views of the majority.

“This can be done only through a democratic election on the basis of one-person one-vote,” Simons says.

ANC international affairs spokesperson, Thabo Mbeki, says it is not enough to say the political forces must get together to discuss a new constitution.

There has to be a way of determining who these political forces are.

“ ‘You can’t just say all political forces in the country must get together. You have to answer who those parties are,’ he says.

“The ANC is obvious, the National Party is obvious; but where does Allin Hendrikse belong? Is the AWB part of this process?

“The ANC and the democratic movement think that the body that should work out a new constitution is a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote.”

Mbeki says that the constituent assembly will be a major bone of contention once negotiations got under way.

“With democratic elections, the question of who is truly representative is not an issue, because the people would decide.”

But before you get to that point, there will have to be agreement on how such an assembly is to be constituted,” Mbeki says.

There is a long road to travel before this point is reached.

First, a climate for negotiations has to be created.

This includes a situation where there can be free political activity with organisations able to operate unhindered, the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the total lifting of state of emergency, the repeal of repressive legislation, the removal of tropp from the townships and a halt to political executions and trials.

After this, the parties will have to reach agreement on a cessation of hostilities.

OAU Declaration

Then, whatever the basis for formulating a new constitution, certain basic principles will have to be agreed upon by the parties at the negotiating table.

These would probably be on the lines of those included in the OAU Declaration.

These guidelines would provide the broad parameters within which a constitution could be drawn up.

Although it has called upon people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly, the ANC has not released details on how it sees the mechanics of such an assembly working.

Still to be answered is the question of an interim government to govern the country while the constituent assembly is deliberating, and the question of policing during this transitional period.

Does South Africa need a neutral government during this period? Will the ANC and PAC cadres be allowed back? Will SA security forces be contained to cities like Nqul? These questions will have to be decided through negotiations.

Buthelezi

Unlike Namibia and Zimbabwe, there is no direct link between South Africa and an external party.

ANC thinking earlier this year was that an interim government could include PW De Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Gomzi Buthelezi, but it is unclear how recent events in Nqul will affect this idea.

On the security front, the possibility of a combination of the country’s security forces and returned exiles during negotiations has been talked about, but this does not seem a likely option.

It is also possible that the international community could play a role in ensuring that justice and impartiality are maintained during this period.

Both the ANC and the South African government would prefer not to involve an “umpire” in the peace process.

If an external party is to become involved, however, the ANC is known to favour the OAU, while the government tends towards the involvement of the United Nations or a Western power.

Assembly

The ANC journal, "Maila," says there should be an institution impartial and sovereign to oversee the transition process.

Also to be decided is whether the election to such an assembly will be on a proportional basis as in Namibia, or a "first past the post" constituency-type format.

The Namibian experience is likely to inform much of the thinking around a constituent assembly.

In essence, the struggle in South Africa is about who will exercise power and in whose interests South Africa will be governed.

From the point of view of the liberation movements, the people need to transform the existing state power and its structures to form a people’s government.

For this to happen, it is necessary to draw up a constitution which is based on the will of the people.

That is why the ANC has called on people to mobilise around the demand for a constituent assembly.
ANC surprise in talks team

Own Correspondent

IN a surprise move, the ANC yesterday named former MK minister Dr Beyers Naude as a member of a high-powered team of 11 to meet the government for pre-negotiation talks next month.

The ANC team also includes Western Cape UDF executive member Mr Cheryl Carolus. The 11 were named following a meeting on Monday of the ANC's national executive committee in Lusaka, chaired by ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Last night, Dr Naude's wife expressed surprise at his inclusion. She said she doubted whether her husband was even aware of it. Her husband is not a member of the ANC, she said.

Dr Naude, a patron of the UDF, was overseas and could not be contacted.

The delegation includes Umkhonto we Sizwe head Mr Chris Hani and commissar Mr Steve Tswete, whose presence in the Republic would probably have stirred controversy, but is included to make party meeting.

The other members of Mr Mandela's delegation are: Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, Natal UDF leader Mr Athoho Gamede, women's leader Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Essop and foreign-affairs representative Mr Thabo Mbeki.

Five of the ANC delegates are in exile and will be returning home for the first time in more than 20 years, including the Libian-born Mr Slovo and Mr Mandela's former secretary from his Johannesburg law firm in the 1950s, Mr Mosapu.

Mr Mandela and President P W de Klerk rescheduled the meeting for May 2, 3 and 4 after the ANC had baulked at the original April 11 date.

In a statement from Lusaka, Mr Mandela also stressed speculation that the ANC would renounce violence in the light of their talks with Pretoria.

He said the ANC would still not discuss the armed struggle with the government before all obstacles to negotiations on ending apartheid were removed.

'Even a premature for anybody to expect that the ANC is going to review its strategy before the government removes all obstacles to negotiations,' Mr Mandela said.

'That strategy is intended precisely to remove all obstacles to negotiations and to ensure that every South African will be entitled to determine his own future,' Mr Mandela said.

'As long as that has not been reached, all the strategies of the ANC will be retained.'

The ANC also 'reaffirmed the importance' of the

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ANC rescheduled talks to remove "obstacles that continue to stand in the way of negotiations".

The movement also called for a speedy end to hostilities in Natal and urged international pressure on South Africa until irreversible change has taken place.

A hectic programme of international visits by Mr Mandela, taking in at least eight countries, was also approved.

In its statement, the ANC said it welcomed "assurances by the government that violence against peaceful demonstrations" and "removed detention of members of the ANC and the ANC's democratic movement would be attended to.

The meeting expressed "serious concern" that the government had, as yet, "not fulfilled the undertakings it has repeatedly made to the ANC to introduce measures which would enable various members of the ANC and others in exile to return to South Africa legally.

Mr Mandela said his meeting last Thursday with Mr De Klerk had raised hopes that future talks would produce good results. The ANC will visit Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, Belgium, France and Germany, the USSR, the US and Canada in the next two months, according to a provisional agenda approved by the ANC.
Tambo will bring his modesty home with him

Mr Oliver Tambo, who has spent 30 years in exile, is expected to come back to South Africa in December and hand over to deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at the ANC's first national conference in the country. But that will happen only if his "rock" is safely back in the country. The ANC's top leadership is said to be offering Tambo a high-profile position within the party, and this has given him hope that his return is imminent.

However, it is thought likely that Mr Tambo (72), who has been an ANC leader for so long, will return to full-time political life.

Since his stroke in August, his health and movements have been among the ANC's most closely guarded secrets. The stroke is believed to have weakened the accused of involvement in the Harare Declaration, his brainchild, and the ANC's blueprint for national unity and re-emergence in South Africa, which was to be accepted by the OAU.

Mr Tambo, who has spent more than 10 years on a brain spasm, is a clinic south of Stockholm, a virtual out-of-touch national, has thrown him into retirement. In that short time, much of what he thought he had taken for granted in his organization has been questioned, his closest allies, Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Nelson Mandela, have been released from confinement in the ANC, and the South African Government is no longer seeking to expel him.

In all this, not a word has been heard from the ANC president. That's how the organization operates - and not a word has been heard from the ANC. It's a man of integrity and honor, always putting others above himself. He's always turned down offers to become president, ANC members from almost all privileged elites amid the poverty of black South Africa.

ANC like privileged elite in Zambia's poverty

In April 1990 a few hundred, president men led South Africa to keep the African National Congress burning in exile. Thirty years later they have succeeded as well. It has been a commonly accepted in 34 countries and members of its leadership have been replaced by a privileged elite in the Zambian economic namespace.

At the same time the organization has changed from being a purely political/military organization and expanded into many other areas. It includes departments of Education, Health, Arts and Culture, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Information and Publicity, Research, Religious Affairs, Finance, Agriculture and Economic Affairs. A part from 4,500 members, it also has a Youth Branch and a Women's Branch.

The ruling body, the National Executive Committee, after the recent addition of 30 members to the Party's leadership, consists of 39 members who between them work on a number of committees that control the political/military struggle, and the work of the party's central committee.
ANC like privileged elite in Zambia's poverty

In April 1960 a few hundred, penniless men fled South Africa to keep the flame of the African National Congress burning in exile. Thirty years later they have succeeded so well that it has representatives in 44 countries and members of its Lusaka headquarters form almost a privileged elite in the Zambian economic wasteland.

At the same time the organisation has changed from being a purely political/military organisation and expanded into many other areas. It includes departments of Education, Health, Arts and Culture, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, Economics and Publicity, Research, Religious Affairs, Finance, Logistics and Economics. From its immediate members, it also has a Youth Branch and a Women's Branch.

The ruling body, the National Executive Committee, with the recent addition of a free movement leader, consists of 6 members who between them work on a number of committees that control the political/military struggle, over which the supreme running of what is in effect a major corporation.

As late as the mid-1970s the ANC headquarters in Lusaka consisted of one shared office, a Fiat Uno car and two houses.

In Lusaka alone the organisation's showrooms bear the at least 12 different office complexes, approximately 200 owned or rented houses, a farm and a fleet of more than 200 vehicles — sedans, bakkies, minibuses and trucks — serviced by its own workshop and replaced with new equipment as regular line-up.

Members are supplied with all the basic needs including accommodation, food, clothing, transport and security at no cost. The average monthly cost of living in Lusaka for an ANC member is estimated at about $1,500 kwacha per month. Most ANC houses are supplied with a television set, and all have electric lights.

To put the "pocket money" in perspective, it might cost $2,000 kwacha for a meal at one of the international class hotels in Lusaka but at the same time a Zambian university lecturer can expect to earn about $3,500 kwacha a month.

There is an ANC clinic for the sick and an ANC centre for the young, while education in Zambian schools, the ANC school in Tanzania or at universities throughout the world for the gifted.

If a member is required to travel abroad on a mission, he or she may apply for a grant to buy acceptable clothing and then receives a daily allowance in cash.

The financial control and logistical distribution of this immense largesse requires a well oiled machine. Further, "Compared to those who came here first, my life is not a bed of roses," says Andrew Selete (not his real name). "I have my own house, which is not unusual for a single man but as a journalist, I need peace and quiet in order to work."

A product of the Nico Lopez Politcal School in Cuba after leaving South Africa as one exiled in the 1960s, he is the editorial board of "Marybaya", the ANC's newsletter which is circulated inside South Africa.

"I am sure life in the ANC is safe and secure. The organisation looks after all our needs and I have learnt to live life without any personal possessions." With his pocket money, he can afford to see an occasional movie, but mostly buying fresh vegetables and meat — not supplied — is entertaining consists of visiting friends.

Don Ngubane (not his real name) lives with his wife and two children in a small but comfortable suburban bungalow. The house has two television sets, a video, hi-fi, electric stove and fridge. A domestic servant is employed to help his wife and female relative with the household while she studies.

Previously the head of the ANC's Radio Freedom, he is now administrative secretary of the Department of Information and Publicity, a position which entitles him to use an ANC vehicle for personal travel if it is not desperately needed elsewhere.

"Our life is okay," he says, "but there are a few things we could not survive without. As most of the "recent" arrivals he uses a pseudonym for fear his family in South Africa will be victimised if his real name is known. National Executive Committee member Mr Steve Tshwete, who left South Africa in 1985, says his children, aged 8 and 10, are already fully aware of what to do in case their home is attacked, adding that they are under guard 24 hours a day.

When we left they were just three and five, and now they can speak in English. They have their own friends and say they don't want to go home in case they are shot by the police," he says.

"On our second night here we had to flee from the house we were in after a warning it was about to be attacked by the police. And a week later it happened."

If there is one thing that everyone agrees on as the major drawback of exile, it is homesickness.

"Some of the nastiest is always the same, sometimes subdued, but it is always there," says Tshwete.

For many years it was impossible to communicate with families and friends left behind for fear of either interception or giving away information about their whereabouts.

"Phones were tapped and mail constantly interfered with by the South African "dirty tricksters", so it was just impossible to get in touch," he says.

Since last year, however, most exiles in Lusaka seem to have managed at least one telephone call a month, often the first word parents had received from sons or daughters who had simply vanished.

But far from easing the homesickness, such words only make it worse, and "home for Christmas" has now become the greeting card of many "comrades".

One of the questions that arises is: "What will happen to 30 000 men, women and children ANC members if we don't stay or leave?"

What is clear is that the struggle is not going to be over soon. A voice from within adds: "But whatever happens I am sure the ANC will look to the future of its people."

At the end of the day the ANC will simply have to act on what it can provide for its people, for those who have supported it in the struggle. SA owes it to itself to get back to the people and say we want to take that step away from exile.

Ngubane is 36 and, as he says: "I have nothing because I have given all for the struggle, and there are many more like us in the three points."

One of the men who has sacrificed more than most, Mr Sam Masemola, says that "retirement is out of the question. On the contrary, we get home and we have to start building an organisation again, just as we did here." The ANCappointed spokesman in Lusaka, "home mean nothing to the coast where I reside, and many others have never had the chance to write in exile — and there is such a lot to write about."
Delegates include Beyers Naude and SACP's Joe Slovo

ANC names its talks team

The Star's Africa News Service

Lusaka

Prominent anti-apartheid campaigner the Rev Beyers Naude and two officials of the Mass Democratic Movement and United Democratic Front are part of the 11-person African National Congress delegation to meet the Government on May 2 for "talks about talks".

The ANC announced its team for the vital three-day discussions yesterday after a meeting at a secret venue of the national executive committee.

Co-opted to bolster the ANC group are Dr Naude, Mr Archie Gumede of the UDF, one of the main leaders in Natal, and Ms Cheryl Carolus of the MDM.

Dr Naude, the only Afrikaner to be included in the team, is a former prominent member of the Broederbond and the NGK.

The ANC's top echelon will be represented by deputy president Nelson Mandela, who will lead the delegation; Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo; and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, chairman of Umkhonto we Sizwe; director of international affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki; Ms Ruth Mompati, a member of the national executive; and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the Rivonia trial.
Prominent member of the Broederbond and the NGK. The ANC's top echelon will be represented by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, who will lead the delegation; Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

Other ANC delegates will be Mr Joe Modise, commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe; director of international affairs Mr Thabo Moroka, Ms Ruth Mompata, a member of the national executive; and Mr Ahmed Kathrada, jailed after the Rivonia trial and freed in October.

ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, still in a Swedish clinic after a brain spasm, will not be at the talks.

The inclusion of Mr Modise in the delegation suggests that the organisation has been unsuccessful in proposing that its military wing should hold simultaneous but separate talks with the SADF.

This was mooted in February by Mr Chris Hani, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe. Significantly, perhaps, Mr Hani will not be part of the ANC team, which could imply that President de Klerk would like to play down the military factor.

 Asked if the ANC team had obtained clearance to attend the talks in Cape Town, spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said last night that the organisation had been given tacit assurance that there would be no problems with individual delegates.

'Speechless' at news

He denied reports in some newspapers that there was disunity in the ANC over the decision to accept the new arrangements for discussions with Mr de Klerk or ANC tactics.

'That is nonsense. There is a spirit of complete unanimity in the ANC at the moment.'

In Johannesburg today, Dr Naude's wife, Ilse, said her husband, who is in Sweden on a working trip, was "speechless" when he heard he had been included.

She said Dr Naude had never been a member of the ANC, although over the years he had been visited by many members of the organisation for advice.

"He only met Mr Nelson Mandela after his release for the first time and they have not yet had time for official consultations due to their busy schedules," Mrs Naude said.

She said her husband would return to South Africa after the Easter weekend.

The internal chairman of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, today praised Dr Naude as a long-standing arch-foe of apartheid.

Asked to comment on Dr Naude's inclusion in the high-powered ANC delegation to meet the Government in May, Mr Sisulu said: "Why not include Dr Naude?" the ANC leader asked rhetorically.

"He has been associated with the ANC for a very long time and has contributed tremendously to our struggle.

"Granted, like some others in the delegation, he is not a member of the ANC's national executive committee, but he is a leading personality in anti-apartheid circles."
Mandela calls it off

...of peace" was to fulfil the demands made by the ANC in the Harare Declaration.

Frustrated, peace was impossible while there was "violence against our campaigns of peaceful protest".

Declaring that "we stand at the threshold of liberation", Mr. Mandela said he believed President Frelimo was sincere about negotiations, but "this should lead us to ignore the harsh realities of apartheid."

He said: "I must now tell you that yesterday I spoke to President De Klerk and told him that the national executive of the ANC had instructed me to tell him that the meeting on April 11 had been suspended in protest against the killing of our people in Soweto..."

I told him that if the Government talks about negotiations on the one hand, and these massacres occur on the other, we can never accept them."

There is no hope of political activity in the face of violence against the people and their democratic freedoms," Mr. Mandela said."

He made no reference to the cancellation of the planned peace rally with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but said the ANC supported the ANC's support for South Africa's "international efforts" including the state of emergency, the position of ANC members still in jail, and the movement's continued commitment to the armed struggle."

The ANC is likely to face a "flood of international anger for trashing the talks," a senior Western diplomat said."

"If the negotiations do not, however, deliver the talks to be called off permanently."

"Chief of the Democratic Party, Mr. Zach de Litter said it was his hope..."
Theories of alliances may be a little glib

GRAHAM LINSCLT examines current theories on possible alliances the National Party may consider with major black political groups.

An alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dihomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs is to be branded with is Musorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Musorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homeland and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time, possibly quite a long time — power-sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwaZulu just a troublesome factor — a containable Soweto factor.

I haie me doots. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been tack together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.
Mandela invited to view apartheid in Canada

VANCOUVER - Canadian Red Indian organisations have invited Mr Nelson Mandela here to see how apartheid works in Canada.

"As a resident of apartheid, I would like Nelson Mandela to visit us first," said Ron George, the head of the United Native Nations, an organisation which has 60,000 members in British Columbia province alone.

George noted that when Mandela was freed after 27 years in prison, the Canadian government officially invited him to visit Canada.

"Mr Mandela should view the vestiges of apartheid in Canadian (Indian) reserves and cities," he said. "Not very long ago, our people had to get permits to leave their reserves."

Until 1948, "Red-ticketing" made it illegal for Indians to leave their reserves without passes. Even today, the right of Indians to leave the reserves was curtailed because to do so cut them off from national government assistance programmes.

Native Indian leaders say there is much evidence that South Africa actually modelled the apartheid system on the Canadian Indian reserve system, pointing out that South Africa sent several delegations to tour Canadian Indian reservations, both before apartheid was formalised in 1948 and again as recently as 1962.
**Spectrum**

**Generous and loyal support by Sweden**

SARAH CROWE of the Argus Foreign Service reports from Stockholm

**The struggle to win the hearts and minds — and most significantly, the purse strings — of the Swedes, has been something of a walkover for the ANC.**

But its beginnings here were humble, marked by bombs, break-ins and loss of life.

Political upheaval in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has eroded the ANC's traditional support base in Sweden. The ANC's most important support now comes from the Swedish government.

Recent top-level visits by the South African leaders and contacts with the officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have led to increased support from Swedish authorities.

The organisation has never had more than a handful of its own people working in Scandinavia and there are probably fewer than a dozen South Africans exiles in the Swedish capital.

In 1972 when Swedish support was still the mainstay of the ANC, the Norwegian government decided to provide support for either the PLO or the ANC. Sweden chose to support the ANC. The Norwegian government withdrew their support and the ANC had to rely on private donations from Norwegian citizens.

Ironically Sweden chose to back the ANC at the same time as it was taking steps to limit immigration and control asylum seekers. The Swedish government has since moved to tighten its immigration policies, but the ANC remains a focal point for support in Sweden.

**Large chunk**

The ANC's achievement in obtaining such a large chunk of Sweden's foreign aid budget — 500 million kronor (R200 million) since the early 1970s — has been largely undertaken by the Swedes themselves.

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**Shared office**

The ruling body, the national executive committee, is divided into two committees, the political and the military. The political committee is responsible for the political struggle, while the military committee is responsible for the armed struggle.

In the past, the two committees were separate, but in recent years they have become more integrated. The political committee is divided into three sub-committees: the political, the military, and the administrative.

The political sub-committee is responsible for the political struggle, the military sub-committee is responsible for the armed struggle, and the administrative sub-committee is responsible for the day-to-day running of the ANC in exile.

**Bungalow**

Don Ngubane, again got his real name, lives with his wife and two children in a small but comfortable suburban bungalow. The house has a two-car garage, a workshop, and a study. The Ngubanes have two children: Mphako and Mphako, who are both in high school.

Don Ngubane works as a teacher at the nearby high school and is a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

Mr Don Ngubane, administrative secretary of the department for Information and Publicity, outside and inside his Lusaka house which was provided by the ANC.
This is not surprising, though, when it is realised that the ANC offices have been directly or indirectly under siege from the late 70s. Perhaps the most notorious security infiltration of the ANC by the former Bureau of State Security took place largely through Stockholm.

South African spy Craig Williamson, who was then masquerading as co-ordinator for the international university exchange fund, visited the country several times ostensibly to meet the head of the IUFU, Swede Lars Gunnar Eriksson (who finally exposed Williamson). Security — and along with it paranoia — reared its ugly head when a bomb was found at the embassy in 1980. It was only by "pure chance" that nobody was injured, an inconclusive investigation established.

The main issues for the ANC here, however, have been strategic, focusing on boycotts and pressuring the government to ban trade with South Africa. There have been a ban on investing in South Africa since 1978 and not a single Cape grape is known to have legally reached Swedish shores for the past five years.

"A lot easier"

"Our work here is certainly a lot easier than any other western country because of the tremendous generosity and warmth we receive from the people here," says Janessa Modise, in charge of the ANC's women's desk in Scandinavia. 

Jaleswa and her husband, the ANC's chief representative Billy Modise, are almost honorary Swedes.

The couple were students here in the early 60s and returned in 1987 to take over the Stockholm office. One of their daughters, Bente, was born in Sweden and the family speak Swedish and English at home.

Another South African exile, Mail Gray, who has seen the ANC office develop from 1975, says: "It was always a matter of identifying the means to get rid of apartheid, such as building up an 'Isolate South Africa' committee. One never had to convince people that apartheid is evil. There's such a strong disinterest and dislike of apartheid here."

Blindly loyal

Today Sweden's unquestioning support for the ANC often astonishes foreign observers and at first glance it appears that the Swedes are blindly loyal to the "ANC line."

From the tiny towns of the Arctic circle in the north to the larger cities of the south of the Scandinavian peninsula, ANC support committees flourish.

They learn the toyi-toyi and they learn about the " Pretoria racist regime" and they donate winnings from their racehorses to the ANC.

But the country that was once called the "social conscience of the world" certainly does attempt to influence ANC policy in its own very Swedish way.

On matters such as renouncing the armed struggle, cutting diplomatic ties and nationalisation, the social democratic government has applied pressure on the movement to review its stand — publicly, but mostly privately by subtle persuasion.

Anything more passionate would be quite uncharacteristic.

And little is likely to budge the Swedes' faith in the ANC.

As prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson told Nelson Mandela during his recent visit to the country: "You can count on us."
Beyers Naude in ANC talks team

LONDON — The ANC yesterday named former MK deputy Beyers Naude as a member of its 11-person delegation for the pre-negotiation talks with government next month.

The ANC team was named after a meeting on Monday of the organization's National Executive Committee (NEC) in Lusaka, chaired by deputy president Nelson Mandela.

Naude said last night that his husband was overseas and could not be contacted. He expressed surprise at the announcement of his inclusion in the ANC team, saying he doubted whether he was even aware of it.

Naude was not a member of the ANC, he said. The NEC endorsed the rescheduling of “talks about talks”, thrashed out last week by Mandela and President FW de Klerk. Another long-time bête noir of the government, SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo, is also in the delegation.

The other members of the delegation are: Walter Sisulu, secretary general Alfred Nzo, Natal UDF leader Archie Gumede, UDF Western Cape leader Cheryl Carolus, ANC women's leader Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Joe Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and foreign affairs representative Thabo Mbeki.

The ANC's first official meeting with government, originally planned for today (April 11), was postponed after the ANC withdrew in protest at the shooting of demonstrators in Sebokeng two weeks ago. The meeting has been rescheduled for May 2, 3 and 4.

A hectic two-month schedule of international visits by Mandela, taking in at least eight countries excluding the UK which he visits this weekend, was also approved.

Listed countries are Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, the European Economic Community (Belgium), France, East Germany, the USSR, the USA and Canada.

In its statement, the NEC said it welcomed “assurances given by Mr De Klerk and his colleagues” during the April 5 meeting, that they would “address as a matter of urgency the issue of state violence against peaceful demonstrations and renewed detention of members of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement”.

It also “reaffirmed the importance” of the May meeting and that it should achieve results to pave the way for negotiations. The meeting expressed “serious concern” that the government had, as yet, “not fulfilled the undertakings it has repeatedly made to the ANC to introduce measures which would enable various members of the ANC, and others in exile, to return to SA legally”.

It urged the government to “act on this matter without further delay...”

Other preconditions for negotiations which the ANC has set include the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency. However, the government insists this cannot happen while

rest continues unabated in Natal.

In this regard, the NEC noted ANC attempts to stop the killings.

But in a thinly-veiled reference to Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, it expressed “profound regret that some leaders in this area have embarked on a virulent campaign of propaganda against the ANC, the Mass Democratic Movement, the church and others who are committed to peace, instead of seriously engaging in the common search for peace”.

The NEC also called on the government to help stop the killings “by ensuring that the police, who have led, armed and protected the murderous vigilante groups, end their campaign of terror against the democratic movement and the people of Natal”.

Reaffirming the “urgent need for the international community to remain firm in its commitment to isolate apartheid SA,” the NEC said “so far, neither profound nor irreversible change has taken place in SA.
ANC stops Mbeki's city talk

JOHANNESBURG — A lunch-time address to the Cape Town Press Club by the ANC International Affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, which was to have been given tomorrow, has been cancelled by the ANC.

An official spokesman for the National Reception Committee said the decision had been taken in Lusaka where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was conferring with the ANC national executive.

Local ANC spokesmen said that when President F W de Klerk's talks with the ANC on April 11 were cancelled, the relevant group indemnity fell away and Mr Mbeki, who would have travelled to Cape Town as a member of the ANC delegation, could therefore no longer keep his Press Club appointment.

However, the spokesmen indicated that even had clearance been arranged, Mr Mbeki would not have been able to keep the appointment. — Sapa
Antti-ANC pamphlets: ‘in police stations’

Staff Reporter

DESPITE the unbanning of the ANC, a pamphlet decribing the ANC as a “terrorist organisation” and warning that being a member of the organisation was a “criminal offence” is still available to the public in at least one police charge office.

Mr Tim Houghton said that on a visit to the Rondebosch charge office on Sunday he had picked up a pamphlet entitled “The Police Care”. In the pamphlet, which was handed to the Cape Times, it is said that the “main organisations involved in acts of terrorism” were the ANC, SACP and the PAC.

The pamphlet further claims that “the revolutionary alliance (ANC/SACP)” does not have the means to wage guerilla warfare against South Africa’s security forces. “That is why the alliance resorts to terrorism.”

Police liaison officer Major Jan Calitz said he had issued orders when the ANC was unbanned that the pamphlet should be withdrawn from charge offices.

Hard bargaining for acceptable solutions

Two issues will be on the table when the National Party government and the African National Congress meet formally for the first time — the state of emergency and the possible release of political prisoners.

On both these, the government is quietly confident that an acceptable formula will be found.

The occasion will mark the beginning of talks about talks. It is thus of particular importance. Both parties can be expected to do their best to keep the momentum going, thus enhancing the possibility of agreement.

On the state of emergency — which the ANC wants scrapped as a necessary pre-condition to starting real talks — the government will raise its real concerns that the escalating violence in the country precludes a simple scrapping.

Yet it feels also that it will have to do away with the state of emergency at some stage — and that the violence will not end soon, despite its existence.

Natal is an example of this.

Thus it is possible that it will let the state of emergency go, but warn that if violence is not brought under control, it will be re-imposed.

The ANC will also find that the government will put a great deal of the onus on it when it comes to demands that violence be controlled. It will be made co-responsible.

The question is whether the ANC can control the violence. There must be considerable doubt about that.

On political prisoners, the question really is one of definition: is somebody guilty of necklacing a political prisoner? Is Barend Strydom one?

A possible solution being discussed in government circles is a general amnesty, but to make it clear that not just anybody who claims to have acted for political reasons will be released.

An idea being floated is that the Namibian example be followed. There, an international jurist was asked to look into each case and make a recommendation. In all cases, both Swapo and the South African government accepted the jurist’s definition.

Thus, a possible solution will be a general amnesty, but with a jurist looking at doubtful cases — with prior agreement that his advice be followed by both sides.

That would get the two main issues off the table.

It would be important then to decide on a date for another meeting, one where progress on the first two decisions can be monitored, but also be able to show that talks are moving ahead.

With talks about talks between the ANC and the government back on track, two issues are expected to dominate discussions.

It is expected that some hard bargaining will be done on the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners.

There are indications in government circles, however, that concessions will be made on both issues, writes Harald Pakendorf:

The stumbling block here will be the forum in which real negotiations will happen — and also who will attend.

At the moment, the ANC is looking to a constituent assembly which will somehow reflect the political strengths of the parties involved — and would therefore prefer an election to set up the assembly.

It would also like to reduce the number of parties, broadly speaking, into pro-apartheid and anti-apartheid groupings.

The government is opposed to both. In fact, it sees itself continuing to rule the country while negotiations continue — with as many political groupings as possible.

But these are issues which will come to the fore after the first round of talks about talks — assuming that these will be able to show movement.

At this stage, it looks as if they will. Certainly, neither side can afford to be too unreasonable and to appear to be the party which sinks the country’s high hopes.

(Harald Pakendorf is the former editor of the Transvaler, a daily newspaper which supported the National Party)
Plain 'yes' to ANC

WOULD you vote for the African National Congress? This question was put to about 500 Mitchell's Plain residents last Sunday — and most of them said 'yes'.

The question formed the basis of a survey conducted by United Democratic Front supporters to gauge support for its recently-announced alliance. It was the first known survey to test the support of any political organisation in Cape Town's biggest township, home to an estimated 250,000 people.

Logan Wou, one of the survey organiser, said about 100 volunteers had gone into Booroo Valley, a suburb of Mitchell's Plain, on Sunday morning.

"Their brief was to gauge people's feelings on the ANC. They were told to influence people or to campaign for the ANC. Of the adults surveyed — and only adults were spoken to — more than 400 said they would give unquestioned support for the ANC. About 400 others were equally divided between those who said 'no' and those who were undecided."

Pleased

Former Mitchell's Plain community leader, Mr. Johnny Issel, said he was pleased with the results of the survey. "It was done in an area where not much political work had been done in the past.

Issel, recently approved by the ANC's Western Cape executive committee, said the surveyors "did not come across any sympathy for the PAC".

He said surveys in Athlone and Langa had shown similar results. A survey would be conducted in Rondebosch next week.

The survey results seem to refute claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that its influence is significant in Mitchell's Plain. After it drew more than 1,000 people to a meeting in the area late Friday evening.

Peter Roman, elected champion of the PAC's Mitchell's Plain branch at the Friday's meeting, said: "The historically launch in Mitchell's Plain has again proven that the PAC is the genuine custodian of the aspirations of the African people.

The PAC is the African people and the African people are the PAC. PAC is therefore indispensable, and its mission is to fight against white domination as the ANC is doing."

"If their greatest enemy is the ANC and they are fighting to draw support in this way."

Presence

Mr. Trevor Manuel, the ANC's senior representative in the Western Cape, said it was not clear how many Mitchell's Plain residents attended the PAC meeting or were on the branch executive.

He pointed out that the branch chairperson, Mr. Peter Roman, did not live in Mitchell's Plain.

"We have an established presence in Mitchell's Plain, but it is not clear."

"We have been operating in the area since 1980," said Manuel.

"We are not prepared to rest on our laurels but are entering the area with a decided advantage over any other players."

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Movement's top 10 for government talks

THE African National Congress has named a mixed line-up of stalwarts and young guards to be part of its delegation to the historic May 2 talks with the South African government. The delegation will be led by deputy president Nelson Mandela and includes two representatives of the United Democratic Front.

Nelson Mandela: Recently released after spending 27 years in prison, the former Umkhonto we Sizwe leader has emerged as the leader of the ANC. His mandate includes the recognition of the ANC as the legitimate representative of the South African people.

Oliver Tambo: Mandela's deputy, Tambo has been a prominent figure in the ANC since its inception. He was instrumental in forming the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and has been a key figure in the movement's struggle for freedom.

Peter Roman: A former leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, Roman is a key figure in Mitchell's Plain, a large township in the Western Cape. His inclusion in the delegation highlights the ANC's support for the PAC.

Sakhile for UK concert

SOUTH Africans Afro-fusion band Sakhile have been invited to perform at the Mandela Foundation's event to be held at Wembley Stadium on Sunday.

Sakhile and mbube singer Luyanda Black Mhlongo will perform as the only South African band at the event, which has been organised by the Nelson Mandela Trust.

The concert, which is being held in honour of the late president, was attended by a number of former political prisoners, including Ahmed Kathrada, a former political prisoner who was sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the ANC's armed struggle.

Ahmed Kathrada: The 80-year-old former Robben Island prisoner is known to be an ideologue and key figure on the Internal Leadership Core.

Dr. Bayara Ndau: The former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches provides a compelling moral voice on the delegation.

Archie Gumede: The Natal-based UDF co-president was more than likely selected to represent the delegation because of his knowledge and understanding of the violence in his province — a topic expected to feature strongly during the talks between the government and the ANC.

A surprise inclusion is former Afrikaner Broederbond member, Dr. Beyers Naude, and UDF co-president, Archie Gumede. Some surprising omissions are the ANC's Intelligence chief, Jacob Zuma, the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Chris Hani and publicity and information head, Pallo Jordan.

"SOUTH, April 11 to April 18 1990"
Cape move to protect Mbeki

Cape Town Press Club chairman Mr Alan Duggan said yesterday he had applied to the Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr P M Koteze, for permission to allow Mbeki into South Africa.

"I'm optimistic that he's coming," Duggan said.

ANC Director of Information, Mbeki, is due to arrive in Cape Town tomorrow and will speak at a Cape Town Press Club lunch the following day.

He was originally due to have travelled to South Africa with other ANC members based in Lusaka for talks with the Government today.

The ANC suspended the talks in protest against police shootings in Sebokeng.

However, the talks are on again after a meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela last week.

Had the ANC not suspended today's talks, Mbeki and other exiles would have been indemnified from prosecution.

There are fears in ANC circles that Mbeki could be arrested if he arrives in Cape Town today.
THE New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis has impeccable credentials. He is an outstanding journalist and teacher. His column At Home Abroad is respected throughout the world because of its sensitivity, its understanding of people outside the United States and Lewis’s deep sense of justice.

He has written lots of copy on South Africa, always demanding that justice be done.

Freedom

Perhaps this country has a special place in his heart because he is married to a South African.

In 1988 I joined the class he teaches at the Harvard Law School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His subject is The Constitution and the Press.

As he and the students debated on libel, the First and the Fourteenth Amendments and Press freedom in general, I pinched myself a few times to make sure I had not died and woken up in paradise.

They were talking casually about a freedom journalist here only dream about. I’ve had lunch with Lewis, shared platforms with him speaking on Press freedom.

And to place him firmly on the side of the angels, the South African Government has until recently been refusing him a visa for some time.

In line with the new climate created by State President Mr F.W. de Klerk, he was recently allowed back into the country.

Explaining

This week I read a column he wrote after he was back. His conclusion is: “Most black leaders will also support negotiation, I believe, if it begins to produce tangible results early on. The alternative, holding out for a straight transfer of power, is an understandable vision. But what would be left of this country by the time that magic day arrived?”

When he was here we missed each other and in the end had to settle for a brief hello on the telephone. Very brief, with very little sense of properly explaining things that we were saying.

In this piece he quotes me: “I don’t think anyone who goes into negotiations now will come back with anything that satisfies the people,” said Joe Thloloe, deputy editor of the Sowetan, giving his own opinion, not his paper’s. “The ANC will just discredit itself.”

“When would the time be right for negotiations? When Mr De Klerk commits himself to one person one vote.”

Mr Thloloe said, with no special powers in a second chamber to “protect white privilege.”

“But wouldn’t that amount simply to a transfer of power?” I asked. Mr Thloloe answered: “Yes.”

In a brief telephone conversation you get straight to the heart of the problem.

Of course it is a transfer of power, from a tiny group of South Africans to all South Africans, including that group.

That is simple justice that we have been denied for centuries and it is not unrealistic to continue demanding it. Any South African black who claims to be demanding less is merely pulling wool over white eyes (Is that the right colour?).

How do we get to that transfer of power from the few to all?

It will not happen if the National Party subscribes to the ideas in a document doing the rounds and purporting to be an Afrikaner Broederbond work document on “Basic Political Values for the Survival of the Afrikaner”.

It states: “The survival of the Afrikaner is coupled with the survival of the white man,...

“The political implications... against the background of the prerequisite of non-domination by one group, are that in terms of new processes, it must not be possible to change this without the approval of the majority of whites.”

Its bottom line is: “This means that there can no longer be a white government. There can however not be a black, e.g. Zulu government either. The majority of the government members will indeed be black, but the system and procedure operated in such a way that all the groups can participate effectively and not be dominated by one group.

“The status quo can therefore not continue to exist, but can also not be simply reversed so that white control is replaced by black control.”

Whatever way you look at this, the intention is to protect white privilege. White South Africans still refuse to see themselves as South Africans among fellow South Africans.

If De Klerk was to commit himself to a non-racial one person one vote democracy, where a person’s colour meant absolutely nothing, he would have gone a long way towards meeting black demands.

At the moment he and the National Party are still dancing around trying to redefine democracy.

The goal

Only after that commitment can people begin productive discussions on the time-table and mechanism for getting to the goal.

Before that commitment we are still moving in the land of apartheid: people are measured by the colour of their skins, the lighter the better.

If the ANC accepts anything less than the democracy the majority of South Africans want without a clear programme of getting to it, it will run into problems with its supporters.

I’m sure the ANC leadership is fully aware of this.
Azapo rejects media reports as misleading

By THEMBA MOLEFE

The Azanian Peoples Organisation has rejected as misleading media reports that it was about to be swallowed by the ANC and was a wing of the PAC.

In a statement released by its publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, Azapo also denied it was being manipulated by the ANC.

"We seek to correct some of the misconceptions that have been created by stories written in several newspapers, including Sowetan, Sunday Times, and The Sunday Star.

"Our meetings with the ANC have centred primarily around the violence being perpetrated by their members against ours. We have called on the ANC in these meetings to bring an end to the violence and to work together with us in ending it," he said.

Azapo said the most crucial of these meetings took place at the house of Mr Kaiser Motaung in Soweto on the night of April 7. Eight members of the ANC, led by deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, and seven Azapo delegates, led by president Mr Jerry Motola, had attended.

Article

The meeting established an interim two-man committee - Mandela and Mosala - to meet other organisations within the liberation movement such as the PAC, New Unity Movement and trade union federations Cosatu and Naactu to discuss internecine political violence.

On its relations with the PAC, Azapo referred to an article which appeared in the Sunday Times on April 8.

It said the article perpetuated a mistaken belief prevalent among political commentators, analysts and journalists, that Azapo was part of the PAC.

The organisation said it had never been an affiliate of the PAC and that its central committee had no links with the PAC.
PAC refutes pamphlet

THE Pan Africanist Congress has dissociated itself from an anti-ANC/UDF pamphlet distributed in its name on the Reef this week.

PAC information secretary Mr Benny Ntoue yesterday said the distributors of the pamphlet were aiming at fanning the violence between political organisations in the country.

Entitled "The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania - Let the voice of reason be heard" it says the present wave of violence inside the country was "cleverly initiated by various charterist organisations."

It said the bloodshed was caused to strengthen their (charterist) hands at the negotiating table.

Ntoue said the PAC did not issue the pamphlet and that it dissociated itself from its contents.

"Two of our members were attacked in the past week alone - one on Friday and another at dawn yesterday. This is an indication that the authors of the pamphlet were bent on seeing the escalation of such attacks on the organisation."

"The pamphlet also advocates its readers to join the 'people's movement' which is not the PAC's slogan," said Ntoue.
Mandela likely to reiterate stand on sanctions in UK

BY SUE LEEMAN, FOREIGN STAFF

LONDON - The picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip Mandela visited several African countries, along with the United Kingdom, where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments".

He was surprised at his respectful reception abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend Mandela visits England again.

Departure

This time there is no subterfuge about his departure - and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle.

He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will bring his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

His message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone for good.

This is diametrically opposed to the British Government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street have indicated that Mrs Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release - a failure which is beginning to looking like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

Meeting

At best the British leader is now marginalised in the South African debate and a meeting with Mandela could be used to suggest that she is at the centre of things.

Although she has her doubts about the ANC as an organisation, this is known to have a high regard for Mandela the statesman.

A Downing Street spokesman said this week that Mandela was "very welcome" to visit Thatcher should he decide to on this visit.

The spokesman confirmed that Thatcher returns from her Bermuda summit with President Bush on Saturday, so theoretically she could see Mandela on Sunday at her country residence, Chequers, where she often spends weekends.

The Foreign Office, too, is eager to confer with him: Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was only too happy to see Mandela in Namibia last month but after several attempts at a meeting the ANC leader fought shy.

But Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the combative British leader, has made it clear that such encounters are unlikely now.

Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time.

There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a provisional itinerary for a Mandela tour of foreign capitals, released this week, significantly omits Britain.

Stopover

But Whitehall is hopeful that the fact that the list is clearly incomplete leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting with the woman of whom Mandela has said: "I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy."

Meanwhile Dr Beyers Naude was stunned yesterday to hear he had been included in the ANC delegation to meet State President FW de Klerk next month.

"I had no knowledge of this before... my wife told me on the phone this morning," he said in Stockholm, where he is on a working trip.

"When I last met Mr Mandela he gave me a general indication about a meeting, but I had no awareness that I would be included in a delegation."

Part of the former NGK dominate's surprise stems from the fact that he is not officially a member of the ANC, but he said he was one "in spirit".

"I have always been a keen supporter of the organisation but have not actually officially joined the ANC."

He looked forward to the meeting: "I am very glad that it will be possible. It is a very important and crucial meeting that has to take place."

Discuss

Naude said he would have to discuss details of the meeting with others in the ANC delegation, but he assumed that a central issue would be the return of exiles and clarification on the control of the police.

He said he thought the situation in Natal had already been covered in private discussions between De Klerk and Mandela.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday the Natal leader of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede said he would go into discussions with the Government next month aware of a heavy responsibility on him, and seeking a fair settlement.

Gumede was named yesterday as part of the ANC delegation to meet with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues in Cape Town on May 2 to 4 to discuss obstacles in the way of negotiations.

ANC vice president Mandela will lead the delegation. Other members are Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, woman's leader Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, foreign representative Mr Thabo Mbeki, Dr Beyers Naude and Ms Cheryl Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner from the Western Cape.

The Government is expected to grant the five exiled members of the delegation temporary amnesty to take part in these and future talks.

"You are now asked to take on a role of responsibility which is heavier than anything one can think of. We are talking about the lives of people," Gumede said.

It was a matter of must that people prove to the government that they mean business, he said.

Future

"I do not think any future can be built on chaos and anxiety. I cannot think that it is possible for this country to be ruled by coercion. I do believe that the consent of the governed is part of the guarantee for a peaceful future."

Finding and keeping the consent of the governed was not an easy task, especially where people had misconceived ideas, Gumede said.

He supported Mandela's request that there should be full consultation leading to a proper, freely given mandate for people negotiation a new constitution as this would help secure a permanent settlement. One could not place reliance on an agreement that was obtained under duress, or where people who had been active in finding a solution were excluded by law from taking part, Gumede said.
Gumede aims for fair settlement

THE Natal leader of the UDF Mr Archie Gumede yesterday said he would go into discussions with the Government next month aware of a heavy responsibility on him, and seeking a fair settlement.

Gumede was named as part of the ANC delegation to meet with President FW de Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues in Cape Town on May 2 to 4 to discuss obstacles in the way of negotiations.

The Government is expected to grant five exiled members of the delegation temporary amnesty to take part in these and future talks.

"You are now asked to take on a role of responsibility which is heavier than anything one can think of. We are talking about the lives of people," Mr Gumede said.

It was a matter of must that people pray to God to guide the minds of those meeting next month, Mr Gumede said.
Ciskei unbans the ANC, PAC and Communist party

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

CISKEI has joined the move to formally unban the liberation movements.

In terms of a Ciskei Government Gazette notice, it is now legal to belong to the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party.

This means that bans on both the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) and Ilizo Lomzi have been lifted.

Saawu was banned in Ciskei after the territory's authorities accused it of orchestrating a two-year-long bus boycott. The union has since disbanded.

Ilizo Lomzi is a small group set up by ex-President Lennox Sebe's brother Charles after he escaped from a Ciskei jail in 1986 and fled to Transkei.

The unbanning announcement was made very quietly. It was gazetted in a notice dated 30 March — the day before Nelson Mandela addressed an ANC rally in the Ciskei capital of Bisho — and by this week Ciskei government representative Headman Somtunzi still did not know about it.

— Elnews
CP leaders haven't seen that 'ANC plot' document

By THANDEKA GOUBULE

The African National Congress has denied knowledge of a much-publicised "secret" document detailing a plot to assassinate rightwing leaders.

The ANC dismissed the allegations made in the document as "rubbish" and their headquarters in Lusaka said the organisation had no intention of assassinating rightwing politicians or any other individuals.

It also emerged yesterday that the Conservative Party, which made public the existence of the document, does not have the original in which the plot is outlined — nor have they seen it.

What the CP has is a report which, according to them, comes from within government circles and makes references to the document.

In a press statement issued by Andries Beyers, the national secretary of the Conservative Party, the party

"The wording of the State President's (FW de Klerk) statement indicated that his office is hesitant to deny the existence of the document."

The government has asked the CP to give the police full details so that a probe into the authenticity of the document can be held.

The CP said it was "giving attention to the safety of its leadership."

The CP alleges the document was sent to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Nelson Mandela, before the latter's recent visit to Lusaka.

They say it outlines strategies to assassinate rightwingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make homelands ungovernable and monitor rightwing protest."
THE African National Congress has responded to allegations that it tormented dissident members by stressing that it has a code of conduct which forbids such practices and that it "no longer" has detention centres.

Senior ANC members said yesterday the code strictly prohibits torture "under any circumstances" in response to allegations in a British newspaper that Umkhonto weSizwe members were detained and tortured after taking part in military revolts in the early 1980s.

ANC National Executive Committee member Anthony Mongalo told the *Weekly Mail* the men had been held until two years ago, when a general amnesty was granted.

"I must stress that those who were held had been involved in a mutiny in the camps in Angola in 1984, in which several of our people were killed. They were held and taken for rehabilitation until about two years ago, when an amnesty was granted by our president Oliver Tambo," Mongalo said.

Mongalo said that several of those involved in the revolt had since been taken to Sweden to further their education, while others had "gone their own way".

A code of conduct, reported to have been drawn up by a team led by ANC legal specialist Albie Sachs, was adopted at the ANC's Kabwe conference in 1985.

"We have a very strong policy which outlaws all forms of torture and physical coercion under any circumstances. This is being vigorously applied. Since our camps were moved from Angola over a year ago we have had no detention camps in Angola or anywhere else," said Mongalo.

The allegations, published last week in the *Sunday Correspondent*, were made by seven former Umkhonto weSizwe members now living in Kenya. They say they were refused help by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and now want to be repatriated to South Africa after having resigned from the ANC.

The men appealed to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to help their repatriation.

The seven were reported by the *Correspondent* to have been involved in a mutiny in the camps in 1984. Among their grievances was a view that "excesses" were being committed by ANC security personnel and that conditions within the camps were not satisfactory, a belief that Umkhonto weSizwe fighters should not be taking part in the war against UNITA and a desire for more members to be sent to South Africa on military expeditions.

The *Correspondent* said the men's problems began in 1981 when a South African security police spy network within the movement was uncovered. This was followed by a crackdown and the enforcement of strict disciplinary proceedings for offences such as drinking spirits and smoking dagga.

A brigade of 4 000 Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers, led by Chris Hani, is reported to have fought with considerable success against UNITA on the eastern front. But, as their casualties mounted, discontent rose and in late 1983 some ANC soldiers refused to return to the front.

In December 1983 a revolt broke out at the Viana camp in Angola, after which the rebels were disarmed and sent to the Quibaxe and Pango camps in northern Angola.

According to the *Correspondent*, there was a mutiny at the Pango camp in 1984 in which five "ANC loyalists", including camp commissar Zenzile Phunguwa and staff commissar Willie Sithole, were killed.

Five days later the camp was recaptured and seven rebels were executed by firing squad, while others were captured, detained in Quatro and other camps, and some were tortured and accused of being South African agents. Others were released. According to the allegations, several of the detainees died in the camps as a result of torture and assaults.

They say the survivors were released on humanitarian grounds on November 16, 1988 and were allowed to rejoin the ANC, but discontent continued within the Tanzania camps.

Earlier this week, Henry Chiliza, ANC deputy chief representative in East Africa was reported by *Sapa* to have confirmed that the seven men had been "isolated" for four years and then pardoned and freed in 1988.

He said they had committed treason by mutinying and killing Umkhonto officers.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina told the *Weekly Mail* he could not comment on the specific allegations made in the *Correspondent* until the ANC leadership had had a chance to study the full text of the article.
Tango? Sorry, from now only toyi-toyi

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH
Port Elizabeth

A DAZED looking couple found wandering around an office block in North End's Main street were distressed to find a makeshift sign bearing the letters "ANC" at the entrance of what until recently had been their favourite dance studio.

They had apparently come to learn the tango, not the toyi-toyi.

The African National Congress has taken over what used to be the Arthur Murray dance studio for its Eastern Cape offices. Although the office has not yet been officially opened, visitors were this week already streaming in to join.

A jovial recruiter at the door of the almost empty office said signing up was going well.

Applicants were of all ages and hues, their only common characteristic an unbridled excitement at the prospect of becoming card-carrying ANC members.

Nearby is a bookshop provisionally involved in the membership drive. A sign on the door urges people to "sign up now — the ANC needs your support".

The simple application form requires a potential member to supply name, address, age, gender and occupation.

A voluntary declaration can be signed committing the member to "abide by the aims and objectives of the constitution and the Freedom Charter" and stating that the member "is joining the organisation voluntarily and without motives of personal gain or personal advantage".

A recruiter said the application forms were being filled in provisionally, and that proper membership forms would be available within several days. Official membership cards should also soon be on hand.

Membership fees stand at R12 a year for employed people, while students, pensioners and the unemployed were asked to pay whatever they could afford.

Most applicants for membership were unemployed, and many 'had signed up en route to an advice office in the same building.

Nevertheless, nobody seemed to think the fee was too high, and a number of the out-of-work applicants and pensioners insisted on paying the full amount. — Pen
LONDON - The BBC was threatened on Tuesday with legal action by the Freedom Association over the broadcasting of Monday's Wembley pop concert celebrating the release of Nelson Mandela, who is to address the audience.

The association, a Right-wing pressure group, said it would "seek legal advice to obtain a judicial remedy" unless it received certain guarantees over the transmission of the Easter Monday concert at Wembley Stadium.

In a letter to the BBC, Norris McWhirter, the association's chairman, demanded "adequate reassurance" that the event would not be an "unchallenged pro-sanctions, pro-ANC and anti-Inkatha, anti-Thatcher orgy".

A BBC spokesman said this week that the Corporation's chairman, Marmaduke Hussey, was considering a reply. But sources within the organisation said orders had gone out that the concert should be treated as a pop concert and not a news event.

In its warning to the BBC, the association points to the official programme for the event, which says: "It is a concert, but it is also of major political importance."

It also highlights the "uncritical support" for the ANC and its "unrenounced policy of violence and terror...against South Africa".
Right trying to sabotage talks - Nelson

MR Nelson Mandela last night dismissed the right wing's anti-ANC campaign as a tactic to sabotage talks between his organisation and the Government.

On his return from Lusaka last night, Mandela said: "He (Treurnicht) is shaken by events he cannot control. He is therefore seeking to sabotage a settlement between the ANC and NP and is trying to corrode all potential support (for the negotiation process)."

He denied the ANC or South African Communist Party had anything to do with a pamphlet which Treurnicht accused them of drawing up.

"The ANC policy is publicly documented in the Freedom Charter. This charter is the most devastating attack on all forms of racism," Mandela said. "On the contrary, every public document of the Conservative Party and its policy exploits the full repertoire of racism."

Mandela confirmed he had gone to Lusaka to discuss issues raised in a meeting with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee.

Mandela said there were still obstacles to negotiations.

"Unfortunately there are so many political prisoners, the State of Emergency is still in operation and the whole indemnity for the delegation has still not been resolved."

He referred to another pamphlet, purportedly distributed by the ANC. This pamphlet called for people to record questionable actions of the army and police so that such people could be dealt with after liberation.

"This pamphlet is supposed to have come from SA Congress of Trade Unions and the SACP but neither of these organisations nor any ANC organisation was responsible for this document," Mandela said. - Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.

Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, greet people at Jan Smuts airport on their return from Lusaka last night. Pic: MBUZENI ZULU
The ANC delegation, to be led by Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hani, will include at least four other ANC National Executive Committee members — Thabo Mbeki, Aziz Phahad, Joe Slovo and Ronnie Kasrils.

Others will include “MK” members Sizwe Saluba, Keith Mkwapi and Hein Groskopf, political-military department official Klaus Maphepha and ANC military researcher Abdul Mindi.

Both delegations will include soldiers who fought in the Namibia, Angola and elsewhere.

Borain said the agenda will focus on ANC and SADF perceptions of each other, the role of the military forces during the negotiations process, the formation of a post-apartheid defence force, the military-industrial complex and questions and attitudes relating to military conscription.

“This conference is not intended to be a negotiations forum between the SADF and the ANC,” said Borain, “but we do believe the ideas that emerge could assist both sides in clarifying their positions and in understanding those of their former protagonists.”

It is likely to be one of the last conferences to be held in Lusaka between the ANC and delegations from inside the South Africa.
Mandela delegation regains initiative

THE African National Congress moved quickly this week to reclaim the high ground on the negotiations initiative, and set in motion a mass membership drive within the country.

Stressing that there were no divisions within the movement on the negotiations, the ANC National Executive Committee said in a statement that they “welcomed the assurance given by Mr De Klerk and his colleagues to address as a matter of urgency (...) violence against peaceful demonstrators and the renewed detention of members of the ANC and the Mass Democratic Movement”.

But the movement noted concern that the government had “not yet fulfilled its undertakings to clear the way for exiles to return to South Africa legally” and urged De Klerk to finalise this without delay.

The NEC also stressed its commitment to “do everything in its power to end the fratricidal strife in Natal”, but in guarded terms expressed its “profound regret that some leaders in this area have embarked on a virulent campaign of propaganda against the ANC, the MDM, the church and others who are committed to peace”.

On Tuesday night the movement unveiled its high-powered and carefully balanced 11-person team for the May 2 “talks about talks”, which will focus on removing obstacles to negotiations.

Led by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, 71, it includes internal leadership core head Walter Sisulu, 77, SA Communist Party secretary general Joe Slovo, 63, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, 61, ANC acting secretary general Alfred Nzo, 64, international affairs director Tshabo Mbeki, 47, ANC administrative secretary Ruth Mompati, UDF co-president Archie Gumede, 76, former SA Council of Churches secretary general Dr Beyers Naude, 75, ANC internal publicity secretary Ahmed Kathrada, 60 and UDF Western Cape executive committee member Cheryl Carolus, 33.

Meanwhile, the NEC has acknowledged that “faster progress needs to be achieved to meet the demand of the countless numbers of our people who seek to join the ANC”, and has called on the international community “to make resources available” for the repatriation and resettlement of ANC members currently in exile.

Over the past 10 days the ANC has set up offices in Port Elizabeth, East London and Umzata, in addition to its Johannesburg-based national office, and expects to set up offices in the other regions over the next fortnight.

Membership cards have now been printed and will be issued at branch level.

Last week eight ANC regional coordinators were announced, and the remaining three will be announced within the next week, an ANC source said.

“We must stress these are interim structures to get things moving and these will be replaced once elections are held before our December 16 conference,” he said.

ANC southern Natal co-ordinator and UDF National publicity secretary, Patrick Lekota, said his interim committee would be visiting areas throughout the region in order the set up branch structures over the next two weeks.

“In each area local chairpersons will be elected along with local branch committees.”

The United Democratic Front will not be disbanded, but its character will changed into a forum representing grassroots structures, while the ANC will assume the national political leadership, he said.

Trevor Manuel, secretary of the UDF and coordinator of the ANC in the Western Cape, said the front held a national workshop in Cape Town at the weekend involving 250 delegates from around the country. It recommended that UDF should continue as a movement separate from but closely linked to the ANC.

Views at the workshop ranged from “let’s shut up shop” to “the UDF must continue in its present form”, Manuel said. But, he added, it was significant there were no “hard and fast” positions.
LONDON MEETING...ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela and Bishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, meet at the weekend in London where Mr Mandela attended a huge concert yesterday celebrating his release from prison.

NGK anger over torture

Staff Reporter

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela's admission that members of the organisation had tortured dissident ANC members has been slammed by the moderator of the Ned Geref Church in Africa.

The Rev Sam Buti said Mr Mandela's reaction to the torture allegations "was pathetic" and that Mr Mandela should act immediately.

However, he welcomed Mr Mandela's courage in admitting the torture.

The moderator of the Ned Geref Church, Professor Johan Heyns, said the disclosures had come "as a big shock" to him.

"I am thankful that Mr Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC," he said.
Xroads quiet but residents afraid

Staff Reporters

THE situation in Crossroads was quiet late last night although residents were living in fear after the violence which brought the official tally of dead to four, including two point-blank executions.

The outburst of violence is the worst in 18 months of feuding between mayor Mr Johnson Nkobongwana and his committee and a breakaway faction of 15 headmen under Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Residents yesterday said they feared for their lives over the weekend, especially those living in the newly-developed Phase Two housing scheme. The housing scheme has been attacked by both sides attempting to force support for their causes, resulting in at least one death over a fortnight ago.

Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck claimed yesterday that the government had done nothing to address the causes of the violent conflict in Old Crossroads which had resulted in a number of deaths in the past year.

In a memorandum to the government Mr Van Eck said yesterday that while everyone seemed appalled at the carnage in Natal, no one seemed to be aware that, by allowing the crisis in Crossroads to continue, the seeds of another Natal situation were being sown.

Mr Van Eck claimed that a solution to the crisis would only be found if:

- The allegations regarding the use of the “Crossroads Housing Fund” were finalised “so that justice can be seen to be done and the guilty ones being brought to court”.
- The present mayor and his committee councillors were removed from office and the residents allowed to decide if they “actually want to elect a mayor and town committee”.

...
Mandela to push for early follow-up talks

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA.—African National Congress deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela believes there should be no delay in follow-up meetings between the government and his organisation after the meeting early next month.

Speaking at a press conference last night on his return from Lusaka, Mr Mandela said a delay would hinge on the continued state of emergency, the continued imprisonment of political prisoners and exiles, who have not yet been given permanent indemnity.

Mr Mandela said he would push for early follow-up talks.

"INFORMAL MEETINGS"

He met the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, at Jan Smuts Airport before the press conference.

Mr Mandela, who was released from prison two months ago yesterday, said the ANC was determined to get negotiations off the ground as soon as possible.

He would not discuss details about his meeting with Mr Coetsee but added that the ANC and the government were continuously addressing problems "informally in informal meetings".

Mr Mandela last night accused Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht of sabotaging talks between the ANC and the government.

The CP earlier this week released a document, which it claimed detailed an ANC plan to assassinate rightwing politicians.

Mr Mandela said there was no truth in the allegations made by the CP, adding that no such document has been issued by the ANC or the SACP.

"It is so transparent that this is a simple trick from a man who will believe anything, however transparent, as long as it is loaded with racist undertones," Mr Mandela said.
Police probe CP's 'ANC murder document'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

A police investigation has been launched into the authenticity of the document which the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an African National Congress (ANC) plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

A police spokesman said in Cape Town that the investigation would also determine whether there had been a security breach.

He said the document was obviously a "source" report -- a report from an informer. The police received many such reports which were then evaluated.

The impression in police circles today was that allegations in the report were far-fetched.

The CP released the document to back up its leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's claims on Monday of an ANC assassination plot.

In a statement yesterday, the CP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Mr Andries Beyers, said he had been instructed by Dr Treurnicht to release the document in which the ANC plans were mentioned.

A copy of the document was faxed to The Star yesterday. Headed "Secret" and "Top Secret" it refers to a secret report sent by the ANC's National Executive Committee to Mr Nelson Mandela and outlines what was contained in the report.

The document is typed on paper without a margin and is not signed.

Yesterday morning ANC spokesman in Lusaka and Johannesburg dismissed the CP leader's allegations as "absolute rubbish".

In a statement following Dr Treurnicht's first allegations, President de Klerk denied any knowledge of a secret ANC document outlining a strategy to assassinate right-wingers, establish alternative structures to Inkatha, use violence to make the homelands ungovernable and monitor right-wing protest activities in order to assassinate the organisers and the families of security force members.

A spokesman for the State President's Office said the Government would like the CP to give full details to the police so that appropriate steps could be taken.

Mr Beyers said the State President's statement indicated that he was hesitant to deny the existence of the document.

According to the source who revealed the document's existence to the CP, the document had been sent to Government circles on March 3 this year.

Submitted

Mr Beyers said it was impossible, but in practice highly unlikely, that the Government has not been informed of the existence of the document and that the CP received the information before it was put at the disposal of the Government.

The ANC's internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, said yesterday: "That is absolute rubbish. ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sibangile said in Lusaka: "The ANC has no intention whatever to assassinate right-wingers or any individuals.

He said if the CP had any document "it must be one that has been made up to reflect the ANC in a bad light.'" DP co-leader Mr Wynn Malan said he believed the ANC was committed to peace and negotiation although it was experiencing problems in creating structures after a 35-year ban.

It has never even contemplated such action against establishment politicians, let alone right-wingers who don't even have the power.

"Dr Treurnicht's claims smack of trickery and do him no favours. If he didn't make it up, he should at least try to verify his sources." Mr Beyers said the CP was giving attention to the safety of its leadership.

"Our message to the ANC is: The CP will not be intimidated by threats of assassinations of its leaders into backing down from the struggle for our nation's freedom.

He said the Government circular had been sent to the Ministry of Law and Order to be passed on to the South African Police.

Security police are investigating the alleged documents produced by the CP.
UK keeps 'stiff upper lip' over Mandela's absence

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Whitehall remains unperturbed, on the surface at least, about the omission of Britain from the list of countries ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela hopes to visit by July.

But privately officials in Downing Street and the Foreign Office must be alarmed at Mr. Mandela's continued failure to respond to invitations to meetings with Mrs. Margaret Thatcher and senior members of the British government.

They will be concerned about what is seen as Britain's exclusion from the mainstream of the South African debate.

The ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC) issued the following list of places Mr. Mandela hopes to visit: Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Soviet Union, the United States and Canada "among others".

The NEC statement also showed the ANC's displeasure at Mrs. Thatcher's recent decision to lift some sanctions as a reward for recent reforms - a move widely seen as one of the reasons for her isolation.

Downing Street and Whitehall were keeping a stiff upper lip about Britain's exclusion from Mr. Mandela's tour itinerary.

Canadian Red Indian organisations have invited Mr. Mandela to their country to see how apartheid works.

"As a resident of apartheid, I would like Mr. Mandela to visit us first," said Mr. Ron George, the head of the United Native Nations, an organisation which has 60,000 members in British Columbia alone.

"Not very long ago, our people had to get permits to leave their reserves," said Mr. George.
Beyers Naude ‘stunned’ to be in ANC team

From SARAH CROWE
The Argus Foreign Service
STOCKHOLM. — Dr Beyers Naude was stunned today to hear he had been included in the ANC delegation to meet President de Klerk on May 2, 3 and 4.

“I had no knowledge of this before. My wife told me on the telephone this morning,” he said here, where he is on a working trip.

“When I last met Mr Mandela he gave me a general indication about a meeting but I was not aware I would be included in a delegation.”

Part of the former RGK donee’s surprise stems from the fact that he is not officially a member of the ANC. But he said he was one “in spirit”.

“I have always been a keen supporter of the organisation but have not actually officially joined the ANC.”

He looked forward to the meeting: “I am very glad it will be possible. It is a crucial meeting that has to take place.”

Dr Naude said he would have to discuss details of the meeting with others in the ANC delegation. But he assumed a central issue would be the return of exiles and clarification on the control of the police.

He thought the situation in Natal had already been covered in private discussions between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

Mr Walter Sisulu, internal chairman of the ANC, said today Dr Naude had done important work for the organisation, writes Staff Reporter Dennis Cruywagen.

Dr Naude had been associated with the ANC for many years. The fact that he was an Afrikaner had not influenced his inclusion in the delegation.

ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo echoed Mr Sisulu’s comments.

“He has worked tirelessly in the interests of the movement.”

Mr Nzo said exiled members of the ANC delegation would arrive in South Africa a few days before the talks.

The Natal head of the UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, said today he would go into discussions with the government next month aware of a heavy responsibility and would seek a fair settlement, The Argus Political staff reports.

Mr Gumede was named yesterday as part of the ANC delegation.

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead the delegation. Apart from Dr Naude, Mr Sisulu, Mr Gumede and Mr Nzo, other members are Mr Joe Slovo, woman’s leader Ms Ruth Mompati, military wing chief Mr Joe Modise, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, foreign representative Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Cheryl Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner from the Western Cape.

The government is expected to grant the five exiled members of the delegation temporary amnesty to take part in these and future talks.

Mr Gumede said: “We are now asked to take on a role of responsibility heavier than anything one can think of.”
No ANC, but Unibo nominates Mandela

THE Senate of the University of Bophuthatswana has recommended an honorary doctorate for deputy president of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela — amid denials by the "homeland" government to allow the ANC to operate in the territory.

The senate, which comprises senior academics at the university, refused to recommend honorary degrees to two nominated supporters of the ruling Bophuthatswana Democratic Party. They are: AN Lekgetho, deputy minister of health and services and DP Moloto, former deputy minister for economic affairs.

In another dramatic move, 500 members of the university staff recommended the name of recently deported president of the Unibo Staff, Dr Jon Lewis, in a petition to the senate.

However, the executive of the senate removed the name of Lewis from the list of nominations and thus preventing members of the senate to vote on the matter.

Mandela's award is, however, not assured, since the senate's recommendation can be vetoed by the university council — a body dominated by political appointee of the "homeland's" president — Lucas Mangope.

Mangope appoints 15 out of 24 members of the Council, who according to the Unibo Support Committee "defend the interest of the homeland policy".

The recommendation for Mandela's doctorate reflects the growing dissatisfaction that has swept through the university in recent months.

The Senate has on a number of occasions differed with the Vice Chancellor of the university, Professor MR Malope, who was directly appointed by Mangope.

The Senate opposed Malope's attempts to ban meetings of the Staff Association on campus and protested against the deportation of Lewis.

Last month 443 employees were summarily dismissed following a wage strike by almost all manual, clerical and senior administrative staff at the university.

The demands of the striking workers were supported by students and a large proportion of the academic staff — leading to a two-week strike.

Some members of the Staff Association's executive were detained and allegedly assaulted by the "homeland" police while in detention.

When the university was re-opened a fortnight ago, all 443 were reinstated with a 20 percent wage increase with a minimum wage at the time of the strike being R240 a month.

Although all workers and students have gone back to the university, there is mounting tension as no meetings are allowed on campus.
Since February when he left prison, Mr Nelson Mandela has treated everyone as a friend. He has been particularly careful not to upset Mrs Margaret Thatcher. But there is disagreement in the African National Congress about how its leader should act. According to Mr Mandela’s invitation to Downing Street when he visits Britain next weekend.

Some argue that Mr Mandela should avoid politicians in other countries who have supported the ANC before he visits Mrs Thatcher. The compromise might be that he will avoid political figures but will announce a date for the future.

The ANC, which will one day be at least part of the government of South Africa, is baffled and enraged by Mrs Thatcher’s policy.

Whatever feelings of reconciliation are being generated between the ANC and President de Klerk are on the point of being dashed. Britain, which played a central part in shaping southern Africa’s history, is being virtually ignored on all sides.

Mr de Klerk makes it clear that if he is to maintain his reform programme, he needs the support of the international community. He also insists that sanctions continue.

Since Mr de Klerk opened the way to negotiation, Britain has been one of the chief targets of his reforms. He has been particularly critical of Britain’s policies towards South Africa.

Miss Thatcher has not been mentioned in the talks between the two leaders. She has been excluded from the discussions because of her opposition to the negotiations.

The ANC has not yet decided whether to accept the British offer of talks with the government. It has been suggested that the ANC will accept negotiations if the British government agrees to a freeze on all sanctions.

Mrs Thatcher has indicated that she is willing to consider the ANC’s proposals. However, she has made it clear that she will not agree to a freeze on sanctions.

The ANC leader, The Most Hon. Mr. Nelson Mandela, has indicated that he is willing to accept the British offer of talks with the government. He has also indicated that he is willing to consider the proposal that sanctions be lifted.

The ANC has the support of most of the black people in South Africa. They are opposed to sanctions, which they see as a way of punishing the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher has been criticized for her opposition to sanctions. She has been accused of supporting apartheid.

Not well advised

The Foreign Office tried to work out a policy which was against economic sanctions but did not remove the threat of sanctions. The message to Pretoria could have been that Britain could not keep its finger in the dyke holding off sanctions for ever, the South Africans should hurry up and produce some changes.

At the same time contact with the ANC would have built up goodwill for the future and sent another powerful message to Pretoria.

Instead, Mrs Thatcher ruled out even the threat of sanctions, vigorously attacking their advocates but using soft words and persuasion on Pretoria. She banned contact with the ANC.

She has been well advised on South Africa. Her advisers include her husband, Denis, who visited South Africa as a businessman and is vigorous against sanctions.

She also listened to the South African writer, Sir Laurens van der Post, who is inclined to interpret Africa in a purely tribal way and dismisses the ANC as another communist movement which is going to wreck old Africa.

Her staff consisted of Sir Robin Renwick for whom she had secured the ambassadorship in Pretoria and Charles Powell, her foreign affairs adviser, who is Sir Robin’s oldest friend in the foreign service.

Sir Robin is said to report directly to Downing Street rather than through the Foreign Office.

It is understood that Sir Robin had tried to persuade Mrs Thatcher to lift the ban on talking to the ANC but her outburst in. Pretoria in 1987 when she called the ANC “a typical terrorist organisation” perjured her true feelings.

Criticism of Mrs Thatcher by the ANC has been held back. On more than one occasion Mrs Mandela has contained, or even suppressed, the anger of the ANC and its allies.

At a press conference for Mr Mandela held in London last month it seemed we were in for a spectacular display of Thatcher bashing. Lined up behind a long trestle table were the leaders of the Frontline states. At one end was Sir Somi Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary General, and at the other was the PLO’s Mr Yasser Arafat.

The media squatted in front of them like dogs at a feast. But Mr Mandela was not giving them a bone. When someone offered a question on Mrs Thatcher he snatched it out of the air before President Kenneth Kaunda, the chairman, could open his mouth.

"Perhaps before Comrade President responds," he said, "I would like to say that what we discussed was something that can be properly dealt with through the mass media. It is a matter to be dealt with directly with Mrs Thatcher."
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(2) whether he or his Department has investigated the (a) economic and (b) juridical implications of these steps; if not, why not; if so, what are these implications, in each case?

B718E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

No. Representations have on numerous occasions been made for prescribed medicines to be exempted from general sales tax and careful consideration has been given to the matter. It is, however, essential, particularly in the case of an indirect tax such as sales tax, for the base to be as wide as possible. If an exemption was granted in respect of prescribed medicines it would not only open the door for exemptions in respect of other equally meritorious cases, but would mean that the loss of tax would have to be recovered by an increase in the rate of tax.

Colonel Bob Denard: residence permit

'23. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: Hansard 17/1/90

(1) Whether a temporary or permanent residence permit has been issued to Colonel Bob Denard; if so, (a) for how long and (b) why;

(2) what is the total anticipated cost to the State of providing refuse to Colonel Denard;

(3) whether he will furnish details on the present whereabouts of this person; if not, why not; if so, (a) where is he residing at present and (b) at whose expense is he residing there?

B740E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) A temporary residence permit has been issued to him. An extension will be required from 1 May 1990. Colonel Denard's residence in South Africa must be seen against the background of the turbulences which occurred in the Comores in December 1989. On occasion my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has made public statements on the events. It boils down to the fact that both the former government of the Comores and the French Government have requested South Africa to accommodate Colonel Denard. The South African Government was initially not in favour thereof, but, after repeated appeals by the two aforementioned governments, the government, for the promotion of peace and quiet in the Comores, agreed to be of assistance. In the meantime discussions with the French Government regarding Colonel Denard's position and future are being conducted.

(2) None.

(3) No. He is being housed privately and it is not deemed expedient to furnish details.

Mr Lennox Sebe in SA

'24. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether Mr Lennox Sebe is currently residing in South Africa; if so, (a) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (b) at what total anticipated cost to the State?

(2) whether he is to be granted political asylum; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons?

Hansard 17/1/90

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(a) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to the Ciskei. After consultation with the South African Embassy in the Ciskei and the National Council of the Ciskei, he was advised not to return to the Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in the Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.

(b) He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself.

(2) No request for political asylum has been received.

Retirement annuity funds: extension of retirement age

'25. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether any consideration has been given to extending the age of retirement in respect of retirement annuity funds beyond 70; if so, what conclusion has been arrived at; if not, why not?

Hansard 17/1/90

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Yes. It was concluded that the age limit should not be extended as the purpose of allowing a deduction in respect of contributions to retirement annuity funds is to permit a person to defer tax on a portion of his income during his productive years until after his retirement. Very few people remain productive after attaining the age of 70 years, and it appears that any raising of the age limit would mainly benefit those senior citizens fortunate enough to have more than sufficient income to meet their needs, and who merely wish to further defer the payment of tax.

Durban prison at Westville: emergency detainees

'26. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any persons are being detained in terms of the state of emergency at the Durban Prison in Westville; if so, how many?

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, 18 persons on 17 April 1990.

(2) The detention of these persons is as a result of the conflict situation in Natal and is in the interests of the maintenance of law and order, the public safety and the termination of the statement of emergency.
ANC can take the high moral ground, says Allan Boesak

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

The African National Congress was in the position where it could suspend violence, thus taking the high moral ground and forcing the government to respond in a like manner, according to Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

He was speaking after the weekend national workshop of the UDF where it was decided that the UDF and the ANC would continue as separate movements but with close links.

Dr Boesak said he thought it was necessary that the people of the country, including the young people and those involved in violence in Natal and elsewhere, should hear that the ANC was committed to peace and that it really meant it.

The ANC and the government should also move together on this issue.

He said he understood the historical background to the ANC's armed struggle - that it was an option forced on it by the intransigence of successive South African governments but that it was not a justification of violence. He had always been committed to the truth that violence never finally solved any problem.

The ANC was now in the position where it could once again take the high moral ground by announcing the suspension of the armed struggle.

Referring to the coming talks between the government and the ANC he said he hoped that they would concentrate on the terrible situation in Natal and the potential it had for spreading throughout the country. This had to be avoided at all costs.

Instead of looking at this situation from a position of adversaries, both the ANC and the government should recognise that they were the senior partners in the whole process and that this was a common cause.

The other big issue was whatever obstacles remained so that there could be a move closer to proper and genuine negotiations.

The two sides should strive to arrive quickly at a definition what constituted a political prisoner. That would clear the way for the leadership of the ANC to return home.

Asked about his own future role Dr Boesak said he had in the past been asked by people to do certain things such as participate in protest actions and act as a spokesman to articulate the aspirations of people or to give critiques of government policy and actions.

If he was called on to play some role in a transitional period he would be available but the overture of leadership was that of the people who were being recognised as leaders.

It was clear that the UDF had charted for itself a new role in the sense that it would remain a separate organisation but that it had now clearly tied itself to the ANC.

Advantages

This itself was not particularly new in the sense that there were many UDF associates who had seen themselves as supporters of the ANC but this was the first time that this had become the official line of the UDF.

He was happy that the UDF had again committed itself to the policy of non-racialism because that was one of the pillars on which it was built in 1983 and this had remained one of its most important commitments.

The question was whether there was enough time to build a broad front and if it would be in the interests of the country as a whole to do this as soon as possible.

"At the same time we must realise that we cannot wait for everybody ready to join the UDF or the ANC until we can talk about serious negotiations."

"The ANC is now in the process of transforming itself from a liberation movement to a political party and to find a clear and attractive policy that could present itself as an acceptable alternative to government policies."

The ANC had advantages as the oldest liberation movement in Africa which could claim the support of the vast majority of people but the government could be expected to diminish some of these advantages. This was what politics was about.

On the other hand it was no good for the government to say it wanted to dismantle apartheid without doing something about it.

In spite of the adroit way in which Mr F W De Klerk had handled himself, nothing had changed about the reality of apartheid.

There was great danger in this.

There were people who believed that there should be no talk about negotiations and that the government or white people, could not be trusted.

The longer the practical circumstances of people remained the same the more credibility this kind of argument gained, Dr Boesak said.
Talks with ANC 'please' European delegation

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen representatives from European Community countries have held talks here with internal ANC representatives led by Mr Walter Sisulu.

The leader of the delegation, Irish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Gerard Collins, said after yesterday's meeting that he was pleased with the discussions, which had centred on housing, education, health, sanctions and changes in South Africa.

The EC's position had always been against apartheid.

"We want to encourage dialogue between the government and ANC and we will help the victims of apartheid in a positive way."

The delegation and the ANC had agreed that sanctions would remain until fundamental changes had taken place.

Mr Collins welcomed reforms brought about so far in South Africa. He was confident "definite steps" would be taken by President De Klerk.

"The good atmosphere in the country has to be used by both sides to bring about a democratic situation."

FRUITFUL

Mr Sisulu said his delegation had had fruitful discussions with the European ministers.

The EC delegation met ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport when he arrived from Zambia yesterday and will meet President De Klerk in Cape Town today.

Talks have also been arranged with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the South African Council of Churches, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, representatives of the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament and various business leaders.

They will also meet Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer.
Slovo's problems: a Stalinist past and a democratic future

HERBERT ADAM

By building its strategy on white-black working-class alliances, the SAP not only starts from false assumptions but neglects an increasingly significant split in the labour movement: the competition between employed and unemployed. Neither the ANC nor Cosatu has devised a strategy to cope with the one-third of the national workforce who are unemployed. The unions are increasingly representative of the employed only. More employment in SA almost qualifies for membership in a "labour aristocracy". Merely having a job is a mark of privilege. The range of life-chances — from access to housing, medical care, education and pensions — depends on employment. Those millions outside the formal economy — in township backyards, in shack settlements and in the countryside — form a permanent underclass. The liberation movement has yet to organise these permanently marginalised outsiders. The unions have yet to address the relation between employed and unemployed workers.

In Slovo's sensible, pragmatic assessment, the SA economy cannot be transformed "by edict without risk economic collapse". Instead of bureaucratic state control along Eastern European lines, Slovo now advocates public control through effective democratic participation by "producers at all levels". This amounts to a classic social-democratic programme of co-determination where large firms are held publicly accountable and unions represent the interests of employees on boards. Since such highly legitimate visions are also considered negotiable, not much of economic reality is left among former Leninists. The collapse of Eastern European state socialism finally has shown its impact on some of its last fervent adherents.

The SAP, by its own admission, was caught offguard by its unbalanced policies. If the ANC found itself unelectable, Slovo may well have had the last laugh, as did its former ally in the Pikiad.

Will the SAP continue playing its pivotal role in the new South Africa? When the ANC found itself unelectable, Slovo may well have had the last laugh, as did its former ally in the Pikiad.
BBC promises 'discretion'

LONDON — The BBC said yesterday that it would cover the Nelson Mandela concert at Wembley Stadium as a "major public event" and televise the ANC leader's 15-minute speech. It will also exercise "sensible discretion" about other political comments.

Mr Alan Yentob, controller of BBC 2, which will screen the live concert on Easter Monday with Radio 1, rejected a call from the Freedom Association, a right-wing pressure group, for delayed transmission of 30 seconds.

This would have allowed producers to edit speeches or unscripted remarks from performers by substituting pre-recorded interviews and comments.

The Freedom Association argues that the BBC has a duty to be impartial and fears the programme could be used for political propaganda.

It adds that it has no confidence in the BBC's assurances.

Mr Yentob said: "This is ludicrous. I thought everyone was unanimous in applauding the release of Nelson Mandela. The BBC has a lot of experience covering these sorts of events. No-one can take over the show."

It is said that 1 billion people will be watching, but not South Africans.

Mr Hein Kern, programme director of the SABC, said: "We offered to take the whole show live but the organisers in London refused." — The Independent News Service.
From respectful reception to hero's welcoming rally

By SUE LEEMAN
The Star Bureau (L)

LONDON — The picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the ANC deputy president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy shot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The "Black Pimpernel" had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message that it would take up arms to fight apartheid to the death.

On that trip, Mr. Mandela visited several African countries, as well as the United Kingdom where he took the chance to tour Westminster and the "Mother of Parliaments". He was surprised at the respectful reception he received abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that "wherever I went, I was treated like a human being".

This weekend, Mr. Mandela visits England again. There is no subterfuge about his departure this time — and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes of the liberation struggle. He will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather, as they did at a similar event two years ago, to fete him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message to over a billion viewers worldwide, the kind of audience most leading politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

His message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone.

This is diametrically opposed to the British government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street has indicated that Mrs Margaret Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of Number 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation she so readily issued after his release — a failure which is beginning to looking like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

At best, the British leader is now marginalised in the South African debate and a meeting with Mr. Mandela could be used to suggest she is at the centre of things.

Although she has her doubts about the ANC as an organisation, she is known to have a high regard for Mr. Mandela, the statesman.

A Downing Street spokesman said this week that Mr. Mandela was "very welcome" to visit Mrs. Thatcher should he decide to on this visit.

The spokesman confirmed that Mrs. Thatcher returns from her Bermuda summit with President George Bush on Saturday, so theoretically she could see Mr. Mandela on Sunday at her country residence, Chequers, where she often spends weekends.

The Foreign Office, too, is eager to confer with him: Foreign Secretary Mr. Douglas Hurd was only too happy to see Mr. Mandela in Namibia last month — but after several attempts at a meeting, the ANC leader fought shy.

But Mr. Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the combative British leader, has made it clear such encounters are unlikely at present.

Mr. Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time. There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a provisional itinerary for a Mandela tour of foreign capitals, released this week, significantly omits Britain.

But Whitehall is hopeful that the clearly incomplete list leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting with the woman of whom Mr. Mandela has said: "I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy."
ANC's talks team a sum of all its parts

The African National Congress has chosen a team for pre-negotiation talks that reflects a blend of age, race, gender and region, in sharp contrast to their Government counterparts, who but for one member consist of Afrikaner men in their 50s and 60s, writes PATRICK LAURENCE.

The ANC representatives in age range from early 30s (Ms Cheryl Carolus) to late 70s (Mr Walter Sisulu).

Although pre-dominantly black, they include South Africans of all races; leaving the black predominance are two whites, Dr Beverley Naudé and 6A Communist Party secretary general, Mr Joe Slovo, a coloured (Ms Carolus) and an Indian (Mr Ahmed Kathrada).

The racial composition is, it may be safely assumed — a manifestation of the ANC's commitment to non-racialism, an ideal which runs through its history of nearly eight decades.

It is not an exclusively male team.

Its representatives includes two women — (Ms Carolus and Mrs Ruth Mompatti), signalling — in the view of Mr Mark Phillips of the Centre for Policy Studies — sensitivity to charges of "male chauvinism" and awareness of the political importance of women.

Rivonia trial

There is, furthermore, a balance between internal and external ANC members and, coincidentally, between ex-Rivonia trial prisoners, who were jailed for life in 1964 and released in the past six months, and the ANC leaders who escaped imprisonment in the 1960s and who, for years, directed the "struggle" from abroad.

Internally-based Rivonia trialists include stapists Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and Mr. Kathrada, externally-based operatives include Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Alfred Nzo.
67 youths leave to join ANC

Scores of youths from schools in Durban's kwaMashu township have crossed the border to Swaziland in an attempt to join the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto weSizwe.

The 67 youths, all males aged between 14 and 18, are now languishing in a camp between Mbabane and Manzini, South African security sources said.

A spokesman for the SA Department of Foreign Affairs has confirmed that the children are in Swaziland but they had not been accorded refugee status.

"We can confirm that they are there. The matter is being treated as an internal issue by the Swazi government. The youths have not been accorded refugee status," the spokesman said.

Security sources said the 67 left South Africa during a recent teachers' boycott in kwaMashu. Teachers had apparently told the youths they should leave the country and join the ANC.

It is believed that the youths have been refused access to Zambia on the grounds that the ANC is illegal in South Africa.

The sources also said the logistical resources of the commissioner for refugees were being stretched by the youths' presence, and disciplinary problems were being experienced.

Comment from Swaziland was not available at the time of going to press.
‘Do not punish, but do not forget’

Respected columnist of The New York Times ANTHONY LEWIS, who has been visiting South Africa, examines the question of revenge or reconciliation in the new political dispensation. He comes to the conclusion that reconciliation, not retribution, is what most South Africans desire.

If there is a general amnesty and it brings democracy and peace to our country," Albie Sachs said, "I would be thrilled. Even if the amnesty extends to the very people who tried to kill me." Mr. Sachs is a lawyer long associated with the African National Congress. Two years ago in Mozambique a bomb planted in his car, almost certainly by agents of the South African Government, blew off his right arm. He lives in London, and I spoke to him there.

"I certainly don't believe in an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, an arm for an arm," he said. "What is important is to expose the crimes. It is very healing. whereas endless trials might simply keep the wounds open."

His views were personal, Mr. Sachs said. But over the last three weeks in South Africa and Namibia I have heard similar themes from many people, white and black, left and right.

Human rights organizations generally oppose amnesty for state officials who murder or torture. Punishment is necessary to prevent future abuses, they argue.

But in South Africa I found a very different view.

"Amnesty is politically essential," a leading Johannesburg lawyer said. "Without it, I fear there can be no solution." The question is acutely important for South Africa now. Talks between the Government and the ANC have been rescheduled for early May. They will deal with obstacles to negotiation on a constitutional framework. One obstacle is the ANC insistence that all political prisoners be freed.

President F.W. de Klerk has freed Nelson Mandela and other well-known anti-apartheid leaders. But he has not released hundreds of others who committed common crimes, such as murder, for political ends.

It is a highly emotional issue. For decades — until Mr. de Klerk changed course two months ago and the National Party government denounced the ANC as "terrorists." Some ANC took the lives of random civilians. A decision to let the bombers go would be hard for many whites to accept.

Amnesty would be at least as painful on the other side. Over the last 30 years Government agents have killed and maimed many anti-apartheid leaders. Steve Biko was murdered while in detention. ANC representatives have been murdered as far away as Paris.

Right now, a judicial commission appointed by Mr. de Klerk is hearing evidence, in public, of a death squad operation run by the military. There were schemes to kill many opponents of apartheid, including an unsuccessful plan to poison Mr. Mandela's lawyer by switching his heart pills.

"Not everyone will be as philosophical as Albie Sachs about letting the conspirators go free," Mr. de Klerk said.

But even some victims of cruelty whom I met are prepared to put retribution aside. There was a striking example in Namibia, which became independent on March 21.

Bience Gavan was a young woman, black, who supported Swapo's struggle against South Africa. In 1977, at the age of 21, she left the country for Zambia. She ended up at Warwick University in England, got a degree in law and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, London.

In August 1988, she went back to Zambia for a holiday. There Swapo detained her as a "spy." She was taken to Angola and tortured until she "confessed.

"I'm definitely not for punishment," Ms. Gavan said. "I've experienced it from both sides — my brother was killed by whites in this country. But people were committed to their ideologies. They did what they did."

No words of regret

As part of the arrangement for independence, Ms. Gavan and other Swapo detainees (though not yet all) were returned to Namibia. Then, on the streets of Windhoek, she has actually met the men who tortured her.

"They don't expect me to be nice to them," she said. "But I greet them."

Ms. Gavan made the same point as Albie Sachs about people knowing what happened.

"We need to know to prevent it happening again," she said. "People here did not vote to wipe history off (when they approved the Constitution). They voted to give people a chance."

There was another thing Ms. Gavan wanted, but has not had.

That is an expression of regret from the Swapo leadership for the detentions and torture of herself and others.

Truth, even without apology, is strong medicine in a society whose power elite has been as given to self-deception as has South Africa's.

"We're going to have to talk about things people usually don't talk about," the Johannesburg lawyer said. "If we avoid them, if we don't come to terms with history, it will be a cancer in the society."

President de Klerk appears to agree with that view. In appointing the commission to investigate State death squads, he broke with an ingrained practice of secrecy.

The idea of formal amnesty for political prisoners has support in both Mr. de Klerk's camp and the ANC leadership. The President's closest adviser on constitutional negotiations, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, said a "healing device will have to be considered on a very broad basis."

Defining "political prisoners" is tricky. But here President de Klerk has taken a significant step.

He has proposed legislation to indemnify exiles who return to protect them from prosecution for committing crimes "in the process of conflict and in the pursuit of duty." That phrasing seems to cover ANC guerrillas who planted bombs with political motives. The next step would be to pardon or otherwise release those already convicted.

When I asked Nelson Mandela whether he favored prosecutions of death squad members or other state assassins, he answered: "No, no, no."

"The whole spirit of negotiations," Mr. Mandela said, "would be against taking revenge on any particular individual. You think of it as involving the entire community in support of the settlement. Otherwise it will be an intolerable situation."

Mr. Mandela and others who were imprisoned for so long showed no signs of bitterness. I told him that to an outsider that seemed almost too good to believe. How, I asked him, was it possible?

"I don't think we are in any way unique," he said. "I think political prisoners throughout the world are very tolerant. They know that the people in government differ as individuals. We draw a distinction between the human beings who make the system work, and the system."

"That really be a general trait of political prisoners, or is it culturally specific?"

There is the example of President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia: there have been no prosecutions of the communists who imprisoned him and so many others.

But still, I think there is something special in the African attitude.

That possibility is crucially important to an even deeper question of revenge of whether this time of change in South Africa. If there is a democratic solution, the African majority at last gains political power, will try to take revenge against whites for the centuries of dispossession, humiliation, discrimination and violence it has suffered at white hands?

A leading South African political commentator, Allister Sparks, deals with the question in a book due out shortly, "The Mind of South Africa." It is a profound, moving history and analysis of his tormented country.

There is "no lust for vengeance," Mr. Sparks writes, no apologia for retribution, despite the legacy of grievances. The past, as they like to say, is another country...

"I do not believe that the black African masses have an intuitive yearning for vengeance and retribution. A yearning for justice, yes, and for release from poverty and oppression, but no dream of themselves becoming the persecutors."

One reason for that view is the years of teaching of the ANC's Freedom Charter, which begins: "We the People of South Africa declare... that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." Another, Mr. Sparks says, is "a deep inner knowledge that whatever the present may deliver the future is theirs."

Collaborators killed

All that may sound too romantic. But the fact is that the ANC, the victim of many assassinations, has never attempted one against white leaders. When the black majority took over in neighbouring Zimbabwe, after a bitter war, not one white official was prosecuted.

Of course, it is not possible to brutalise people over many decades and expect all of them to be restrained. The black townships have seen terrible violence over the last decade, including the killing of collaborators.

The violence of young people who have seen their parents humiliated and powerless is a major threat to the future of South Africa. Violence between black factions in Natal province is another of the major obstacles to negotiation today.

But more of it, in Allister Sparks's phrase, has turned into "the kind of vengeful crusade" that Franz Fanon spoke of, the yearning to become hunter and persecutor."

The question is whether a future government can offer the black majority and the white minority enough stake in a united country to prevent the revenge that has destroyed the hopes of so many other revolutions.

But at least now those who are making the plans seem to want to start with a clean slate.
Mandela returns home, denies CP claims

By Stan Hlophe

Mr Nelson Mandela has dissociated the African National Congress from what the Conservative Party claims is a Government document giving details of an ANC plan to assassinate right-wing politicians and members of the security forces.

At a press briefing at Jan Smuts Airport after his second visit to Lusaka, the ANC deputy president described the document as a devastating attack on the ANC, which he said was on record as having explicitly repudiated all forms of violence and racialism.

He said there were certain elements who were intent on sabotaging the three-day meeting between the ANC and the Government in May.

Mr Mandela said he had gone to Lusaka to brief the ANC's national executive committee on his recent meeting with President de Klerk.

His discussions with the NEC were fruitful and as a man who had been "urging" the Government to meet the ANC he was delighted at the progress made so far.

He cited the near collapse of negotiations between the Government and ANC as the main reason for his visit to Lusaka.

He had also briefed Zambia's President Kaunda about the recent developments in South Africa, he said.

Asked if, since his release from prison two months ago, he had made any progress, he said he was satisfied with the progress made so far.

He said he has condemned violence in Natal and other places but refused to condemn the armed struggle, which had been adopted as a strategy to get rid of apartheid.

He added that all strategies adopted by the ANC would be maintained.
Taking decisions

Who actually calls the shots in the ANC?

At the apex, in Lusaka, is the national executive committee, technically under ANC president Oliver Tambo, but, since his illness, effectively run by secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international department head and “crown prince” Thabo Mbeki, and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

All major decisions, such as the recent one postponing talks with President FW de Klerk, are taken by the NEC but very much in consultation with the recently formed internal Interim Leadership Core.

This is chaired by Walter Sisulu and includes Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and, since his release, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who is very much seen as a national leader, with a stature that goes beyond the ANC.

The Interim Leadership Core men have all been co-opted on to the NEC.

If Tambo does not fully recover, Mandela could well be elected president when the ANC holds its first national congress in 30 years inside SA on December 16. According to one insider, elections for the new NEC will return a mixture of older and new generation leaders.

The latter might well include the likes of National Union of Mineworkers’ leader Cyril Ramaphosa, UDF publicity secretary Terror Le korta and UDF Cape leader Trevor Manuel.

It will be interesting to see who makes up the ANC team, led by Mandela, which is due to meet De Klerk and his senior ministers for pre-negotiation talks on May 2. The FM learns that the list could include: Thabo Mbeki, Slovo, Jacob Zuma from the ANC intelligence department (who is already in the country), Nzo (uncertain), Pallo Jordan, Walter Sisulu, Popo Molefe, Ramaphosa, Manuel, and perhaps Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo.

As part of a membership and unity drive, the Interim Leadership Core recently announced the formation of five departments inside the country which will function until the ANC-in-exile has returned. Not all the names have been divulged.

The departments are: the Office of the National Organiser under Wilton Mkwaya; Department of Information and Publicity, under Ahmed Kathrada; National Political Education; Finance Control under TIC president Cassim Saloojee; and an Administrative Secretariat.

More important is the team of regional conveners tasked with recruiting new members and the setting up of ANC regional offices.

The country has for this purpose been divided into 12 regions. The conveners so far named include: PWV — Kgalema Motlanthe, a NUM officer and Robben Island “graduate”; northern Transvaal — Thabo Makunyane; southern Natal — Terror Lekota; Natal midlands — Harry Gwala; western Cape — Trevor Manuel, who is likely to be joined as co-convenor by ANC exile Reg September; eastern Cape — Benson Fihla; Border — Arnold Stofile; and Transkei — A Xobololo.

The ANC’s legal department, under Albie Sachs, has also prepared “a new interim constitution” to “guide the workings of the movement now that it has been unbanned.”

At a national workshop last weekend, the UDF decided that it would continue to exist but the “ANC would assume leadership at the level of policy making.”

Alf Kumalo is a seasoned and effective photographer — he can get to the right place at the right time — and this book showcases pictures from the Fifities to the more recent tumult of the Release.

Kumalo is a news photographer: he is sent out on assignments with a brief, but obviously the published work is (a) newsworthy and discarded the next day, and (b) only the tip of an iceberg of material that grows vaster with the years. Like most professional photographers, I suppose, he looks back over his collection from time to time and wonders if it would make a book. A theme is always needed; here the theme is Mandela. The focus is always on or in the vicinity of the ANC leader.

Well ... up to a point. Two pictures suggest the broadness of the net. On page 69 we have: "Photographer Alf Kumalo and Muhammad Ali. Himself a keen amateur boxer in his youth, Nelson Mandela had a copy of this photograph in his prison cell." And then, on page 61, we have a deranged-looking mant, Mandela's dog Krusehev, who was "known as a formidable watchdog, guarding the family home while Mandela was in prison."

On this basis, almost anything would do — "West Street, Johannesburg, where Mandela sometimes walked in order to get a takeaway curry." I made that up, but there are pictures of overcrowded classrooms and funerals taken while Mandela was in prison and definitely every picture ever taken by Kumalo was snapped while Mandela was doing something. The idea is, perhaps, that Mandela is such an overpowering and symbolic presence that, like the poet W H Auden's Freud, he is no more a man but "a climate of opinion."

It would, therefore, be up to Prof Mphahlele's text to illuminate such disparate, and sometimes distressing, material. To define the theme, in other words. The writer is perhaps the most strongly humanist observer of apartheid to have emerged before the imposition of Bantu Education — a fact which gives lyricism and strength to his style — but here he has distanced himself, letting the history speak almost too plainly and the effect is of a little too much compression. The better-known facts of Mandela's life are retolded, but that inscrutability — the sense that one never knows quite what Mandela is thinking — is not penetrated.

In this paragraph, for example, there is little that is genuinely illuminating: "The turbulent Fifities raged on. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 confirmed all our fears and the belief that once African ideology had passed on education, the stick would linger with us until we replaced the system. The removal of Alexandra Township edged towards a confrontation. It never happened. Attempts by the ANC to weaken the government's resolve were brutally ineffectual."

Some sweeping judgments are made on the ideological programmes of various black liberation movements and bodies, but there simply isn't the space to do much more than sketch out a rarefied dialectic, remote as the War of Jenkins' Ear: "(The Communist Party) was pretty aggressive in pushing the case of the class struggle as against nationalism or Africanism. The Indian leadership represented mostly the interests of the merchant class or intellectuals. The ultimate effect of this co-existence was that the nationalism that had originally fired Mandela and Tambo was no longer a one-way street. It had never, in any event, been as passionate, pristine and calculating as Lembede's or Mdwa's, which they equated with Africanism..."

The first marriage is soon disposed of: "He and his wife Eveline became estranged and, despite Kiser Matanzima's mediation, the rift came. He made it clear to Eveline that no attempt to save the nine-year-old marriage was worth the trouble... Both parents were hurting badly because the only sensible solution was unbearable. In 1955, they separated. In the same year, Nelson met Winnie Madikizela, a social-work student."

Winnie makes frequent appearances. She is there on page 115 with her football team and some cops, looking a proper bossyboots.

Books like this are designed to catch the historical moment, the mood of joy and awakening to possibilities symbolised in a man freed after long and grinding incarceration.

In a way they demand too much of Mandela: he must supply the hidden text, the connecting matter between the family pictures and the desolation of mass funerals, the excited young faces that have become old men, the mystery of what it must be like to be the most famous man in the world. Inevitably, such books are hastily prepared — captions and text and pictures are laid out in a self-defeating fashion, too jumbled-up to be sorted out adequately, so that emotion leads one on rather than a coherent line, whether personal or public. Perhaps the ideal text would be an interview — a commentary on the photographs as they stir memory. Mphahlele has done his best, but "reflections on an era" cannot in their nature reveal too much about personal hardship.

The reproductions lack crispness, which is not fair on Kumalo. And I would have liked it better if Kumalo himself had contributed some notes on where and how the pictures were taken. In the event, it's a coffee-table book about a man of the people, or, rather, his historical context — and perhaps there's too much of a paradox there to be altogether satisfactory. Peter Wilhelm.
Willie Nelson in Mandela show

LONDON. — Willie Nelson, one of the all-time greats of Country and Western music — and a favourite in South Africa’s conservative plateland — is a fan of another Nelson; Mr Nelson Mandela.

Nelson has joined a growing list of stars who will perform at Monday evening’s “international tribute” concert at Wembley Stadium for the recently released ANC deputy president, which is to be seen on television by an estimated one billion people in 60 countries, as well as by more than 70,000 at the stadium.

Another surprise participant confirmed yesterday is South Africa’s “white Zulu”, Johnny Clegg — considering that for years he has been largely ostracised by the international anti-apartheid community in this country.

Other top musicians confirmed yesterday are Terence Trent D’Arby, Lou “Walk-on-the-Wild-Side” Reed and Jackson Browne.

Nelson and Winnie Mandela will be joined by a high-powered cross-section of South African political leaders at the concert. A number of high-profile international anti-apartheid figures will also attend the event.

Mr Mandela, who arrives here on Sunday, has no official engagements planned, it was confirmed yesterday — despite an open invitation to him from Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

However, with delegates from most of the 35 Nelson Mandela national reception committees set up around the world in London, Mr Mandela will take the opportunity of meeting them and the anti-apartheid movements here on Sunday afternoon.

According to the organisers, a statement is expected to be issued after the meeting, outlining plans for “future solidarity campaigns”.

Despite pressure from the right-wing Freedom Association, the BBC confirmed yesterday that coverage would go ahead as planned.

The organisers have excluded South Africa from the broadcast in spite of efforts by the SA Broadcasting Corporation to buy transmission rights for TV4.

— Own Correspondent, Sapa
The respect has turned to awe

In 1962, Nelson Mandela visited London as "The Black Pimpernel", smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message. This week, as a free man, he visits the city again. SUE LEE MAN of the Weekend Argus Foreign Service writes from London.

African National Congress Vice-President Mr Nelson Mandela confidently addresses a capacity crowd in Port Elizabeth shortly after his release.

WEMBLEY THOUSANDS SET TO ROAR IN HONOUR OF MANDELA

When Nelson Mandela takes the Wembley Stadium podium to roars of delight on Monday, he will be the high point of a star-studded concert programme.

International music artists have not been slow to agree to perform at this, the largest celebration of his release, to be beamed live to more than a billion people.

But this event will have more of a political character than the Mandela birthday concert two years ago. Unlike last time, when artists were asked to avoid political comment, this concert will act as a showcase for Mr Mandela, who is expected to deliver a hard-hitting address on the need to continue fighting apartheid.

The programme for the event includes a history of the ANC, a look at apartheid and a feature on the frontline states, among the information on the artists who will perform.

Most of the artists appearing have impeccable anti-apartheid credentials, having written protest songs or refused lucrative Sun City offers.

Among them are Peter Gabriel, a leading light on the successful Amnesty tour, whose song "Shakira The Yebu" is a tribute to African women, black American singer and author of many a haunting protest song Tracy Chapman, and Dave Stewart of Eurythmics, Soul to Soul, Neil Young, Bimple Mwana and Little Stevie.

There has been some controversy over the South African artists who are to appear: Miriam Makeba is certain but trumpeter Hugh Masekela initially said he would not take part because whites had exploited the last concert for gain. This week he was negotiating with the organizers, indicating he may have changed his mind.

I now seems that Johnny Clegg will appear at this time with his band Savuka. He was barred from the 1988 Mandela birthday concert because, as a member of the British Musicians' Union, he is not supposed to live in South Africa.
The picture is familiar from Nelson Mandela's biographies: it shows the first African president under the tower of London's Big Ben, a happy spot taken on a summer Sunday in 1962.

The “Black Pimpernel” had been smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC's message, and to express his support for the anti-apartheid struggle. He was welcomed as a political leader of stature.

On that trip, Mr Mandela visited several African countries, along with the United Kingdom, where he took the chance to tour Westminster and visit the Palace of Parliament. He was surprised at his respectful reception abroad, telling biographer Mary Benson that whenever I went, I was treated like a human being.

This weekend Mr Mandela visits England again.

This time there is no such sentencing about his departure — and the respect has turned into the kind of awe reserved for heroes. The liberation struggle will be welcomed as a political leader of stature.

The main purpose of the visit is a celebratory rally at Wembley stadium, where thousands will gather as they did at a similar event two years ago, to hear him with music and dance.

When he takes the podium, he will be bringing his message over to a billion viewers worldwide, and the kind of audience most leaders and politicians would sell their mothers to reach, but seldom do.

His message is likely to be unequivocal: sanctions must remain in place until the last vestiges of apartheid have gone for good.

This is diametrically opposed to the British government's view of things, but British leaders have made it clear they will line up to see him should he indicate this is the right moment.

Downing Street has indicated that Mrs Thatcher is still keen to usher him through the door of No 10, despite his continued failure to respond to the invitation he so readily issued after his release — a failure which is beginning to look like a deliberate snub by the ANC.

The British leader is now marginalised in the South African debate and a meeting with Mr Mandela could be used to suggest he is in the centre of things.

Although she has her doubts about the ANC as an organisational problem, she is known to have a high regard for Mr Mandela the statesman. A Downing Street spokesman said this week that Mr Mandela was “very welcome” to visit Mrs Thatcher should he decide to do so on this visit.

The spokesman confirmed that Mrs Thatcher had returned from her Bermuda summit with President Bush, so theoretically she could see Mr Mandela as soon as possible at her country residence, Chequers, where she often spends weekends.

The Foreign Office, too, is eager to confer with Mr Mandela. Secretary Douglas Hurd was only too happy to see Mr Mandela in Namibia last month but after further attempts at a meeting the ANC leader fought shy.

But Mr Mandela, while speaking of his respect for the British leader, has made it clear that such encounters are unlikely now.

The Mandela will answer all invitations in his own good time. There is clearly some hesitation about playing the British card and a pronounced dislike of Mr Mandela as a foreign capital, released this week, significant omits Britain.

The Prime Minister is hopeful that the fact that the list is clearly incomplete leaves room for a London stopover and a meeting with the woman of whom Mr Mandela has said, “I would rather have her as a friend than an enemy.”

In 1962, Nelson Mandela visited London as “The Black Pimpernel,” smuggled out of South Africa to spread the ANC’s message. This week, as a free man, he visits the city again. SUE LEEMAN of the Weekend Argus writes from London.

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Wembley: Thousands Set to Roar in Honour of Mandela

African National Congress Vice-President Mr Nelson Mandela confidently addresses a capacity crowd in Port Elizabeth shortly after his release.

Peter Gabriel
Tracy Chapman
Johnny Clegg
Miriam Makeba

Most of the artists appearing have impeccable anti-apartheid credentials, having written protest songs or refused lucrative Sun City offers.

Among them are Peter Gabriel, leading light of the successful Amnesty tour, whose song Shakti: The Tree is a tribute to African women, black American singer and author, and many a haunting protest song Tracy Chapman, Dave Stewart of Eurythmics, Soul 2 Soul, Noel, Young, Simple Minds and Little Steven.

There has been some controversy over the South African artists who are to appear. Mirem Makela is certain but trumpeter Hugh Masekela initially said he would not take part because whites had exploiting the last concert for gain. This week he was negotiating with the organizers, indicating he may have changed his mind.

It now seems that Johnny Clegg will appear this time with his band Savuka. He was banned from the 1986 Mandela birthday concert because, as a member of the British Musicians’ Union, he is not supposed to live in South Africa.

Other South Africans on the programme include singer Letta Mbulu and her husband, composer and arranger Calvin Sezana, and Abdullah Ibrahim, better known as Dollar Brand.

Presenters include Cry Freedom star Denzel Washington.
On the road to black power

De Klerk loses out as local and homeland leaders look to the ANC

Patrick Laurence

The challenge facing South Africa's white government is to capture the support of a substantial number of black people, Edward Fest observes in his analysis of black resistance in South Africa.

Fest's observation, made nearly a quarter of a century ago, is still pertinent today, President de Klerk noted black allies at the negotiating table, in the political arena, and, if necessary, on the battlefield.

McBride's problem is that his black allies are deserting it in droves, either to seek the potential anonymity of neutrality or, more keenly, to distance themselves from his perspective - to join the bargaining table of the ANC or the rival Pan-African Congress.

Tasting a brief victory, it is clear that the government's attempts to win, black, as it has, taken a more radical form.

Its established municipal governments in the black homelands are assuming that they are the real authorities in the black community.

Verwoerd's words, "The real authority is the National Party government," have created the idea that the ANC is a threat to the state.

The ANC, homeland leaders appear to be crossing to join the ANC.

The past six weeks have seen the spectacular changes in the homeland system.

Instead of butting in Mr. de Klerk against Mr. Nelson Mandela and the ANC, homeland leaders appear to be crossing to join the ANC.

The failure of the TPA to organize by-elections means that black councils have quit its elections - too much for the discredited administration to remain intact. The failure of the TPA to organize by-elections means that black councils have quit their elections - too much for the discredited administration to remain intact.

SPEARHEADING UNITY DRIVE: Mr. Nelson Mandela met four homeland leaders the day before the pre-negotiation talks with Mr. de Klerk - all four cancelled their appointments at the eleventh hour. The ANC leader may be using his considerable authority to persuade black leaders, it is in their own interests and those of the black community to link arms with him.

It was an offense under emergency regulations to organize a boycott. Against that a special law was passed to enable any voter to cast his or her vote before polling day.

The states were high. The government was desperate to avoid a repeat of the 1976 unrest.

In a bid to bolster the percentage poll, the government spent nearly R3 million on a propaganda campaign exalting homeland elections to voters.

As the South Africa of Race Relations 1982, about R3 million in campaign funds were spent on voting day.

The official percentage poll was just over 50 percent. Mr. David Weir, of the University of Cape Town, however, calculated that only 14 percent of registered voters went to the polls, and 13 percent of those who were eligible.

In 126 wards elections were not held because no candidates were nominated. Thus the result of the poll was not declared in all 39 wards, a figure that is significantly understated.

As the South African Council for Race Relations, it was 1983, about 50 percent came to vote.

The 1983 election resulted in a greater turnout, as the South African Council for Race Relations shows that it is not a meaningful indication.

Changes of nominating functions have not had the desired effect. In the past 15 years it has been known as the Urban Bantu Congress, the Soweto Community Congress, the Soweto Community Council and the Soweto Congress. It has had a change in name, marking a growing influence in the power of the council.

During the internal revolution, the Soweto Community Congress (UBC) collapsed after black students were led to believe that a change in council leadership would change the council to appease the ANC.
e road to black unity: out as local and homeland leaders look to the ANC...
Mandela condemns attacks

By CONNIE MOLUSI

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has appealed for political tolerance to be shown to organisations which do not agree with the ANC.

Addressing the first national congress of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) on Friday, he condemned inter-racial violence between black political organisations.

"You are expected to respect other freedom fighters outside our movement. Those who do not agree with us must be allowed the freedom to propagate their ideas."

"We call upon you to refrain from using violence against other political organisations and youth who do not agree with us.

Mandela appealed for discipline among the youth and warned that if they continued to harass and attack other political organisations the ANC would disown them, as these attacks were not in line with ANC policy.

"Your role in the struggle imposes the responsibility on you to act in unity as that is one of the principal motivating forces of our struggle. This requires political maturity and strong democratic organisation."

"In a bid to heal unity among the different components of the liberation movement, Mandela appealed for the building of a broad democratic front, asking the youths to join the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF).

"There is a need to build and strengthen this front as an instrument of mass struggle to destroy apartheid and to defend democracy when victory has been achieved."

In rebuilding the ANC's internal structures, Mandela called on Sayco members to joint hands with the ANC youth and rebuild the Youth League, which was disbanded in exile.

The incorporation of Sayco into the Youth League was high on the agenda during the three-day congress.

ANC will disown those who are not tolerant

Mandela acknowledged that sections of the youth remain outside the ANC fold, and said Sayco must mobilise other youths who might not want to be ANC members into a broad democratic movement which would contribute to ending apartheid and transforming the country.

On the question of negotiations, about which turbulent youth have been sceptical, Mandela said: "The government had scrapped white minority dominance and it is prepared to negotiate with genuine representatives of our people to bring about a new political, economic and social order."

Mandela paid tribute to the sacrifices of the youth and said they have been the backbone of the struggle for a people's education.

He credited Sayco for its role in mobilising rural people, which led to the rejection of Homelands.

Mandela appealed to the youth not to be too hostile to homeland leaders, as they were "our blood and flesh". But he warned the ANC was not prepared to protect discredited homeland leaders.
ANC man justifies the torture of mutineers

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — A top-ranking member of the African National Congress, Mr Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation, saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Mr Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African Government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement."

There had been "excesses" during some of the interrogations but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", Mr Tshwete said.

He added that the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how people detained should be treated.

Nearly two weeks ago, a group of former ANC guerillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

Tshwete, who fled to Kenya from Tanzania, has since then said they fear for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents detained at camps in Uganda.
Mandela hits out at bid to lift sanctions

LONDON - Only those who supported apartheid argued that the South African Government should be rewarded for what progressive steps it had already taken, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night.

Seventy thousand people packed into Wembley Stadium to pay tribute to the ageing African National Congress leader heard him call for a continued worldwide campaign to isolate the Pretoria Government.

They should not listen to anyone who said they should give up the struggle against apartheid, he told the crowd.

"Reject any suggestions that the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime should be wound down," he said.

In a clear reference to British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher, lifting some sanctions measures, he said:

"It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria Government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken, such as our release and the unbanning of the ANC and the other organisations.

"The reward the people of South Africa, of southern Africa and the rest of the world seek is the end of apartheid and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

"That prospect will only become reality as a result of struggle, including the struggle represented by the international sanctions campaign."

Mandela said the gathering was to "celebrate the victory represented by the release of some of us".

"We must remember however that only a few have been released.

"A greater number remain in prison. We should therefore treat this day as one of re dedication of the continuation and intensification of the struggle for the emancipation of all the remaining political prisoners.

"We must also view it as a day of renewed commitment to the furtherance of the struggle against the system which keeps those outstanding sons and daughters of our people in jail.

"Together we must pledge to continue our united offensive for the abolition of the apartheid system."

Mandela said the "apartheid crime against humanity remains in place."

"It continues to kill and maim. It continues to oppress and exploit. Its blood-stained offspring continue to rain death and destruction on the peoples of Mozambique and Angola.

"Every day it produces orphans throughout southern Africa." - Sapa
The ‘magic of Mandela’

By SUE LEEMAN of the Argus Foreign Service in London

Mr. Nelson Mandela’s performance at his personalised rock concert was splash news on the front page of every national newspaper today.

“Mandela sets the world rocking,” headlined the Daily Express. “Mandela magic” roared the Guardian in a review, while The Times said Mandela was the “one real star on a night of dignity.”

Most reviewers agreed that “the latest and marginally oddest of the international superstars”, to quote the Independent, had “played Wembley, strictly” (the Guardian).

“There was only one roof-raiser at this gig, and he has never sold an album in 71 years,” enthused The Times. “As a result of one night, the dismissive record store categorisation ‘World Music’ suddenly means something.”

Only the most cursy said the Independent, “would have voiced the fact that the musical line-up was rather second rate, not in the Live Aid class, nor even the Mandela 70th birthday concert of two years ago.”

But of the rightwing tablards, incensed at the many political statements from the platform, headlined on the viewer backline, the problems of funding – and the Opposition’s involvement.

“Kinnock gives black power salute,” was the Star’s headline, followed by a blow-by-blow account of how the Labour leader had raised his fist, and full play for the resulting anger of Tory MPs.

“Where did all the money go?” asked the Express, saying there was behind-the-scenes anger “as the cost of Mandela’s thank you to his supporters mounted to £1 million, making it a financial flop.”

In an editorial, the Independent said the touring must stop and the real work begin. “Now that the ANC is legal and Mr. Mandela’s position within the organisation has been clarified, he has to construct a disciplined mass party in order to demonstrate that the congress is as representative as it claimed and ensure that self-satisfied supporters do not undermine its bargaining stance.”

He has to reach an accommodation with Chief Buthelezi instead of attending ‘peace rallies’ and advising people to throw their weapons into the sea.”

In his address Mr Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher’s “reward-for-reforms” approach as a prop for apartheid.

He said, “It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken.”

A vast crowd attended the Nelson Mandela tribute concert at Wembley Stadium.

Mr Nelson Mandela raises his hands to the cheers of the crowd.

Exiles told of the ‘new’ SA

The Argus Foreign Service in London

In a recent address to about 400 South African exiles here yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela said “the South Africa we have worked so long for and dreamed of is likely to be realised in our lifetime”.

Mr. Mandela took time to encourage those who over the years had been forced to leave the country because of their political beliefs.

He made it clear that he now wanted the exiles to stage an orderly return and not to put too much pressure on the ANC’s new domestic infrastructure.

Mr. Mandela told the meeting at Camden Town that the people of South Africa “have reached a new level of militancy which sometimes frightens me.”

“I have no doubt that that signal has been clearly given to the government . . . that a political solution between the ANC and the government is the only way in which South Africa can be saved from a confrontation never seen before.”

He criticised those in the movement who remained opposed to negotiation until the government had fallen, saying there was no reason to their argument.

On the question of black unity, Mr. Mandela said a “great deal of progress has been made.”

But more was needed as the opposition could not afford the luxury of a divided movement.

The response of many homeland leaders, several of whom pulled out of recent talks with the government, was encouraging, he said. But he pointed out that there were black organisations that were still critical of the ANC — a clear reference to Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha.

Mr. Mandela was clearly encouraged by the spirit among the exiles he met, a good number of whom were white. “I would have expected exiles who have been away from home for up to 30 years to be overwhelmed by gloom and frustration. However, the high status of morale is absolutely staggering.”

Mr. Mandela also spoke movingly to the exiles of the great contributions made to the struggle by ANC president Oliver Tambo, undergoing treatment for a stroke in Sweden.

Mr. Tambo, he said, was a “great son” of the people. Among those in the audience was Abie Sacks, who lost his arm in an alleged South African hit squad attack in Maputo.

Also at the meeting were members of Mr. Mandela’s delegation, including his fellow Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada. New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sinyi and recently released political prisoner Barbra Haqas.
LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela stepped on to a world stage last night to plead for an end to apartheid in South Africa at a star-studded rock extravaganza to thank the millions who supported him during 27 years in prison.

A sell-out crowd of 76,000 danced, sang and chanted "Mandela is free!" in response to a similar chant by Britain's top reggae group Aswad, which opened the five-hour concert at Wembley Stadium.

At the concert, televised to a potential audience of one billion, Mr Mandela said he "will go back to my country feeling very strong and hopeful, and knowing that freedom of the black people in my country will take place during our lifetime."

Mr and Mrs Mandela arrived about an hour after the Wembley concert started, beaming and waving their fists in the air as the crowd cheered. They were joined in the stadium's executive box by Mrs Desilva-Tambo, wife of ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, who is recovering from a stroke in London.

Among those who paid £200 (about $350) to attend were American politicians Jesse Jackson, Mr Neil Kinnock, leader of Britain's opposition Labour Party, and South Africans writer Breyten Breytenbach.

Speaking before the largest overseas audience he has addressed since his release, Mr Mandela called for a worldwide continuation of the fight against apartheid.

"The apartheid crime against humanity remains in place. It continues to kill and maim. It continues to oppress and exploit. Blood-stained offerings continue to rain death and destruction on the peoples of Mozambique and Angola. Every day it produces orphans throughout Southern Africa."

"Therefore, do not listen to anyone who says that you must give up the struggle against apartheid. Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down."

Mr Mandela said sanctions should be maintained and that Pretoria must not be rewarded for releasing political prisoners or lifting the ban on the ANC. Mr Mandela included among his friends, it will not be long now before we see the end of the apartheid system. The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realised sooner rather than later. We are determined to ensure that our country is transformed from being the shank of the world into an exemplary oasis of untraviled race relations, democracy for all, a just peace and freedom from poverty and human degradation."

Earlier, Mr Mandela thanked the millions of people around the world who had pressed for his release, including the thousands who attended a "Free Mandela" concert at Wembley two years ago.

"Even through the thickness of the prison walls we heard your voices demanding our freedom. During all the days we spent buried in the apartheid dungeons, we never lost our confidence in the certainty of our release and our victory over the apartheid system."

"This was because we knew that not even the hard-hearted men of Pretoria could withstand the enormous strength represented by the concerted efforts of the peoples of South Africa and the rest of the world."

British comedian Lenny Henry and American actor Denzel Washington, as masters of ceremony, introduced Mr Mandela, sitting in a high-up balcony with his wife, to the crowd.

Sitting next to them in his purple robes was Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.


"Now he is here, with us, in the stadium. A free man. We hope that in a year, or six months, it does not matter when, that the rest of South Africa will be free too," he said in response to ovations of approval.

The concert, entitled "Nelson Mandela — an interna-
The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

(1) No. A final decision regarding the granting of mining rights will be taken after the completion and evaluation of the environmental impact assessment which is presently being undertaken.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

*20. Mr M R M BURROWS — Administration and Economic Co-ordination. [Question standing over.]

GST on prescribed medicines: revenue

*21. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: Hansard 17/4/90

What was the total amount of revenue received by the Government from general sales tax on prescribed medicines for the 1988-89 financial year?

B735E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

B736E

Inland Revenue does not require registered vendors to furnish the particulars of sales tax collected on each type of commodity as this would place an unreasonable administrative burden on the business sector. For this reason separate statistics of collections on prescribed medicines are not available. The Pharmaceutical Society of South Africa has estimated that the sales of prescribed medicines for the 1989 calendar year amounted to R1 000 million. If one assumes that sales tax was payable on the whole of this amount the revenue collected would amount to R120 million. These figures exclude prescribed medicines supplied by medical practitioners and hospitals.

GST on prescribed medicines: abolition

*22. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance: Hansard 17/4/90

Whether consideration is being given to abolishing general sales tax on prescribed medicines; if not, why not?

B739E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

B739E

No. Representations have on numerous occasions been made for prescribed medicines to be exempted from general sales tax and careful consideration has been given to the matter. It is, however, essential, particularly in the case of an indirect tax such as sales tax, for the base to be as wide as possible. If an exemption was granted in respect of prescribed medicines it would not only open the door for exemptions in respect of other equally meritorious cases, but would mean that the loss of tax would have to be recovered by an increase in the rate of tax.

Colonel Bob Denard: residence permit

*23. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Home Affairs: Hansard 17/4/90

(1) Whether a temporary or permanent residence permit has been issued to Colonel Bob Denard; if so, (a) for how long and (b) why;

(2) what is the total anticipated cost to the State of providing refuge to Colonel Denard;

(3) whether he will furnish details on the present whereabouts of this person; if not, why not; if so, (a) where is he residing at present and (b) at whose expense is he residing there.

B740E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

B741E

(1) A temporary residence permit has been issued to him. An extension will be required from 1 May 1990. Colonel Denard’s residence in South Africa must be seen against the background of the turbulence which occurred in the Comoros in December 1989. On occasion my colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has made public statements on the events. It boils down to the fact that both the former government of the Comoros and the French Government have requested South Africa to accommodate Colonel Denard. The South African Government was initially not in favour thereof, but after repeated appeals by the two aforementioned governments, the government, for the promotion of peace and quiet in the Comoros, agreed to be of assistance. In the meantime discussions with the French Government regarding Colonel Denard’s position and future were being conducted.

(2) None.

(3) No. He is being housed privately and it is not deemed expedient to furnish details.

Mr Lennox Sebe in SA

*24. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether Mr Lennox Sebe is currently residing in South Africa; if so, (a) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (b) at what total anticipated cost to the State;

(2) whether he is to be granted political asylum; if not, why not; if so, for what reasons?

B742E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

B743E

(1) Yes.

(a) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d’état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to the Ciskei. After consultation with the South African Embassy in the Ciskei and the National Council of the Ciskei, he was advised not to return to the Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in the Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.

(b) He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself.

(2) No request for political asylum has been received.

B744E

Retirement annuity funds: extension of retirement age

*25. Mr H H SCHWARZ asked the Minister of Finance: Hansard 17/4/90

Whether any consideration has been given to extending the age of retirement in respect of retirement annuity funds beyond 70; if so, what conclusion has been arrived at; if not, why not?

B745E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

B746E

Yes. It was concluded that the age limit should not be extended as the purpose of allowing a deduction in respect of contributions to retirement annuity funds is to permit a person to defer tax on a portion of his income during his productive years until after his retirement. Very few people remain productive after attaining the age of 70 years, and it appears that any raising of the age limit would mainly benefit those senior citizens fortunate enough to have more than sufficient income to meet their needs, and who merely wish to further defer the payment of tax.

Durban prison at Westville: emergency detainees

*26. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any persons are being detained in terms of the state of emergency at the Durban Prison in Westville; if so, how many.

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

B747E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

B748E

(1) Yes, 18 persons on 17 April 1990.

(2) The detention of these persons is as a result of the conflict situation in Natal and is in the interests of the maintenance of law and order, the public safety and the termination of the state of emergency.

Minister/Mandela: meetings outside prison

*27. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) (a) On how many occasions did he meet Mr Nelson Mandela outside prison premises and (b) (i) where and (ii) when did each such meeting take place;

(2) whether he was accompanied by any other Cabinet Ministers at these meetings; if so, by what Ministers;

(3) whether the constitutional future of South Africa was under discussion at any of these meetings; if so, at which meetings?

B749E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

B750E

[Further details on meetings not provided in the image.]
The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:
(1) (a) Ten (10)
(b) (i) and (ii)
Volsk Hospital: 17 November 1985
My residence in Cape Town: 20 and 21 July 1986 and 10 October 1986
Tygerberg Hospital: 17 August 1988
Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic: 4 September 1988

(2) The Minister of Constitutional Development was present at the meetings on 13 December 1989 and 9 February 1990.

(3) No, in this regard the honourable member is referred to my reply of 20 March 1990 on the interpellation number 1.

Minister/Mandela: meetings in prison
*28. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Justice: T
(1) Whether he and Nelson Mandela in a prison during the period 1 January 1987 to
(2) how many accidents occurred on the N2 route between (a) Durban and Empangeni
(3) how many such meetings were there;
whether he will make a statement on the

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:
(1) Yes.
(a) The Honourable Member is referred to the interpellations of 20
(ii) and (iii) and (b)
I met Mr Mandela on three occasions at Pollsmor Prison
and nine occasions at Victor Verster Prison during the period
mentioned.

(2) No, this issue has been dealt with in detail on various occasions and I consider further statements in this regard unnecessary.

Margate/Durban and Durban/Emangeni: traffic counts
*29. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Transport: T
(1) Whether traffic counts are held on a continuous basis on the N2 route between
(a) Margate and Durban and (b) Durban

and Empangeni; if not, why not; if so, how do these traffic counts compare;

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:
(1) (a) and (b) Yes, the permanent counting stations at Durban indicates that an average
of 7 707 vehicles use the route between Margate and Durban, and the permanent
counting station at Tongaat indicates that an average of 5 889 vehicles use the route
between Durban and Empangeni, daily;

(2) during the period 1 July 1988 to 30 June
(3) 12 months for which information is available;

MURDER/ROBBERIES ON TRAINS/AT STATIONS

*30. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of
(1) How many persons were (a) murdered and (b) robbed or otherwise assaulted on
at stations during the latest specified period of 12 months for which

NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:
(a) 11 371 widows included.
(b) the amount in respect of military disability pensions, only, is not readily available.

The MINISTER OF NATURAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:
(1) Particulars are not readily available and it will take much time and expense to gather
such information.

(2) Monthly meetings are held with the Regional Commissioners of the S.A. Police in the
relevant regions. During such meetings problem areas are identified after which preventative actions are
conducted. Trains are also frequently accompanied by the S.A. Police.

Sporenet is presently in the process of establishing its own security unit which will also see to the safety of passengers.

Political violence: death:
*31. Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order: T
(1) How many persons have died in or as a result of political violence since January 1990
and (b) how many such persons were members of the South African Police Force?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:
(a) 1 January 1990 until 31 March 1990 — 574 persons.
(b) 14.

Military disability pensions
*32. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of
(a) How many persons were in receipt of military disability pensions, and (b) what amount had been paid out in such pensions as
at 31 March 1990.

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:
(a) 11 371 widows included.
(b) the amount in respect of military disability pensions, only, is not readily available.

A total amount of R46 539 035.49 was paid out in respect of all military pensions for the financial year ending 31 March 1990.

INTERPELLATION
The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, where it occurs subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:
Redundancies/retrenchments in White schools
Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture: T
Whether, in view of his announcement on 23 March 1990 relating to the opening of schools
to all races, he will consider postponing decisions on further redundancies and retrenchments of teachers in White schools, if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: T
Mr Speaker, the Department has always attempted to handle every facet of its rationalisation programme which embraces, inter alia, the disposal of redundant buildings and the possible retrenchment of teaching personnel with great care. Decisions on rationalisation are only taken after thorough research; the study of demographic projections, intensive consultation with all the parties concerned, and taking into account all the relevant factors.

Some of the most important factors which influence the decision whether or not to rationalise are the wishes of the community. It has happened that a community itself has requested a school to be closed. Others are the area in which the school is situated, the accessibility of other schools, the possibility of amalgamation, other than closure, the value of maintaining good educational standards with the present pupil enrolment, the possibility of presenting an adequate curriculum and satisfactory alternative arrangements.

Obviously, my announcement in this House on 23 March of two possible further models for educational provision which have now been referred to the Educationally Recognised Advisory Bodies for comment, will have a bearing on any future rationalisation programme. In our planning, cognisance will be taken of the implications of the acceptance of one or more of the models or any other model which might be decided upon, and also of the outcome of any decision which is to be taken by parent bodies in this regard.
there is one thing that is going to make White people apprehensive about the future; it is if they believe that we are simply drifting into the future without any idea of where anyone wants to go and just hoping that somebody else will decide for them where to go. [Interjections.]

I believe in leadership. I believe that people need to be given self-confidence in changed circumstances. They need to believe that they can cope with the new challenges and adapt to the new society that they do not simply have to sit back and, as the hon member for Pinetown said, leave it to the C7 to have a field day by spreading as much fear as they can among parents in their communities. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Speaker, I want to give the hon members for Cape Town Gardens and Pinetown the assurance that the Government, for its part, will do nothing to force any school community to take a specific decision in a specific direction. [Interjections.]

I am sorry to come back to the arguments of the hon member for Brits. I do not know how long hon members of the Official Opposition are going to keep on fulminating in the way they are doing and adapting standpoints they know are wrong. The Government has no intention whatever of coercing any White person by confronting him with a choice of closing a school or keeping it open. That is a gross untruth, and the hon member for Brits knows it. It is unworthy of him to tell such untruths. [Interjections.]

It is as much of an absurdity to allege that the Government should now do their homework in the homes. Surely there is no such thing. Does the hon member for Brits want to come and tell me that it is the Government's fault that there is such a low population increase? [Interjections.] The hon member should sweep in front of his own door first. Then I must say that it is not the fault of the Official Opposition. Surely these absurdities we should not be indulging in the House of Assembly by arguing about them.

The fact of the matter is that there is no point of departure here to ensure that we have integrated education. What is happening here is that a specific need has emerged in respect of providing an education service in specific communities, and we are trying to establish models in order to make that choice wider. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

Own Affairs:

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C (1) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Parking on school grounds: payment by teachers

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether any of the provincial departments of education have promulgated regulations regarding the payment by teachers for parking on school grounds; if so, (a) which departments, (b) what amount is to be charged and (c) on whose instructions were these regulations promulgated? [House 1 17/4/90]

(2) whether his Department has calculated the total sum likely to accrue from such parking fees; if not, why not; if so, what is the sum involved?

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

*2. Mr R M BURROWS asks the Minister of Education and Culture: [House 1 17/4/90]

Erection/purchasing of school facilities

*3. Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) and (b) Both the professional code of ethics of teachers and the Education Affairs Act, Act 70 of 1988, give strict guidelines regarding the political involvement of teachers. Within these guidelines a teacher, as a citizen is allowed to be a member of any lawful political party. The Department does not keep record of the political convictions of its personnel. [House 1 17/4/90]

*4. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

(a) What total amount did a certain person in Messina owe to the Department of Agricultural Development?

(b) What was the total cost of facilities erected and/or purchased by schools during the latest specified financial year for which figures are available?

(c) What is the name of the person concerned?

B662E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) The provision of facilities at full cost is allowed provided that certain requirements are met.

(b) under common law fixed assets belonging to the State;

(2) not available.

ANC/SACP supporters: admission as teachers

(a) Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether his Department admits as teachers persons who support the principles and policy of the ANC and the South African Communist Party; if so, (a) how many such teachers were employed in schools under his control as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what subjects are they allowed to teach?

[House 1 17/4/90]

B665E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) Whether consideration is being given to reducing the gratuity paid to retiring teachers; if so, what are the relevant details?

(b) No.

Reduction of teachers' gratuity

*5. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether consideration is being given to reducing the gratuity paid to retiring teachers; if so, what are the relevant details.

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) in the settlement proposals for 1990/91, a 5% reduction was recommended for teachers.

(2) no.

*6. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether consideration is being given to reducing the gratuity paid to retiring teachers; if so, what are the relevant details.

B766E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

(a) The person of the Weipco district in Messina owed the Department, on the date of sequestration (11 April 1989) a total amount of R354 182.74.

(b) The immovable property (farm Scroda) together with the cooling equipment and irrigation equipment which also served as security was sold for an amount of R250 000. The other movable property which also served as additional security for the relevant loan amount for R5 077,67 after deduction of auctioneer's costs of R1 182.36.

(c) Johan Francois de Villiers.

(2) No.

Certified in Messina: amount owed to the Department 17/4/90

*7. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Agricultural Development:

(a) What total amount did a certain person of the Weipco district in Messina owe to the Department of Agricultural Development;

(b) what is the name of the person concerned.

B662E

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:

(a) What is his Department's policy regarding the erection and/or purchasing of facilities at full cost to the school concerned and (b) to whom do such facilities belong?

(2) what was the total cost of facilities erected and/or purchased by schools during the latest specified financial year for which figures are available?

[House 1 17/4/90]
Two women in ANC talks

By SIZAKELE KODOMA
RUTH Mompati and Cheryl Carulus are two women who will be in the ANC's negotiating team which faces the Government on May 2. Who are these women?

Mompati, 50, to one of them, Mompati - an ANC National Executive Committee member and head of the organisation's internal political committee.

Sixty-three years old and a teacher by profession, Mompati said she was born in the northwestern Cape village of Khayayana. She came to Johannesburg in 1952 to be with her husband.

In 1953 she joined Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo in their legal practice as a secretary-typist.

She played a key role in the formation of the Federation of South African Women in 1956 and was one of the organisers of the 1956 protest march. She left the country in 1962 to join the ANC in exile.

She was commissioned by the organisation's external movement in Tanzania for a year, she said, but because of the arrest of the Rivonia trialists, she was forced to stay.

Her two sons, now both over 30, who stayed behind, rejoined her 10 years later.

Her early life in exile involved informing the external world about the ANC.

She later took charge of the organisation's women's organisation. In 1965 she was elected into the ANC's NEC.

She remained on the committee until 1969 when the NCC was reduced to nine members. In the early '70s she rejoined them.

Mompati has worked as the ANC's chief representative in Great Britain, an administrative secretary in the secretary-general's office and as the women's organisation.

Her inclusion in the talks team, she maintained, was within the ANC's policy.

"The ANC men and women are equal. I was chosen not because of my sex but because of my capabilities," Mompati said.

"It would be very disappointing to hear that other women thought of my inclusion in the team as curious."

"Then I would assume that they believed that women belonged in the back-ground and had accepted being treated as minorities."

"We have a big task ahead of us. Our role in the future depends on the negotiations as a representative of the ANC and of women."

Carulus (32) is from the Eastern Cape and has worked as an intelligence officer for the ANC's foreign department.

She has been in exile for 30 years and is the wife of ANC veteran John Carulus, who was a key figure in the Rivonia trial.

"All the women who are part of the talks team have been part of the ANC for a long time and have contributed a lot in their own ways," Carulus said.

"We have a big task ahead of us. Our role in the future depends on the negotiations as a representative of the ANC and of women."

Mompati said she would be going into the negotiations as a representative of the ANC and of women.
Be peaceful ambassadors, Mandela urges ANC youth

By SY MAKARINGE

THE Deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at the weekend made an impassioned plea to members of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to stop using coercion, violence and harassment against people who differed with them politically.

Delivering a keynote address at Sayco’s first annual congress at Likazi Township, KaNgwane, Mandela said the youths must respect the views of other “freedom fighters” outside the movement.

“You must persuade our people to join our organisation. Any form of violence, coercion and harassment is against the policy of the ANC. Those who have attacked other people who are hostile to their aspirations are not disciplined members of the ANC. We sincerely hope that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears,” Mandela said.

He said, as future leaders, South African youths had a special responsibility as far as discipline was concerned. He said he did not wish to see members of other political organisations assaulted.

The four-day congress - the first since Sayco was established about three years ago - was attended by more than 1 500 delegates from all parts of the country.

Local guests included the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Mx Enos Mabuza, members of the Inyandza National Movement, Inyandza Youth League, members of the National Union of South African Students and South African National Students Congress.

Messages of support were received from as far as Denmark, Sweden and the United States of America.

In a hard-hitting speech, Mandela said the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was “involved in the process of frightening away whites”. He was responding to claims that the CP was in possession of an ANC secret document which allegedly outlined a campaign by the organisation to eliminate right-wingers.

“His (Treurnicht’s) only message is that of naked racism. He thinks only of whites; in this country, Treurnicht wants to destabilise the forthcoming meeting.”
ANC admits torture allegations

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela admitted at the weekend that his organisation had tortured dissident members to extract information.

Mandela said the organisation had established that dissidents who alleged they were tortured by ANC cadres abroad had been speaking the truth.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," he told reporters at an impromptu airport news conference before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

"Once the ANC became aware (of) these malpractices, immediate steps were taken to discipline those who were guilty of torturing other people and the leaders ... were immediately dismissed," Mandela said.

A British newspaper published allegations last week by former ANC members living in Kenya that they had been tortured by ANC leaders to extract information.

Mandela's statement was the first official ANC acknowledgement of the allegations.

The ANC had taken immediate steps to stop further torture by some of its security members and it hoped the South African Government would act as quickly in addressing the allegations of torture directed against its security forces.

He was addressing the media after meeting with the European Community troika delegation in the International VIP conference room at Jan Smuts Airport on Saturday.
Mandela visit rumpus

THE International Freedom Foundation has questioned the presence of ANC vice-president Nelson Mandela at yesterday's Wembley Stadium pop concert.

In an advertisement in The Times of London yesterday, timed to coincide with the concert, the London branch of the Washington-based IFF said the slaughter of women and children in South Africa continued while Mandela and 72 000 pop fans enjoyed themselves.

"Why can you, Mr Mandela, spare three days to attend this pop concert but not two hours to attend peace talks in Natal - talks which you recently unilaterally cancelled?" the IFF advert asked. - Sapa
ANC in drive for members

THE ANC is to embark on an extensive membership drive to entrench itself as the foremost political force in South Africa and to exercise control over its followers.

Head of the internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday confirmed that a preliminary order for one million membership cards had already been placed with a printing company.
THE Inyandza Youth Movement in Kangwane is to disband in December to allow members to join the ANC Youth League.

The Chief Minister of the Kangwane homeland, Mr Enos Mabuza, said in an interview in Nelspruit yesterday the movement would be in a period of transition until the ANC National Congress in December, which would decide whether or not structures aligned to the former organisation should disband in favour of the ANC.

An official, Mr Mohamed Valli, told the SA Youth Congress at the weekend that the ANC Congress would determine whether the UDF should continue to exist, disband or play another role "such as organising members with the ANC". Sapa
Youth group to disband

THE Inyandza Youth Movement in Kangwane is to disband in December to allow members to join the ANC Youth League.

The Chief Minister of the Kangwane homeland, Mr Enos Mabuza, said in an interview in Pretoria yesterday the movement would be in a period of transition until the ANC National Congress in December, which would decide whether or not structures aligned to the former organisation should disband in favour of the ANC.

A UDF official, Mr Mohamed Valli, told the SA Youth Congress at the weekend that the ANC Congress would determine whether the UDF should continue to exist, disband or play another role "such as organising members with the ANC". Sapa
ANC leader justifies torture of prisoners

MAPUTO.—A top-ranking member of the ANC, Mr. Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added, however, that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

The torture charges were made in an open letter by former ANC detainees Mr. Arinos Maxonga and Mr. Chege Molefi who appealed to ANC deputy-president Mr. Nelson Mandela to help them bring to justice members of the movement who allegedly tortured them.

The former guerrillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

FEAR FOR DISSIDENTS

The men have said they fear for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents still detained.

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Mr. Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement," he said.

There had been "excesses" during the interrogation of some of those mutineers and agents but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with," he said.

"The ANC does not in any way approximate in its treatment of detainees to what we see in South Africa today," Mr. Tshwete added.

He said the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how people detained should be treated.

Today ANC secretary-general Mr. Alfred Nzo denied that the movement was still torturing dissidents.

From Lusaka, Mr. Nzo said: "That's absolute nonsense. Why should the torture still occur if the deputy-president said that they have stopped?"
Mandela given the full superstar treatment

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Nelson Mandela was given the full superstar treatment at Wembley last night by an ecstatic 72,000 crowd — and the stars who had come out to perform for him.

Singers and musicians more used to being the objects of adulation themselves tried to outdo one another in heaping praise on the ANC deputy president.

Patti LaBelle, who met Mr Mandela backstage, was thrilled at just having made eye contact with him.

Peter Gabriel said he felt privileged “to be on the stage where this great South African leader has been”.

Through it all the audience shouted, cheered, waved their banners and sang until the stadium reverberated.

When Mr Mandela moved from the royal box to the stage and before he had spoken a word, they treated him to a tumultuous ovation which lasted a full five minutes, understood to be one of the longest in Wembley history.

In perhaps the greatest tribute a British audience can pay a visitor, they later serenaded him with the rousing and near-sacred Liverpool Football Club anthem “You’ll never walk alone”.

*Nelson Mandela pleads for sanctions, page 15.*
Symbolic concert speech

LONDON. The fact that Mr Nelson Mandela would speak at the pop concert here in his honour last night was symbolic of the new South Africa, a senior spokesman for the Republic's embassy in London said.

Interviewed on BBC's Radio four, Mr Justus de Goede, Minister at the South African embassy, said one of the ironies of the concert was that whatever was said, by Mr Mandela for instance, could now also be said in Johannesburg.

He expressed concern that the concert might not be presented in an unbiased way.

The BBC has said it regards the event as a pop concert and not a news event. — Sapa
Open letter asks Mandela for justice

NAIROBI. — Five former ANC members who were detained by the African National Congress wrote an open letter yesterday to Mr. Nelson Mandela, asking for his help in bringing to justice the ANC officers who allegedly tortured them.

The five last week told The Sunday Correspondent, newspaper of London that they had been tortured and accused of being South African agents after a mutiny in an Anglican ANC camp in 1984.

Mr. Mandela, in London for a mass pop concert in his honour, admitted on Saturday that the torture had taken place, but said "immediate steps" had been taken to discipline those responsible.

The open letter, drafted by ex-detainees Mr. Amos Maxongo and Mr. Chego Molefi, rejected the suggestion that justice had been done.

"The torture is still going on today," Mr. Molefi said. — UPI
ANC admits torturing members

Mr Nelson Mandela has admitted that the ANC had tortured dissident members to extract information.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," he told reporters at Jams Smuts Airport on Saturday before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

He said the ANC was against torture and had dismissed leaders responsible for these acts after an investigation.

Newspapers published allegations last week by former ANC members living in Kenya that they had been tortured by ANC leaders to extract information.

Seven former members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, who say they were tortured by ANC commanders, said on Saturday that they were anxious to return home. They said that they quit Umkhonto in Tanzania last December and fled to Nairobi.

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also said they feared for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being detained at guerilla training camps in Angola and Uganda.

They said at least 60 of their comrades were killed or missing.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has appealed to church leaders through the Nairobi-based All Africa Council of Churches to help the men get home.

Chris Hani

The seven said they sought sanctuary in Kenya after a December 3 visit to the Daka camp, 200 km west of Dar es Salaam, by ANC army commander Mr Chris Hani, who was trying to defuse unrest.

Mr Amos Maxomo, a former student who left for guerilla training in 1977, said the recruits directly accused Mr Hani of murdering dissident fighters in Angola.

They also alleged that Mr Hani and other guerilla chiefs were involved in the smuggling of stolen cars from South Africa and diamonds from Angola.

Most of their criticism was directed at Umkhonto's special security section called Mbokongo ("The rock that crushes"), which allegedly committed most of the torture.

They said they rebelled against their leaders in 1984, were held in detention centres and prisons for four years and were freed in Tanzania on "humanitarian" grounds.

The ANC has said they were "isolated" for four years for staging a rebellion and killing Umkhonto officers, but were pardoned and freed in 1988.

The seven told reporters they were tied to trees and flogged with whips, locked into metal transport containers that were left out in the sun and were beaten and kicked by ANC commanders and their jailers.

Mr Mhengo said that after he tried to escape from his captors in Angola he was punished by having melted plastic sheeting dripped on his body. — Sapa-AP-Reuters.
Protest — but peaceful

CLANWILLIAM. — ANC banners and slogans were held aloft in a protest march here on Saturday.
Several hundred people marched down the main street from the Cedarville township and handed a petition to Clanwilliam mayor Mr Deon Burger, listing grievances about inadequate housing, high rents, electrification, un tarred roads and lack of sports facilities.
Permission had been granted for the march, which was peaceful.
At a meeting after the march, speakers included ANC Western Cape organiser Mr Trevor Manuel and UDF Western Cape media officer Mr Willie Hofmeyer. — Sapa
Shots fired in a new attack on PAC treasurer's home

By SELLO SERIPE

UNKNOWN people fired two bullets and hurled a hand grenade at PAC treasurer Mike Matsobane's home in Kagiso 2 on the West Rand this week.

This was the second attack on Matsobane since the start of the year, and the hand grenade blast shattered a window pane.

The first attack on the home of the former Robben Island prisoner was in January when stones were thrown into the backyard, also breaking window panes.

This week's attack took place at about 3am.

Shrapnel was also embedded in the wall as a result of the blast.

Matsobane said people in the neighbourhood told him they saw a white Citroen speeding away after they were awakened by the loud explosion.

"I do not know what the motive is behind these attacks on me. I also do not want to speculate on who might be responsible for the dirty work," he said.

Matsobane was sentenced to 15 years for terrorism in the 1976 Bantustan trial.

He was released in 1987 after serving 10 years when the government decided to release some political prisoners on humanitarian grounds.

Confirming the incident, West Rand police liaison officer Lt Henriette Bester said an FN1 defensive hand grenade was used in the attack.

No arrests had been made at the time of going to press.
Discord over Mandelarock concert

Critics fear lavish spending could eat away the profits pledged to charity

JEREMY BROOKS: London

DISSENT still clouds the sky over Wembley on the eve of Nelson Mandela's triumphant appearance before an expected crowd of 77,000.

"Africa's most famous son" will be ushered through the VIP lounges of Heathrow Airport today for his 48-hour visit to Britain.

But his pop-meets-politics concert has been marred by rows between artists, TV broadcasters and critics who say lavish spending by the organisers will leave precious little of the R13-million profits for charity.

The ANC deputy president will be making his first visit to Britain since he left South Africa — secretly and illegally — on a world trip in 1962.

And, as on that occasion, he will not even have fleeting contact with any member of the British government.

Cultural

This time Mr Mandela is being fêted at one of the most spectacular events the famous "man of the century" has witnessed. All concert tickets were sold out within a record 38 hours of the box-office opening.

But simmering discontent was voiced by one star, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, who was still threatening to boycott the event this weekend.

Yesterday, after labelling the concert "just another feel-good" event for whites, he was eventually persuaded to take part.

But before making his decision he said: "We're getting tired of going to euphoric celebrations for South Africa. After the show, the audience go back to their free coun-

tries and we're left with the South African baby."

"These media celebrations are getting to be a drag."

Worldwide TV rights worth at least R5.5-million have been sold to Europe, Japan and South America.

But organisers have decreed the concert will not be seen in South Africa because of the cultural boycott — a decision questioned even by Britain's Labour Party.

Broadcasting spokesman Robin Corbett said: "I understand the feelings behind the ban. But at the same time there is an argument to say that the white South Africans should see what a great welcome Mandela gets here."

Ticket sales have raised nearly R8-million with 77,000 people paying R85 each. That excludes newsmen, who this week were told they had to buy "special" tickets at R450 each.

Receipts for T-shirts, programmes and posters are expected to total R13-million.

But most of the cash will be eaten up by a huge network of technicians, security firms, stewards and caterers for VIP guests.

Pop supreme Pete Waterman lashed out: "What is the point of this concert?"

"Despite all the hype that this would raise a fortune for charity, I would be very surprised if it makes a penny for them."

Profit will be shared between the ANC, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and five charities — including Oxfam and Christian Aid. The ANC says it is looking for funds to resettle up to 20,000 exiles in South Africa.

Honorary

One music critic in Time Out, noting the predictions of little or no profits, urged readers: "The best thing you can do is park yourself in front of the TV and whizz off a hefty donation straight to your charity."

The BBC, threatened by legal action from the right-wing pressure group the Freedom Association, has promised it will keep political comment to a minimum — screening only Mr Mandela's closing 15-minute speech live.

Producers have been ordered to treat the concert as a musical and not a political event.

Labour-run Brent council, which controls Wembley, also caused a storm by deciding to make Mr Mandela an honorary freeman of the borough.

But an 11th-hour court injunction brought by Tory councillors yesterday blocked the move. Conservative John Stone said he respected Mr Mandela, but the ANC deputy president had no connection with Brent other than having addressed a communist rally there in 1962.

Special

"This is a cheap, political gesture — not an honour, but an insult. When the Pope came to Brent there was no suggestion he should be given the freedom of the borough," Mr Stone said.

A plan to fly Mr Mandela and his wife Winnie into Britain in publishing tycoon Robert Maxwell's private jet was dropped yesterday.

The Mandelas will fly in on a scheduled flight, but Mr Maxwell's newspapers, the Mirror and the European, are sponsoring the concert heavily.

The Mandela party will still receive special treatment when they land, being whisked through customs and into VIP lounges normally only used by senior diplomats, government ministers, the royal family and guests of government.

The star line-up for the concert includes Simple Minds, Peter Gabriel, Johnny Clegg, the Jungle Brothers, Dave Stewart, Terence Trent D'Arby, Danzel Washington, Jackson Browne, Fatti La belle, Neil Young, Natalie Cole, Lenny Henry, Lou Reed, Miriam Makeba and Bonnie Raitt.
Strike puts the brake on Nelson's Merc

By CONNIE MOLUSI and CP Correspondent

DEPUTY ANC president Nelson Mandela will have to wait a little longer for his Mercedes-Benz gift from the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa — because of a two-week strike at the carmaker's East London assembly plant.

The car, which takes only 10 to 15 days to assemble, has already been delayed by the two-week work stoppage.

The car is a 280 SE saloon, the same type that will be built in South Africa. The five-door model can be sold for about R150,000.

The car is in a R211 350 top-of-the-range red Mercedes-Benz 500 SE. A majority of hourly-paid workers will work without pay for one hour daily for four days to pay for the car as a symbolic contribution towards a new democratic South Africa.

Numsa has refused to comment on the stoppage — even to give reasons for it — except to say the matter was being discussed within union structures.

Meanwhile, Mercedes-Benz spokesman said production at the East London plant was suspended on April 2 and had not been resumed. She said discussions were continuing between management and Numsa in an attempt to resolve the problem.

Hoffman said the stoppage was due to "high absenteeism and unpremeditated industrial action".

However, she denied the stoppage had anything to do with the four hours which a majority of workers agreed to work for no pay to build a car for Mandela.

In an open letter to management this week, Mercedez worker ZR Monge said the reasons for the strike offered by the company were untrue and misleading.

Monge disputed the company's version of the strike and said many workers went on strike to demand overtime working hours to work every day only to be turned back.

He said the company had embarked on a drive to discredit the union.

"The first sign of this unacceptable attitude is when one department embark on industrial action, the company stops the line, switches off the lights and posts notices asking all workers to attend a mass meeting to thrash out the problem," said Monge.

He said if the company was serious about solving the problems, it should consider introducing a company newsletter in which management and workers would be able to voice their views and criticisms one another constructively.
Only equals can negotiate, says Azapo

THE INTERNATIONAL community should not forget the oppressed people in South Africa have the capacity to overturn unacceptable solutions, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said in Johannesburg on Friday.

"He was speaking to the Press after an Azanian People's Organisation delegation met with a three-member European Community (EC) fact-finding mission headed by Irish Foreign Minister Garard Collins.

"We cannot negotiate now because as long as our oppressors have the right of veto on the discussions then these are not talks between equals but with someone who considers himself superior. Azapo will only ever talk to others as equals," said Moodley.

"Sebokeng has proved (President FW) De Klerk's political structures are still bent on violence and he still holds the keys to the prisons. Azapo is not prepared to negotiate for freedom."

Moodley said Azapo had informed the EC of bias in the composition of the Kagiso Trust's trustees and their distribution of funds.

"The list of trustees are either directly ANC or UDF. Whenever organisations linked to Azapo have requested aid for projects, this is rejected," said former Azapo deputy president Lybon Mabasa.

Kagiso Trust trustees include Dr Alan Boesak, Dr Max Colellan, Prof Jakes Gerwel, Yusuf Mohamed, Eric Molobi, Dr Beyers Naude and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"Azapo told Collins that EC funds were being used to fuel violence.

"I hope he and his delegation will investigate the matter so their money will be used for its correct purpose and not to further the aims of any particular political organisation," said Moodley.

"Azapo made it clear the EC should use sanctions as part of its strategy to persuade the government to eliminate apartheid."

On Azapo's recent talks with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, Moodley said the delegation had expressed concern over the differences in Mandela's public and private approach to Azapo.

"He has always agreed with us in private about the major part played by the Black Consciousness Movement, but in public he has never acknowledged the role of the BCM.

"We told Mandela a political solution unacceptable to the people will fail just like those in other countries."

Mabasa said in Africa many liberation movements were very divided before a final solution was reached and therefore the apparent "split between the ANC and Azapo, while unfortunate, is not an unbridgeable barrier."

Sapa.
By TOBIE BOSHOF

TOMORROW'S concert in honour of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will yield nearly R14 million – but the poor will probably not receive a cent.

Five welfare organisations and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who would have benefited from the concert, are now left in the cold. The organisers say their expenses were too high.

"It is a unique achievement not to show a profit on international broadcast rights," said Pete Jenner, the manager of Pink Floyd, who had been involved in similar concerts.

When a concert was held to honour Mandela on his 70th birthday, a profit of R5 million was shown. Bob Geldof made a profit of more than R200 million with his Live Aid concert.

Altogether 82 000 tickets at 20 pounds (R68) each were sold out within two days.

The organisers sold TV broadcasting rights for one billion people in 63 countries for R5 590 000. They also expected to make a profit of R1 290 000 from sales of T-shirts, programmes and posters.

To add to all of this, the artists are not charging anything for their services.

The first sign of problems became evident when black South African artists withdrew from the show. Hugh Masekela said white artists were misusing the occasion to increase their record sales.

A record company published a full-page advertisement saying "Nelson Mandela will be working in your shop" if records by Neil Young, Tracy Chapman, Daniel Lanois and Anita Baker, all of whom are performing at the concert, were stocked.

Problems were also encountered when black exiles were not asked to perform. Wally Serote of the ANC's London office then arranged they would perform for a few minutes.

Until yesterday no response was received from Miriam Makeba, the most famous of the exiled South African artists. It has been said that Johnny Clegg will "definitely" perform.

On Thursday an additional 1 000 tickets "suddenly" became available.

Mandela gig's money goes down the drain

Tickets were also made available to journalists at R495 each!

Yesterday The Mirror, a large London newspaper, said there would be a profit after all because additional support had been obtained.

But the newspaper Today said statements that money would now be available were "hollow promises".

On Thursday a newspaper said the concert was arranged to be a "break-even" occasion.

The organisers now said the concert was arranged to serve as "a platform for Mr Mandela to address the world", but he would be allowed only ten minutes.

It has been said in London that Sipho Pityana, organiser of the ANC's International Reception Committee, has been persuaded to see the Mandela concert as an opportunity to address the world.

Concert organiser Tony Hollingsworth said many people had to be paid because they had had so little time. Asked who these people were, he mentioned the caterers, the sound people, the lighting people and the security people.

The renting of the stadium is expensive – but it amounts to only R500 000 of the R14 million.

This has caused The Sun to comment: "About everybody involved makes a lot of money and welfare receives nothing!"

The chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Father Trevor Huddleston, appointed Hollingsworth of Tribute Productions to organise the concert.

Mandela will see two African ambassadors, Huddleston, the ANC's International Reception Committee and Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sonny Ramphal in London today. Tomorrow he will see the ANC's London leadership. He will fly back to South Africa tomorrow night.
By DRIES van HEERDEN

BLACK Consciousness is alive and well — and allegedly enjoying mass popular support throughout the country.

In fact, there is ample proof that the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the main flag-bearer of the black consciousness philosophy, has emerged as a strong independent force competing for support from broad sections of the population.

And Azapo leaders are not unduly worried that their main rivals on the political front, the ANC and the PAC, are presently hogging the local and international media limelight.

Says a former deputy president of Azapo, Mr Lyron Mabasa: "We know that we represent the true aspirations of the oppressed black people in this country. The support we experience on a daily basis continues to confirm this." 

Black means more than skin colour for Azapo; more than the amount of melanin in your skin," says Mr Mabasa. "It has a broad political and economic interpretation embracing all those who are being oppressed, exploited and discriminated against by capitalists and their political allies.

In this sense Azapo takes a much harder line on certain issues than the ANC, which this week announced the names of its negotiating team to sit down with President F W de Klerk on May 2.

"Negotiations" are absolute anathema to Azapo. There is no way the movement will even consider meeting the Government under present circumstances," said Mr Mabasa.

"Our view is that pressure on the regime should be stepped up on all fronts," says Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley. "Only when it has collapsed will we talk about the transfer of power.

Azapo grew out of the structures of black consciousness organisations that swept through the black communities in the 1970s but was banned in 1977 following a swoop on its key members.

Today it claims to be a mass-based organisation which not only addresses political issues through its programme of "conscientisation" but is also active in community development programmes, literacy schemes, very successful Community Health Awareness Programme (CHAP), and an active women's movement (Imboku)

Azapo is at pains to point out its independence from the other major black groupings. It differs strongly from the ANC's non-racial approach and adherence to the Freedom Charter, while the PAC is regarded as "just another anti-colonialist organisation".

Politics and economics are for Azapo inseparable. The root of the problem is capitalism and, says Mr Moodley, "a solution can only come from within the ranks of the exploited". That solution is socialism.

Structurally, Azapo, led by Cape Town university theologian Dr Jerry Mosala, also embraces several other black consciousness organisations. It also has an external wing, the BCM of Azania, and an armed wing called the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azana).

Azapo leaders deny that it is mostly an organisation of intellectuals. They claim that almost half of the 600 delegates who recently attended the Conference for a Democratic Future in Johannesburg were Azapo supporters and at its congress last week close to 8,000 delegates were present.

It openly scoffs at perceptions that the ANC is the dominant black grouping in South Africa. "We can also get those rent-a-crowd people at our rallies," says Azapo vice-president for political education Dr Vicer Dhlamini.

Mr Moodley points at the inability of the ANC to end the present internecine violence in black areas despite its constant pleas to factions to stop using force.

"A few years ago they told the people that liberation will come through tyres and matchboxes. We then went public condemning necklacing. Now they tell them to throw their pangas into the sea. They are sending too many mixed signals. The ANC is confusing the people," says Mr Moodley.
ANC ‘mutineers’ want to return

SEVEN former South African guerrillas who claim they were tortured by ANC commanders as mutineers said yesterday they were anxious to return home after seeking sanctuary in Kenya earlier this year.

“We’re still waiting for word when we can go,” said Luvo Mbengo, 28, one of the ANC recruits. “But we still don’t know what our future is.”

The seven, aged between 28 and 33, also say they fear for the fate of 100 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being held against their will at guerrilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara, south-west Uganda.

The seven dissidents seeking passage home were attached to the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK), in Angola after being trained in East Germany and the Soviet Union in the early 1980s.

They said they mutinied against their leaders in 1984, were held in detention centres and Angolan prisons for years and then moved to a Dakwa camp in Tanzania, Kenya’s southern neighbour, after being freed on “humanitarian” grounds.

They said they left MK in Tanzania last December and fled to Nairobi. The ANC says they were “isolated” for four years after a rebellion against guerrilla commanders, but were pardoned and freed in 1988.

The exiles say they were detained and tortured along with other dissidents at two punishment camps in Angola known as Pango and Quatro.

They told reporters they were tied to trees and flogged with whips, locked in metal transport containers that were left out in the searing sun and were beaten and kicked by ANC commanders and their jailers.

Mbengo said that after he tried to escape from his captors in Angola he was punished by having melted plastic sheeting dripped on to his body. He carries these scars along with wounds from birdshot fired by South African police during demonstrations in South Africa in 1987.

Amos Maxongo, a former student who left for guerrilla training in 1977, said the recruits directly accused MK commander Chris Hani of murdering dissident fighters in Angola.

They also alleged that Hani and other guerrilla chiefs were involved in smuggling stolen cars from South Africa and diamonds from Angola.

Most of their criticism was directed at MK’s special-security section called Mhembokondo (the rock that crushes) which allegedly committed most abuses, including torture.

— Sapa. 10.3.89.
LONDON — The African National Congress is considering radical proposals for South Africa's major quoted conglomerates when it takes power, according to a report in the Observer yesterday.

The newspaper quoted Mr Vella Pillay, one of the ANC's leading economists, as claiming that the planned moves would lead to an inflow of foreign capital as economic sanctions are lifted.

But he said the ANC may introduce legislation to curb monopoly power and dismember some key conglomerates.

The big six

Mr Pillay would not mention names, but the Observer pointed out that six concerns — Anglo-American, Rembrandt, SA Mutual, Sanlam, Liberty Life and Anglovaal — account for 80 percent of the market capitalisation of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Mr Pillay said: "In the case of mining, and where it would be uneconomic to apply anti-trust legislation, the state would seek a role in such enterprises with a view to safeguarding the public enterprise."

He added that the ANC would renationalise the iron and steel industries, as well as electricity generation and parts of the transport industry which the government plans to privatise.

But he emphasised that the key to economic recovery was political reform.
Induna denies ordering attacks on UDF

By Monica Nicolson

MARITZBURG — The man blamed by the United Democratic Front and Cosatu for the devastating April war in the Maritzburg townships has vehemently denied he encouraged or ordered Inkhata members to attack UDF supporters.

Mr Thandabantu David Ntombele, Inkhata Induna and powerful member of the kwazulu Legislative Assembly, has been named by people of the various non-Inkatha groups and the UDF/Cosatu alliance as the mastermind behind a co-ordinated attack against non-Inkatha members.

They said Inkhata felt threatened by the growing of the ANC and the decrease in Inkhata support.

Mr Ntombele, a colourful and active member of the kwazulu community, has often featured in news about violent attacks and massacres in the past decade.

In an exclusive interview with The Star at his home at the foothills of the Drakensberg, Mr Ntombele denied allegations that he had encouraged or commanded Inkatha members to do battle this month.

"I tell my people not to attack, but I will never tell them not to defend themselves.

"The ANC (which he believes the UDF effectively is) wants to prove it has the strongest fighters to scare people into joining the organisation.

"For 20 years or more, the ANC has been involved in the armed struggle and preached violence. All of a sudden, it denounces it and pretends its members are pacifists who believe in negotiations.

"Committed Christian

"As a deeply committed Christian, I believe in non-violence and the power of negotiations," he said.

His enemies claim he is a criminal who has evaded arrest only because of his Government connections.

Mr Ntombele was charged with murdering five people in 1987 but was never prosecuted.

It is also alleged that in May 1987 he urged people to attack bus drivers of the Sifanene Transport Company because they were UDF supporters.

He was granted bail of R100, and in April 1988 the State decided not to prosecute.

Mr Ntombele was charged with killing Ms Magabhi Mzukue and Ms Zandile Mkize in October 1986 but the matter was withdrawn. He was charged with murdering Mr Sithembiso Khumalo in October 1987 but charges were dropped.

Responding to the allegations, Mr Ntombele said in his 65 years, he had not even been convicted of common assault, let alone murder.

"My hands are clean. The Bible says it is a sin to kill another man, so how could I have done that?"

Mr Ntombele said he was tired of all the fighting and said the only solution was for Mr Nelson Mandela to meet Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"When Mr Mandela told his people to throw their weapons into the sea, he only said it because is sounded good and was wonderful propaganda.

"Of course the youths are not going to listen to him. He was in jail for 27 years so how can youngsters know and respect him.

"But if Mr Mandela was a good and wise ruler, which I think he is, he would speak to our chief."

Mr Ntombele said it was untrue to claim that only UDF members had been attacked and forced out of their homes. He gave a tour of an Inkatha refugee camp near his home and claimed that more than 80 families were staying there. However, most people in the camp were men and young boys, with only a few women washing clothes and cooking.

Non-Inkatha people said the camp was filled with potential attackers belonging to Mr Ntombele's army.

When asked whether he was not afraid to live in an area vulnerable to attack from non-Inkatha forces, he said: "I am afraid of nothing and nobody except God — and I certainly don’t need personal Inkatha bodyguards because Jesus stands with me everywhere I go."
Sisulu hits at choice of peace force

The chairman of the ANC's interim leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday criticised reports that the SADF's 32 Battalion would be deployed in strife-torn Natal.

He said 32 Battalion was a unit consisting mainly of notorious Angolan civil war soldiers and mercenaries from other European countries.

'It is unbelievable that the Government could have decided to choose such a unit for the purpose of keeping peace in the Natal region.

"We cannot but protest very strongly about such an action. We are sure that their presence will aggravate the situation instead of bringing peace."

"We call on the Minister of Defence to withdraw 32 Battalion as soon as possible," he said.

An SADF spokesman said in reply to Mr Sisulu's claim that the battalion he referred to was not yet in Natal.

"The reason for the choice of people who had fought in Angola is the fact that they are neutral and do not have affiliations which could be seen to side with factions involved in the unrest in Natal."

"Earlier, accusations were made that black policemen were taking sides in the Natal unrest. The unit is completely impartial and are presently undergoing orientation briefings," the spokesman said.

The spokesman added that Mr Nelson Mandela had been in favour of bringing impartial troops to Natal. — Sapa.
The group which will define our future

In 1952 he was confronted with the suppression of Communist activity. Mandela had been detained in the country secretly after the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1961 to train as a guerrilla. He returned and led the implementation of the M-plan.

**THABO MBeki:** He is the son of Gwam Mbeki. He joined the ANC Youth League at Lovedale High School in 1966. Lovedale was closed down after a student strike, and Mbeki was arrested through his political influence in 1956. He served as the secretary-general after the death of Richard Maponya in 1999.

**ALFRED NZO:** He matriculated at Haardrav Institute in Port Beaufort, and later enrolled for a BSc degree at Fort Hare, but dropped out at the end of his second year in 1964. He joined the ANC Youth League at the university. In 1951 he completed a health inspector's course and worked in Alexandra township. He mobilised people for 1950 elections campaigns.

In 1958 he served in the Transvaal and national executive committees of the ANC. The ANC advised Nzo to leave the country and join the external wing under Tambo in March 1944. He has served as deputy president in Cairo and as chief representative of the ANC in New Delhi, India.

He was elected secretary-general of the ANC in 1969 and transferred to the Transvaal headquarters.

**WALTER SISULU:** He came to Johannesburg from Transkei in 1963, and worked in a gold mine. In 1940, while working in Johannesburg, he organised a strike for higher wages and was fired.

He joined the ANC that year and became Youth League treasurer, taking an increasingly anti-white stand.

During the Second World War, he led a campaign opposing the conscription of blacks.

Sisulu was released from Robben Island after serving 27 years of a life sentence.

After his release, he was appointed national leader of the ANC.

**JOE SLOVO:** He was born in Lithuania in 1924, and came to South Africa with his parents in 1935, aged nine.

He graduated from Witwatersrand University with a BA degree. He became an advocate at the Johannesburg Bar, becoming the first black advocate in the province of Transvaal.

Slovo was an ardent member of the South African Communist Party. In 1950, he and his wife Ruth First were among the first 100 people released from internment under the Suppression of Communism Act. First was killed by a parcel bomb believed to have been sent from South Africa.

He became one of the first members of Umkhonto We Sizwe, attending meetings regularly at Lilliemert farm. A month after his escape from South Africa, Slovo and his wife were captured.

In 1977 he moved to Maputo where he established an ANC-SACP base. He became the first white to write for the Nkosi newspaper.

**ARMED RATHOD:** He was born in Schwanenau, Germany and attended Johannesburg to attend school, because there were no Indian schools in his hometown.

He became involved in the anti-World War II campaign of the Communist party, joined the Young Communist League in 1941 and also sold the party's newspaper.

He worked closely with the ANC until captured in Rovaniemi, and was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.
US group gets SA foes round Bermuda table

FORMER United States senator Dick Clark has achieved an amazing coup by bringing together South African politicians and academics from both the left and right of the political spectrum.

The gathering is taking place this weekend under the auspices of the Aspen Institute in Bermuda, just a stone's throw away from where British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and US President George Bush met to discuss international peace last week.

But one of the key speakers — ANC International Department head Thabo Mbeki — did not arrive as scheduled.

Mr Mbeki had been asked to spell out the ANC's prerequisites for negotiations with the South African Government, and who would be acceptable to the organisation as negotiation partners.

Prestige

No reason for Mr Mbeki's absence could be established yesterday, but earlier in the week he failed to appear at a meeting of the Cape Town Press Club, after confirming that he would be the guest speaker.

The Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe and Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen are at the conference, however, along with NG Kerk Moderator Dr Johan Heyns and the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglin.

Others attending the congress are advocate and former Pan Africanist Congress member Dikgang Moseneke, Mr Murphy Morobe of the United Democratic Front, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers and Inkatha.

By MARK STANSFIELD and NORMAN WEST

secretary-general Dr Oscar Dlomo.

The meeting opened at the prestigious Lantana Colony Club on Thursday — the date originally set for the first round of talks about talks between the SA Government and the ANC — and ends tomorrow.

Each speaker has been given 30 minutes to speak on a specific subject.

Mr Van der Merwe has been asked to speak on white attitudes to current changes within South Africa and whether the CP can, in its view, win over a majority of white voters. He will also talk on what the international community can do to encourage change within the country.
Mandela admits torture of ANC recruits

ANC deputy leader Nelson Mandela admitted yesterday that the ANC had tortured dissident members to extract information. He said the organisation had established that dissidents who alleged they were tortured by ANC cadres abroad had been speaking the truth.

"Unfortunately, it is true that some of the people who are complaining were, in fact, tortured," he told reporters at an impromptu Jan Smuts Airport news conference before leaving for a rock concert in London in his honour.

"I must state quite firmly that the ANC is against torture or any form of coercion to extract information from those who are suspected of breaking laws and regulations," Mr Mandela said.

Mutineers

He refused to answer questions on the subject and boarded his flight for London shortly afterwards.

John Edlin reports from Nairobi:

Seven former ANC guerrillas who claim they were tortured by ANC commanders as mutineers are anxious to return home after seeking sanctuary in Kenya early this year.

"We're still waiting for word when we can go," said Lungu Mbongo, 23, one of the ANC recruits.

The seven, aged between 20 and 33, also said they feared for 100 to 120 fellow dissidents being held against their will at guerrilla training camps in Angola and at Mbarara, Uganda.

Missing

At least 60 of their comrades were killed or had gone missing, and 100 to 120 were believed to be held in ANC detention centres in Angola and Uganda.

They said they sought sanctuary in Kenya illegally after a December visit to the Dakawa camp, 200km west of Dar es Salaam, by ANC army commander Chris Hani to try to defuse unrest among recruits.

Amos Mazengo, a former student who left SA in 1977, said the recruits accused Mr Hani of murdering dissident fighters.

They also alleged Mr Hani and other guerrilla chiefs were involved in the smuggling of stolen cars from SA and diamonds from Angola. — AP
Tribute to whites who have joined the struggle

By CONNIE MOLUSI

NELSON Mandela paid tribute to white youths who attended the first national congress of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) in Kengwane on Friday.

Two Cuban women got thunderous applause from the 1 500 delegates as Mandela and his wife Winnie hugged them on stage during his keynote address.

Mandela said he was delighted to see a number of whites had crossed the floor to join their fellow citizens.

He launched a scathing attack on Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht for attempting to raise white fears by spreading false rumours in the white community.

Mandela said Treurnicht wanted to disrupt the forthcoming meeting between the government and the ANC.

Greg McCartans from the Young Socialists' Alliance in the US delighted militant delegates with a hardline message of support spiced with an explanation of the growth of socialism in contemporary America.

McCartans said that after spending several weeks in South Africa witnessing mass demonstrations, protests and rallies, he was convinced the struggle was unstoppable.

A message of support was received from the ANC National Youth Secretariat in Lusaka, who were unable to attend the conference because of lack of clarity on the issue of indemnity for returning exiles.

Other messages of support came from the Danish Socialists' People's Party and the National Council of Swedish Youth.

Continued...
A WAVE of violence has swept across the country leaving a trail of death, destruction and tragedy in two weeks of deepening turmoil.

Now the government is clamping down on troublemakers, leaving an uneasy calm hanging over most of the affected areas.

According to unconfirmed reports, more than 135 people have died throughout the country since last Friday.

- In Kliptown, 25 people are believed to have been killed since violence broke out last weekend.
- In the Ciskei, 20 people died and more than 100 were injured in the aftermath of the coup.
- In Gakankwa, at least seven people died and almost 300 were injured.
- In Katlehong, 25 people died and about 200 were injured.
- In Vosloorus and Vreda, at least 50 people died in incidents of witchhunts, labour and political turmoil.

By Friday afternoon the latest latest report stated that police had detained dozens of blacks in a crackdown on violence sweeping the country.

Those being detained were "trouble-makers, not black political activists," said a spokesman. The arrests were confined to South Africa's four provinces and not the 10 homelands.

"Meanwhile, ANC vice president Nelson Mandela is to cut short his visit to Sweden this week. He is understood to be anxious to return following Law and Order Minister Andries Viljoen's statement that he plans to crack down on violence.

Violence first erupted in the Western Transvaal's Kliptown township outside Johannesburg, followed by the Ciskei's coup which resulted in a R10.5 million destruction of industrial complexes and other properties.

In Kliptown, angry residents and members of the local civic association claim they are in a "war zone."

Unrest also swept through almost the entire Ciskei last week, following the bloodless coup.

All that remained of scores of supermarkets, butcheries, factories, hotels and government buildings were burnt-out shells.

Twenty people were reported to have died and more than 300 injured.

This week South African security forces moved into Ciskei to put an end to the looting and burning which followed Sunday's coup.

The violence spread to Gakankwa, west of Pretoria and Katlehong in the East Rand.

In Gakankwa seven people died and more than 430 were treated for bullet wounds when thousands of residents smashed to the local magistrate's court demanding the immediate resignation of President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and "re-incorporation into South Africa.

The simmering tension in Bophuthatswana flared up on Wednesday, when more than 50,000 people gathered at a centre in the nearby Mabopane township before wasting their
By doing this, a myth has been created around these organisations and their leaders.

Today, as was the case on Network on Thursday night, leaders of both the PAC and the ANC were able to speak freely without fear of intimidation or harassment from the authorities.

With the ANC openly in favour of negotiations and the preliminary talks back on track after being derailed by the killings in Soweto, interest among black and white people has been enhanced.

The no-compromise policy of the PAC on negotiations has also raised interest locally and abroad. Also, its popularity and membership has been questioned in the past.

It is common knowledge the PAC and ANC leadership are sensitive to the question of forming an alliance against apartheid rule.

Millions of voters in this country would pay anything to watch a showdown between the PAC and the ANC. Some would be interested to know what strategies these organisations have planned.

Others, of course, would be delighted to see wider divisions being created among black people.

Were those black Americans right by sounding a warning about black-on-black TV debate?

Did Lekota and Alexander gain any mileage out of the interview? In my mind they are now more divided than when they went on the box.

Lekota said the PAC has no constituency and no following, so its leadership was able to say anything because they were not accountable to anyone.

Alexander refuted this, saying since the PAC was unbanned it had gained members to such an extent it was unable to keep track.

I was left speechless by his interview.

The time is not yet right for a public debate questioning the credentials of the ANC and PAC.
JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) is to appoint a firm of attorneys to establish the exact circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member Mr Japhet Masemola.

PAC spokesman Mr Mark Shinners also said yesterday that Mr Masemola's funeral had been tentatively set for April 29, although arrangements had not yet been finalised.

According to Johannesburg newspaper reports yesterday, Mr Masemola, of Atteridgeville, Pretoria, died on Tuesday when his car and a truck collided at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road. Mr Masemola was taken by ambulance to hospital only an hour after the accident. He died at the hospital after being admitted. — Sapa
Homes fund': ANC welcomes probe

The Argus

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress (ANC) has denied any knowledge of the existence of a fund which "guaranteed" domestic workers their employers' homes in the future South Africa.

And it has welcomed a national investigation launched by police into allegations of the existence of such a fund.

The ANC's reaction follows panic among some white homeowners in Durban and the Reef after incidents in which they were told by their domestic workers that the homes belonged not to the owners but to the domestic workers who had been contributing to an alleged ANC fund which guaranteed them their employers' houses when the ANC came to power.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said: "Taking over white homes is not on the ANC's agenda. We would welcome a police investigation to find the criminal element defaming ANC."

Workers' union

The internal leader of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, said there was no way the ANC could be involved in anything of this nature.

The South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwa) has urged domestic workers to supply the police or Sadwa with information about the alleged "ANC men" who were taking their money.

A police spokesman in Pretoria has asked domestic workers and their employers to come forward with information which could help the investigation.
Masemola: the ‘real blood tiger’ of the PAC

PAC founder member and former long-term Robben Island prisoner Japhet Masemola, 53, who died after a car accident on Tuesday, rejected negotiations on the country’s political future — as well as suggestions that his organisation was made up of paper tigers.

In an interview after his release from prison last October, he said: “We are not paper tigers. We are the real blood tigers.”

Masemola, a former teacher, served 28 years of a life sentence imposed on July 2 1963.

After the PAC and ANC were outlawed in 1960, Masemola was assigned the task of creating Poopo, the PAC’s military wing. He was arrested, sentenced to life imprisonment for blowing up powerlines and sending cadres out of the country for military training.

In recent interviews, Masemola said the PAC stood firmly against “negotiating for what belongs to the people”. Government would never allow blacks to enjoy the same political rights as whites “as it knew it would be voted out of power”.

On the morning of his death he said he hoped President F.W. de Klerk would “not make the mistake of satisfying the wishes of the conservative whites and the expense of justice for the oppressed and peace for all”.

That would be a political bummer De Klerk would live to regret.

He said the PAC was committed to achieving a non-racial Apartheid with land for all who worked it, and that there would be a place in Apartheid for everyone who regarded himself as an African without regard to colour and other demeaning criteria introduced by colonialists and propagated by the NP.

Masemola was the second longest serving prisoner after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, who was released in February.

He has been described by his PAC comrades as a man with a burning desire to help his people to help themselves. Born on the December 12 1921, he qualified as a teacher and joined the ANC Youth League in the early ’30s. He established various organisational structures in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

At the time, the youth league was intent on setting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities.

Masemola rose through the ranks and was soon aligned with the group led by the late Robert Sobukwe.

When the PAC split from the ANC in 1959, Masemola assumed a leadership role in the Transvaal, which ended with his imprisonment.

While in prison he completed a BA degree through Unisa. On his release he returned to live in Atteridgeville.

Prison had not broken his spirit.

“Fire burns more fiercely than before,” he said.

Politics would remain his occupation until he died or the situation in SA had changed drastically, he said.

The PAC said yesterday Masemola had been invited by the UN special committee against apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York. He had also received several invitations from “progressive organisations” in Western countries and Africa.—Sapa.

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**REVIEW**
THE ANC, UDF and Azapo, all rivals of the PAC, yesterday expressed shock and regret at the death on Tuesday afternoon of PAC leader Japhta Masemola.

Masemola was released from prison after 26 years last October, together with seven ANC leaders.

One of them, ANC executive member Walter Sisulu, said it was tragic Masemola met his untimely death when prospects for the realisation of the goal to which he had dedicated his entire life appeared brighter.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said his death was a loss to “the entire liberation movement”.

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Masemola had become a “symbol of black resistance and held a special place in the hearts of blacks”.

"The council would not have asked him to resign at this stage even if they did want him to go and could technically ask him to,” she said.

Rival groups’ shock at PAC leader’s death

Black Consciousness Movement cadres on Robben Island even outside the prison walls.

SAPA reports the PAC is to appoint a firm of attorneys to establish the exact circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member.

PAC spokesman Mark Shinners also said yesterday Masemola’s funeral had been tentatively set for April 29.

Shinners said the PAC would gather evidence at the scene of the accident, Ga-Rankuwa hospital and De Wildt police station.

Although he would not say whether foul play was suspected in the accident, Shinners said police would not allow them immediately to tow Masemola’s car from the scene of the accident, although permission was given later.

Masemola was allegedly taken by ambulance to hospital only an hour after the accident, reporters were told.

He died at the hospital after being admitted.

Masemola had been instrumental in the consolidation of the PAC structures in Pretoria and other parts of the country, the PAC said in a statement.

"On his release he had moved through the length and breadth of our country, addressing rallies and meetings, calling on our people not to compromise, but to fight on until final victory was achieved.”
Moodley said Masemola had become a "symbol of black resistance and held a special place in the hearts of...foul play was sus- dent, Shinners sa...allow them immi

150 youths flee to Lusaka

ABOUT 150 youths have fled from Natal to Lusaka in the past two weeks to seek sanctuary with the ANC from violence in the province. ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said most had been flown to Lusaka from Swaziland via Maputo with the assistance of the UN High Commis- sion for Refugees, after being told by the authorities they could not stay in Swaziland.

ANO reports the people range in age up to 24, while one four-year-old child had also arrived. All were well.

Sapa reports five people died — three of them women — as the police reported.

Another man was stabbed to death, and a woman injured at Imbali, Pietermaritzburg. After a mob petrol-bombed and stormed a house.

Sapa reports from Ujundi that former Inkatha mem- ber, Gideon Memela, was shot dead when "unknown" assailants armed with AK-47 rifles attacked his home at Esikhawini, Empangeni.

A KwaZulu traffic policeman was critically wounded in Umlazi when he was shot in the stomach by a mob.

KwaZulu "police" announced they had "arrested" four people in connection with the killing of Rifleman Stoney van Wyk of the Cape regiment at Mpuumalanga at the weekend.

At a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday the SA Youth Congress (Sayco) alleged members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco said it had videotaped evidence of Inkatha "de- fectors" who allegedly revealed Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training "against apartheid and against the ANC".

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as "untrue and patently ridiculous".
Masemola was ‘not a paper tiger’

He established various structures in Atteridgeville near Pretoria.

At the time, the youth league was intent on setting the ANC on a more confrontational road with the authorities.

Military wing

Masemola rose through the ranks and was soon aligned with the activists led by the late Robert Sobukwe. When the PAC split from the ANC in 1959, he assumed the leadership role of the new organisation in the Transvaal.

After the Government outlawed the PAC and the ANC in 1960, Masemola was assigned the task of creating Poop, the PAC’s military wing. He was arrested in early 1963 and sentenced to life imprisonment for blowing up powerlines and sending cadres out of the country for military training.

Inspiring

He completed a BA degree through Unisa while he was in prison and was registered for an Honours course in literature when he died.

A spokesman for the PAC said Masemola had been an inspiration to the politically alienated black youth who had no faith in the present negotiations between the ANC and the Government. “The shock of his sudden death is still hard to accept but his spirit will live on in the PAC,” said the spokesman. - Sapa.

The SA Media Council

THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment.

One of the council’s functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7317. Inquiries are welcome.
Ginger cookies and nerves — but no midnight knocks

From A SPECIAL WRITER
JOHANNESBURG. — "Have they got diplomatic status?"

This was the nervous question posed by a real estate agent to a (white) friend who accompanied my wife and me on a tour of a smart house in a suburb near here.

The house was not to our liking and we declined to see the agent again — he was the only person doing our entire search for a house in this city, who made us feel like "illegals".

The truth is, our experience is one that many agents ready to do business, he of service and make a "flock".

Moving from a township house in Cape Town, it was of course a move up to be in our "old" thick property supplements in newsstands for houses on the market.

Our own nervousness started after we purchased a house and had to move to a new (white) neighborhood. It was compounded by the fact that we refused to do so on the much-hated permit system.

insincerity
Our worry about a permit has, however, proved unfounded up to today. The fact is we felt myself and my wife our own hearts and minds.

Some time after the removal firm unloaded our belongings, I worried about a possible police knock at the door or a "memorandum" from a government department who had the responsibility of keeping what is white, pure white.

The fact that our neighbors on both sides arrived at our front door on the day we moved in with a chocolate cake and ginger cookies helped, but did not put us entirely at ease.

After I have heard that it is not merely the immediate neighbors who feel threatened but some troubled soul somewhere in the neighborhood who has heard of an "invasion" in the area.

Three years after we had moved we sold our immediate neighbors on the basis of the impeccability of our neighbors.

We were quite sad when we moved to another (white) neighborhood three months ago.

Ginger cookies
In our new neighborhood, were not that concerned when we were not greeted with ginger cookies because, by then, we were

APARTHEID must go.
Scrap the Group Areas Act.

These cries have become so familiar, especially in Cape Town, that a part of me started to believe most whites in my hometown were being blinded to the fact that a few were actually looking forward to it.

I started to imagine a town that was suddenly throwing off the old order and moving towards a future South Africa in a place where the Northern Colours remain breathless and uninjured.

Reality, however, differs from newswave headlines, says political slogans.

I have been house-hunting for the past month. Despite my tentative optimism, I decided to give the Northern Suburbs a miss.

Enforced
Let's go house-hunting in those places where the Democratic Party is (sort of) enforces enforced, where the teachers and pupils of government schools have begged for the admission of other races where racist terms have disappeared from the dinner table vocabulary, I thought.

I soon found that it was extremely naive to assume, when a neighborhood signpost proclaimed, "White English-speaking liberal", that people there would be pleased to see the great political change knocking at their front doors.

My second mistake was failing to say very clearly when making the initial telephone inquiries that I was black.

The first woman with whom I spoke — who, I was pleasing to find, had received so promptly because they had determined the house unambiguously.

Hasty move
We had moved, this and the sad tale to me would be the first person coming to view the house.

However, when she opened the door of the house in the real Randholt — not the Eastern suburbs — the pleasant tones went right out of her voice.

Her facial muscles worked hard to produce a smile which she did not feel.

There was no more friendly chat about their hasty move.

"I (ugh) it had better show you around," she said, making a few unceremonious 360-degree turns, with her hand waving towards the interior.

At the end of my tour of the house she asked me, for the first time, that some agents were also trying to let it. She and her husband had however, placed the newspaper advert themselves.

The following day she phoned and said in a voice that had by now regained some of its vibrancy that the agents had — unbeknown to her and her husband, dear oh dear — narrowed down their search to two very likely people.

Oh well, I thought, we have after all become a nation of fast movers.

Two weeks later the house, near Randholt, was still being advertised and the wording had been changed to make it sound more appealing.

Meanwhile, I called the same agent once more to ask whether she had anything else near the City.

She called off a monotone about the shortage of rented accommodations in the problem of this time of year, the scarce chances of finding anything close to town — any noise, discrimination, the obvious and unspoken reason.

Then, later in the week, I answered an ad for a house in Newlands. I spoke to the owner who had, by sheer coincidence, employed the same simmering agent.

When I told him this agent had sold him had no suitable house on her books, the owner said:

"Oh well, it doesn't bother me if you are coloured, but I am not sure if I let you sign the lease — whether I would have you by the door or curtains if anything went wrong," he said, and for the first time I laugh at a response to my attempts to make a bit of fun into the Group Areas Act.

After I had viewed the house, I told him there was one other person interested — but I would have the next option if he did not take it.

Here we go again. I thought, an excuse to make him appear to be a decent person.

But in the end of the day, he said — the one with the big company — has no house anywhere — called my name a few times, said the owner had instructed him to sign the lease if I still want the place.

The whole experience left me
The Mandela Concert in the Wembley football stadium this week was a climax of years of anti-apartheid activities in Britain. It sent out a clear message through music and Mandela to hundreds of millions of people throughout the world that the struggle against apartheid had not yet ended. MOIRA LEVY was there:

While British youths from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Britain handed out leaflets advertising a PAC public meeting.

A ticket tout, resplendent in a 'Free Mandela' T-shirt, harangued what he took to be a mixed crowd. "You are a liar because you're with a Faki (Pakistani)," he yelled after the woman—somewhat inaccurately, as the man turned out to be a dark-skinned but nevertheless white South African.

There were a few who came only for the party, but they stayed for the politics. The opening number, Aswad's 'Set Them Free', set the pace for the night of triumph.

The crowd was on its feet for 'Free Nelson Mandela', introduced by a clearly moved Berry Dumasani. "This song is now history. I never dreamed the day would come when I could sing this before Mandela."

To applause he continued, "But I don't believe he is truly free because he still does not have the right to vote in his own country."

"Two years ago we put our hearts and minds together to wish and pray for the release of Mandela. Now if we put our hearts and minds together, who knows, in a year, maybe six months, all of South Africa's people could be free."

"Welcome Mandela, Neil Young"—sporting a black leather jacket emblazoned on the back with the ANC colours and a 'Sacrements now' declaration—said: "I hope freedom for all your people follows soon."

Spine-chilling

Waves of fists were raised in a massive demonstration of British support for the sanctions campaign when Denzel Washington, star of the movie "Boleto," led them in chanting, "Don't give up now."

The performers set the theme, the mood was set by a spine-chilling solo by South African violinist, James Kwanza, who played Nelson Mandela's Africa on his trombone while the crowd raised lightning candles in the dark.

Then Mandela appeared, beaming, fist raised for the crowd, and for a full six minutes Wembley sang with the cheers of a standing ovation.

The crowd stayed on its feet throughout his speech. Meant to last 15 minutes, it ran for two hours. "If you choose not to forget, because our fate could have been a passing concern."

In a live broadcast heard by a billion people across the globe, Mandela made a no-holds-barred call to maintain sanctions. In a reference to lead...
All shall be free

even Inkatha

The ANC is fighting for freedom also for Inkatha members — so the fighting in Natal should stop. People under an ANC government would still be free to belong to Inkatha. So says Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator. He spoke to FAROUK CHOTHIA:

"De Klerk is clearly committed towards Buthelezi as an ally. He therefore cannot be trusted with a task of this nature."

The UDF recently launched a campaign to have the security forces removed from the townships.

"We are interested in the freedom of the entire people"

Lekota says: "The people on the ground are aware that the level of violence in Natal will subside if the police are removed. They are saying that Inkatha attacks because it enjoys the protection of the police, because the police give the Inkatha members guns and bullets."

Popular defence units have been set up after reports were received of imminent attacks by Inkatha on residents of Umlazi and Chamnort. (It is doubtful that we will be able to appeal to the other side to desist because that process has been going on for a long time. Lekota says he has not been successful in it.) Lekota says.

"People say the police give Inkatha members guns and bullets"

Lekota says: "The ANC believes the search for peace in Natal is a worthy effort and that peace will be reached, even though previous attempts to bring peace talks have failed."

A dilemma could be found in the "poor communications" between the ANC and Inkatha are opened and improved.

He remarks, however, that there appears to be a feeling among Inkatha that the talks are not serious about talks. "As things stand now, it is very difficult that any kind of armistice can be reached to operate between ourselves and Chief Buthelezi."

At the same time, political education should be intensified in the townships, so that young nationals know what the ANC stands for, and can operate in that context. The government should also set up new groups of Inkatha refugees and try to ensure their material needs through the ANC. Inkatha appears to be wanting to use its military potential to prevent the movement from doing so. "Many of our supporters have been driven out of areas in which Inkatha has control."

"We have no intention of stopping any organisation from winning people to its own policies"

"The resolution of the conflict does not depend on bringing in additional police"

If the security forces are withdrawn, the government and the leadership of credible organisations should agree on who will maintain law and order in the country. The withdrawal of the Natal conflict does not depend on bringing additional police and the army into the townships because that would create a situation untenable in the country."

Leota believes the conflict will make it difficult to govern, but it cannot be allowed to stop the negotiations process. "The liberation movement will make an assault on MK to attack and fight until the liberation is realized or fail," says Leota. "The ANC's interest is to have peace so that it can continue its struggle more effectively."

"If the trend persists, any election in the region would not accurately reflect the views and feelings of the people. It is in a matter of deep concern to us," says Lekota.

"The ANC is interested to have peace so that it can continue its struggle more effectively."
COUNCILS COLLAPSE

A man in a billion

Nelson Mandela (left) was billed as the star of the show.

And there was no doubt in the minds of the more than 80 000 people (below) who crammed into Wembley soccer stadium in London on Monday that the ANC leader supremely fitted the bill.

They danced, chanted and sang as they waited for hours in bitter cold for the one man they had come to see.

The concert was broadcast to an estimated TV audience of a billion people.

MOUNTING community protests sweeping the country have thrown third-tier government structures into disarray.

The latest body to quit this week is the Robertson Coloured Management Committee. Its decision comes in the wake of a police shooting last Wednesday in which scores of people attending a civic meeting were injured.

So far at least 100 councillors throughout the country have resigned, with many third-tier structures either facing a shortage of councillors or unable to operate because they lack quorums.

In the Eastern Cape the collapse of the Zanquwana town council in Jansenville after it was revealed that the councillors were "missing" funds meant for job-creation schemes, has brought to mind the number of councillors which have resigned en bloc.

Flee

The toppling of the government-created structures has been dramatic but bloodless compared to the 1985 and 1986 tumults when several councillors were killed and most had to flee townships.

The resignation of the entire eight-man Robertson management committee has come about as a result of community pressure and anger over a shooting incident described by several of them as "unnecessary".

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok has responded to an outcry over the Robertson incident by announcing a top-level probe into the shooting.

However, at a packed meeting in the small Balizana town on Wednesday evening, angry residents reiterated their demand for an inquiry.

Mr Fred Booyzen, spokesperson for the Rob-...
ANC at May Day rally

A MASSIVE ANC May Day rally is being planned to take place in Cape Town on May 1.

The rally will precede talks between the government and a top ANC team, scheduled to begin the following day.

It will combine a traditional May Day programme with input from the ANC.

Events scheduled to take place include marches from different areas, cultural events and a briefing from the ANC.

A May Day picnic is being organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) at Zeekoewal on the following Saturday, May 5.
FW tells ANC: End violence, stop preaching armed struggle

Govt's bottom line for talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Government will insist during talks with the ANC starting on May 2 that the movement must abandon violence and stop preaching the armed struggle.

President de Klerk laid down the Government's bottom line for negotiations when he addressed Parliament during the debate on his vote yesterday.

He said the ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle and the violence in the country were obstacles to negotiation.

Mr de Klerk said the Government insisted on an "unequivocal commitment" to peaceful solutions which included the cessation of violence and of preaching the armed struggle.

The ANC's continued commitment to the armed struggle was an obstacle to negotiation, "even if it were merely rhetorical".

The President said that since the elections on September 6 last year, the Government had made good progress in removing obstacles to negotiation.

"The initiative is in our hands and we have at our disposal the means to ensure that the process of negotiation and change proceeds peacefully."

"However, the ball is not only in the Government's court. Every other leader also has a responsibility."

Leaders outside Parliament, especially those of the ANC, had to "moderate their statements in the realisation that negotiation is a process of debate and agreement, of giving and taking."

"If the quest by anyone is for victory before negotiation, negotiation becomes meaningless. A realistic climate of negotiation and realistic negotiations envisage peaceful solutions from which all of the participants will benefit in the sense that all will emerge as winners."

"If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile."

Mr de Klerk's speech dealt mainly in broad generalities with the NP's policy of power-sharing and he did not make major announcements as some had predicted.

However, he said he might deal later in the debate this week with other aspects that the media had predicted he might address.

Consensus

He said the NP believed in full participation by all as well as protection from domination. The new system would have to be constituted in such a way that it could not be manipulated or tampered with without consensus having been reached.

Any new system agreed to in negotiations would be put to the electorate as either a referendum or an election.

In his response, DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer seized on Mr de Klerk's statement that full participation "included a vote of equal value for every adult citizen" as an "extremely important concept."

"If it meant what he thought it did — a common voters roll — it was an important step forward."

But he said he would like Mr de Klerk to say whether he meant an equal vote on a common voters roll or on a separate voters roll.
‘Hundreds’ of ANC dissidents still held

The Star’s Africa News Service

Dozens if not hundreds of ANC dissidents are probably still being held in camps in several African countries, according to various sources. But the exact number remains a mystery as ANC leaders refuse, or are unable, to give an exact number.

Over the weekend ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela admitted that some detainees had been tortured, but said those responsible had been removed. In a previous interview in Lusaka, National Executive Committee (NEC) member Mr Joe Slovo admitted that there had been torture “in the past”.

Last month, in a report on harsh treatment of prisoners in several camps in Tanzania, Uganda and Angola, the Sunday Times of London said an unnamed American diplomat who had investigated the matter believed the number detained could be as high as 300.

At the same time, other reports stated that the ANC was holding between 200 and 400 “suspected South African agents”.

Also at the weekend, NEC member Mr Steve Tshwete said torture was justified against South African agents, but the ANC secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, denied that the organisation was holding “1 500 or even 200” people.

However, he said: “In a movement like ours there comes a time when we discover that certain people have been infiltrated into our ranks by the enemy.”

The ANC had rounded up some of these people for questioning but he declined to say how many there were or where they were being held.

This weekend, the leader of the ANC’s military wing, Mr Chris Hani, said he did not know how many were still being held.

“Not hundreds, we don’t have many,” he told the London newspaper *The Independent*.

But in Nairobi a group of former ANC members who two weeks ago gave details of torture and executions in ANC camps in Angola said there were 100 to 120 dissidents in detention.

Reasons unknown

They named Mbarara, in south-west Uganda, as one of the sites where the dissidents were being held.

After the agreement between Angola, South Africa and Cuba, all ANC camps in Angola were closed and most of its members transferred to camps in Uganda and Tanzania.

In addition, it has become clear that many ANC and Pan Africanist Congress members left these organisations for reasons unknown and are living in a refugee camp in Tanzania.

The ANC dissidents now in Nairobi said many former members of the ANC and the PAC were staying at Kigwa, a remote refugee camp 320 km west of Dar es Salaam.
ANC drive for members

By Thabo Leshilo

The African National Congress (ANC) is to embark on an extensive membership registration drive to entrench itself as the foremost political force in the country and to exercise control over its followers.

Head of the internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu, yesterday confirmed that a preliminary order for one million membership cards had already been placed with a printer.

Mr Sisulu said the membership fee would be R12 a year, or R1 per month for the convenience of the poorer person. Members would have to be at least 18 years of age.

Provisions were being made for a "pioneer movement" to cater for children aged from seven years to 12 years. Those between the ages of 13 and 18 could join the ANC's youth league.
Top PAC leader dies

By Mckeed Kotolo and Thabo Leshilo

A founder member of the Pan African Congress and national leader, Mr Japhta “Jeff” Masemola (58), who was released from Robben Island late last year, died at the Garankuwa Hospital yesterday after a car accident in Pretoria.

A member of the National Executive Committee of the PAC, Mr Mike Matsobane, yesterday confirmed Mr Masemola’s death. He said Mr Masemola died at about 1 pm.

Mr Masemola was jailed in 1953 and released in December last year with seven African National Congress leaders. He served 25 years of a life-sentence for PAC activities.

At the time of his arrest he was a teacher at Banareng Primary School in Atteridgeville.

Mr Matsobane said yesterday the accident happened earlier in the morning but there was a slight delay in transporting Mr Masemola to hospital.

A hospital spokesman said Mr Masemola, who lived in Atteridgeville, was taken to intensive care where doctors and nurses battled in vain to save his life.

Sources said Mr Masemola’s Volkswagen collided with a truck along the Rankakata Road near Hoornsnek between Garankuwa and Sandfontein.

He is survived by his son Tebogo.

Funeral arrangements have not yet been made.

The head of the African National Congress’s internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu—who was released from prison with Mr Masemola last year—described the news of Mr Masemola’s death as “shocking.”

He said he had seen Mr Masemola on Saturday at a meeting with Mrs Coretta King, wife of the late Dr Martin Luther King.

A senior PAC member, Mr Mark Shinner, said Mr Masemola’s death was a tragic loss to the nation. “It comes at a time when the services of men of such calibre are most needed. For us in the PAC his memory will live on.”

He said Mr Masemola called him yesterday morning to say he was to visit a doctor in Garankuwa for a knee complaint.

The Azanian People’s Organisation’s secretary general, Mr Pandelani Nefolovodhwe said Mr Masemola’s death was a great loss to the “liberation struggle of the people of Azania”.

“The struggling people of our country have lost one of their important leaders and we, Azapo, are sending our condolences to his family and organisation.

Mr Nefolovodhwe served time on Robben Island with Mr Masemola.
Mandela me Coetsee 22 times

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, met the then-jailed Mr Nelson Mandela three times at his official Ministerial residence in Cape Town in 1986.

Mr Coetsee revealed this in the House of Assembly yesterday in a written reply to Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg).

Mr Coetsee had met Mr Mandela 10 times outside prison.

Other meetings had been at the Volks Hospital on November 17 1985, at Tygerberg Hospital on August 17 1986, at Constantiaberg Mediclinic on September 4 1988, at Tuynhuys on July 5 and December 13 1989 and February 9 this year, and at his office on January 25.

He had met Mr Mandela in prison 12 times between January 1 1987 and January 31 this year. — Sapa.
Tembisa youth leaders detained

Four officials of the Tembisa Youth Congress (Teyco) have been held in police custody since Thursday when they were picked up for questioning after announcing a plan to reintroduce "people's courts" in the township.

The four — believed to be held under the emergency regulations — are Teyco president Mr Sam Simetsi, Teyco general secretary Mr Philemon Nzimande, Ms Debora Marakalala and Mr Godfrey Qwabe.

A fifth executive member, Mr Peter Ramaron, was held for a few hours on Thursday before being released.

All five were present at a press conference two days earlier where the Teyco executive announced its intention to reintroduce people's courts in the huge township near Kempton Park.

The combating of crime was the motive given for the planned reintroduction of the courts.

According to a friend of Mr Nzimande, the activists were picked up for questioning during the early hours of Thursday last week.

According to information The Star has received, the activists are being held at Modderbee prison and have threatened to go on hunger strike.

An attorney from the firm Naidoo, Nicholls and Cambanis who is acting for Mr Nzimande said she was certain the activists were being held under the emergency regulations but had not yet received confirmation from the police.

Police comment could not be obtained at the time of going to press.

Tembisa Residents' Association spokesman, Mr Amon Msane, said it was "worrying that police were detaining people on the ground" at a time when everyone was trying to create a climate conducive to negotiations.
The issues behind Natal bloodletting

More than 200 people have died this month in fighting in townships outside Maritzburg. Nearly 13,000 destitute non-Inkatha people have moved into refugee camps.

MONICA NICOLSON spoke to people heading organisations battling to cope with the crisis about the reasons for the carnage and possible peace solutions.

The Edendale road through Maritzburg's townships meanders into the foothills of the Berg in what should be an idyllic rural setting, but behind this tranquil scene lies bloody chaos, destruction and death.

Over the last three weeks, the area has witnessed more than 200 people burnt, shot or hacked to death in the war between Inkatha and non-Inkatha groups. Nearly 5,000 people have died in the Natal conflict since September 1984 and many more are expected to die in the place people have named the Valley of Death.

There is no doubt in the minds of the Midlands Crisis Relief Committee (made up of numerous organisations) that Inkatha launched a massive, well-ordinated attack on non-Inkatha people at the beginning of the month.

Inkatha members say the ANC provoked the attack-by stoning busses returning from an Inkatha rally on March 25.

Mr John Aitchison of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, Maritzburg, said the Inkatha attack was far too co-ordinated and sustained to be merely a response to provocation.

"Anyway, the areas which suffered the brunt of the attacks were far away from the alleged stonings. Plus, many of the victims were young children, women and old people."

Mr Aitchison believed the unbanning of the ANC and the Inkatha's "rapid loss of support" threatened Inkatha leaders and that much of the conflict was about Inkatha's struggle to command the allegiance of black people in Natal.

"People have become too politicised and Inkatha's methods are seen as a regression to the worst aspect of tribal life."

While Mr Mandela has made positive calls for peace, Chief Buthelezi has not matched these. He has obviously not given clear instructions to his chiefs to end the war," he said. Chief Buthelezi strongly denies this.

In a statement at the end of March, Chief Buthelezi said he arranged to share a platform with Mr Mandela at Taylors Hall just outside Maritzburg, but that Mr Mandela had pulled out at the last moment because of the fighting.

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Inkatha stronghold

Chief Buthelezi rejected excuses that the chosen venue was an Inkatha stronghold and said he would meet Mr Mandela anywhere.

Mr Aitchison accused the police of supporting Inkatha forces, making the situation even more dangerous. Police have denied this.

He said the clearest possible statement of police partisanship was Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's consultation with only Chief Buthelezi about the situation.

On the other side though, Inkatha forces are blaring the black SADF troops for being biased and taking up arms against them. Chief Buthelezi called last week for all black troops to be removed from the townships.

Chief Buthelezi said last week that police had also been involved in attacks against Inkatha members, and that was why he had contacted Mr Vlok and arranged for the private meeting.

Democratic Party MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, has been monitoring Natal's tribal troubles for the past 10 years.

He said that although the war could be partially attributed to a criminal element and socioeconomic factors such as poverty and unemployment, the recent violence went beyond that.

Mr Cronje said that to control the violence, neutral forces must be deployed and any thugs and criminals should be shown that they could not go around doing as they wished.

Mr Aitchison said peace initiatives would not be successful because it was not in the interests of one or more parties to have peace.

"The main stumbling block appears to have been the State and Inkatha." He said the township war was in the short-term interests of the Government as it kept pressure off the State when Inkatha saw the ANC as the enemy, rather than the State, and it kept Inkatha occupied so that it did not have time to address the long-term cost-benefits of its relationship with the State.

He suggested going back to the peace plan agreed to by both opposing parties in June last year. Although Inkatha withdrew their support at the last moment because of technical problems, he thought these could easily be sorted out.

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Big conference

"A big conference should be organised with regional committees set up to hammer out points of conflict. Outside bodies and joint monitoring groups should be brought in to ensure fairness," he said.

Maritzburg Associations for Christian Social Action spokesman Mr Peter Kerchoff said peace lay in Inkatha's hands since they had declared a moratorium on the peace negotiations in September last year, and it was up to Inkatha to start negotiations again.

Chief Buthelezi has been outraged at allegations that he was the main obstacle to peace.

At a central committee meeting of Inkatha, he said: "It is the ANC which decided to use armed struggle to be the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa and it was the ANC which moved from hard military targets to making soft targets of the public."

"It is now sordid to drag me into the political arena as the man most responsible for violence in Natal when I have done more to stop violence in this region than any other black leader. I have gone to the areas worst hit to hold rallies to gather the people together to tell them to rally together for peace."

According to a statement released by the Joint Working Committee of Cosatu and UDF, all parties need to examine the factual situation before a peace process was possible.

"Cosatu and the UDF remain absolutely committed to achieving peace in this area. However, faced by the reality of violence, people cannot be condemned for defending themselves if other measures failed," the statement read.
New political movement in SA

A NEW non-aligned national political movement, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), announced its existence at a press conference in Woodstock yesterday beneath a huge red banner which read "no compromise".

Its chairman, former Robben Island prisoner Mr Neville Alexander, did not attend the press conference at the Silvertree Educare Centre as he is in Europe.

General secretary Ms Jean Pease (formerly of the Cape Action League), education officer Mr Crain Soudien, treasurer Mr Frank van der Horst (former president of Sacos) and editor and former student leader Mr Victor Steyn handled questions from the press.

Asked whether the new organisation was "to the left of the Communist Party of South Africa", Ms Pease said: "We are not sure what you mean by that. We differ from the CPSA in that it comes from the Stalinist tradition, of which we have always been critical and with which we would not like to be associated."
The killing
must stop

Extracts from an address at a recent graduation ceremony by HERBERT W VILAKAZI, Professor of Sociology, University of Zululand.

their own: this leads, ultimately, to seeking to destroy other human beings. It means creating an atmosphere in which people with murderous, sick psychologies can then vent their squalor upon other human beings.

Totalitarianism

It is a sickness and grotesque abnormality for any political party to aim at capturing or winning the loyalty and following of all groups and members of society. A normal political party, anywhere in the world, aims at winning, ultimately, the majority of voters, come voting day, which normally is more or less a quarter of the population of the society.

Wanting to capture the following of all groups and members of society is chasing after an impossibility, an impossibility which is only achieved through violence and repression of dissent; wanting to capture the allegiance of all groups, associations, and members of society is the very essence of totalitarianism. We caught a terrifying glimpse of that in Naziism and Stalinism.

Political parties or movements should be charged with dynamism, yes, but also with humility. We expect Ubuntu and Inhlonipho, also, in politics. Our leadership must display that elementary, great, and noble trait of truly being human: humility, and respect for other human beings, even if they differ with you. You must accept the possibility of your being wrong; and the need to talk with others not in your movement; and never, never, once more, never, have as an aim of your movement capturing the allegiance of all groups and members of society, and destroying another movement or faction; this inevitably leads to genocide.

We also have the problem of our youth. We have youth nurtured by an educational system which was designed by people who were totally lacking in basic respect... The entire society created by white supremacy, and the entire educational system created by that white supremacy, filled the entire society with disrespect for the human being.

I am not saying that all of us have succumbed to this inhumanity. The overwhelming majority of us are still shocked by this wanton disrespect for human life, by this violence and killing of human beings. The majority of us actually crave a more humane existence, more humane relations with other human beings.

We have become silent, and withdrawn into our private homes and private feelings and thoughts, as self-defence. We have become silent and cowardly out of fear and self-defence. Now and then, in the life of a nation, we must stand up and speak out. We either want the war, the wanton violence and killing of countless human beings in Natal to continue; or we want to stop it.

The peacemakers

The African community is in flames. Which groups of individuals, upon seeing a wild, consuming fire around them, would not instantly drop what they are doing, look for buckets or any other types of containers, to fill them with water, to hurl at the fire, in an attempt to extinguish the flames? That is precisely what we should be doing.

The ANC/UDF, PAC and Azapo leadership should stop their routine partisan activities, and pay instant attention to putting this fire out. If we want this war to stop, the leadership of these organisations must approach and talk to the other major party to the war, Inkatha, headed by Chief Buthelezi.

Serious mass political parties and movements are as shepherds to their flocks, or as mothers to their families. The African family is being consumed by fire: shepherds and mothers must selflessly fling themselves to the task of putting out the fire, as peacemakers. "Blessed are the peacemakers."
FLASHBACK: Smoke billows from destroyed homes in Natal as residents flee from death

WHEN the African National Congress takes over power in South Africa, it will uphold the idea of a multi-party democracy that tolerates the political views of others - even Inkatha.

This assurance is given by Patrick "Terror" Lekota, the ANC's Natal coordinator.

"The ANC is 'totally opposed' to armed force to solve the differences between it and Chief Cetshwayo's group, he says. "The very people who constitute the leadership of Inkatha are ordinary men and women who are suffering under apartheid. The struggle we are waging is also a struggle for their freedom."

"It is therefore important to members of the ANC, COSATU and all other allied organisations, that they accept the right of those who disagree with us to participate in the struggle."

"We are not interested in the freedom of the entire people."

De Klopper is committed towards Buthelezi as an ally.

De Klopper is committed towards Buthelezi as an ally. He therefore cannot be trusted with a task of this nature.

The UDF recently launched a campaign to have the security forces removed from the townships.

We are interested in the freedom of the entire people.

Lakota says the people on the ground corroborate the view that the level of violence in Natal will subside if the police are removed.

"They are saying that Inkatha attacks them because they are the police that protect the community while the police give the Inkatha members guns and bullets."

Law enforcement units have been set up after reports were received of attacks by Inkatha on residents of Umlazi and Umbumbulu. It is understood that if the police cannot keep the peace, to stop the trouble, they will have to be removed.

People say the police give Inkatha members guns and bullets.

Lakota says the ANC believes the search for peace in Natal is a lofty objective and that peace will be reached, even though previous peace talks have failed.

A solution can be found if the "false assumption" between the ANC and Inkatha is removed. He believes, however, that there appears to be a feeling that Inkatha is not serious about talks.

At the same time, political education should be intensified in the townships, so that various umbrella organisations can have an adequate understanding of the cause and role of, and participation in, the conflict.

"We believe that, with a deeper understanding of the problems of the communities involved, the communities involved will tend to be in a better position to contribute to the search for peace," Lekota says. "We agree that, while the ANC is trying to secure support in Natal, Inkatha appears to be wanting to assert its authority and prevent the movement from doing so."

"Many of our supporters have been driven out of areas in which Inkatha has control."

"We have no intention of stopping any organisation from seeking support."

"The resolution of the conflict does not depend on bringing in additional police."

"The liberation movement will not instruct MK to attack and fight unless the talks do not proceed or fall."
New socialist group formed

SEVERAL extra-parliamentary organisations joined hands to form a new national political organisation in Cape Town last week.

They include the Cape Action League, Students Of Young Azania and Mayibuya.

According to the founding resolution of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), the organisation was formed in the belief that the best way to advance working class interests was "the creation of an independent political organisation of the working class".

Settlement

Wosa's basic principles are black working class leadership; anti-imperialism; anti-capitalism; anti-racism; anti-sexism; one-person, one-vote in a non-racial, undivided, unitary country; and collective leadership, accountability and democracy.

The organisation is opposed to a negotiated settlement which "compromises the interests of the working class".

It intends to organise around housing, land, education, health, wages and women's issues.

The Wosa executive is: Neville Alexander (chairperson), Jean Pease (general secretary), Frank van der Horst (treasurer), Mercia Andrews (national organiser), and Victor Steyn and Brian Ashley (editors).

The regional representatives are: Aaron Kanyeke (N Cape), Eugene Cairncross (Tvl), Adam Mekaniemise (W Cape) and Rita Edwards (Natal).
PAC team to probe Masemola's death

Although he would not say foul play was suspected, Shinners alleged Masemola was taken to hospital by ambulance only an hour after the accident.

Masemola died at the hospital after being admitted.

In his tribute to Masemola, ANC internal leader Mr Walter Shulu described the PAC leader as "a stalwart of the liberation struggle".

Other tributes came from theAzanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

A former school teacher, Masemola was released from Diepkloof Prison with seven ANC leaders on October 15 last year.

He had served 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

In 1985, he was one of the several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence.

Masemola had been instrumental in consolidating PAC structures in Pretoria and other parts of the country, the organisation said.

Before his death, Masemola received an invitation from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid in New York to speak on the 14th anniversary of the June 16 uprising.
ANC at May Day rally

A MASSIVE ANC May Day rally is being planned to take place in Cape Town on May 1. The rally will precede talks between the government and a top ANC team, scheduled to begin the following day.

It will combine a traditional May Day programme with input from the ANC.

Events scheduled to take place include marches from different areas, cultural events and a briefing from the ANC.

A May Day picnic is being organised by the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu) at Zeekoevlei on the following Saturday, May 5.
HARARE - Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu said yesterday there was a need to press harder for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

Interviewed on arrival in Harare for Zimbabwe's 10th independence celebrations, he said the achievement of Namibian independence through negotiation was a source of inspiration for South Africans.

"After the situation in Namibia where people sat down and talked I think we have to press as hard as we can for negotiations to take place," he said.

Asked about the prospects for successful negotiations, Tutu said this could be judged from the outcome of a meeting between the South African Government and the ANC next month.

"Our people are committed to a negotiated settlement and want peace and prosperity." - Sapa.
Tutu praises ANC honesty on torture

Staff Reporter

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has welcomed the ANC’s admission that a group of ANC dissidents had been tortured.

On Sunday, the archbishop told foreign TV networks that he was glad that the ANC had acknowledged the torture and had not attempted to cover up the allegations.

"Since Watergate and the Info Scandal, we know just how people try to hide unsavoury facts.

"Mr (Nelson) Mandela shows the calibre of person he is by the admission that they have these camps and that torture has happened," Archbishop Tutu said.

Also at the weekend, the Rev Sam Buti, moderator of the Ned Geref Church in Africa, labelled Mr Mandela's reaction to the allegations "pathetic".

He welcomed Mr Mandela's admission but said the ANC vice-president should act immediately.
A NEW leftist political formation, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), was launched in Cape Town at the weekend.

Wosa aligns various organisations to the left of the ANC and aims to further the interests of the working class, in particular the black working class, a spokesman said.

A news briefing will be held at 9.45am tomorrow at the Silvertree Educare Centre, 36 Church Street, Woodstock. — Sapa
NIS leaked death plan to us — CP

Political Staff
AN official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked to the Conservative Party a classified report about an ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, it has been claimed in parliament.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht made this claim yesterday after he had been lashed by President F W de Klerk for disclosing the report, which Mr De Klerk said was "probably fabricated" to create polarisation and upset peace talks.

But Dr Treurnicht said that if an NIS official considered it worthwhile and important enough to leak the document this had "tremendous implications".

"I want to ask the State President whether his officials in the Department of National Intelligence are playing games or whether they are busy with disinformation in planting the document on us."

Mr De Klerk disclosed that the government would investigate its security establishment to find out who leaked the report to the CP.

He said the CP's release of the document was probably illegal and could have endangered lives.

EXTREMELY UNRELIABLE

During the debate on the State President's vote yesterday, he said the report had not been submitted to the government because it was considered "extremely unreliable".

The CP last week accused the government of failing to act on the report.

Mr De Klerk told parliament yesterday that thousands of reports were in circulation every day within the intelligence community.

These contained rumours, disinformation, allegations and hard information.

Only information which was credible and important was submitted to the government.

Mr De Klerk said that after the CP had made Press statements about the alleged assassination plan, he had requested a report from the intelligence community.

They had informed him that the report was extremely unreliable as the source was doubtful.

Past information supplied by the source could never be confirmed and the source had been unable to provide the report alleged to have been compiled by a sub-committee of the ANC's national executive committee.

There were also distortions and inaccuracies in the source's report which created the "strong impression that it was fabricated information produced by an unknown party to create a certain effect for purposes of his own".

These probably included "the further polarisation of South African society, the destabilisation of the order of authority and the impediment of the current process to establish a peaceful milieu in the RSA".

For these reasons the report was not submitted to the government. However, a further investigation of the report — and also "of possible leaks within the intelligence community" — was under way.

Dr Treurnicht said he believed the report had been leaked to the CP "in all seriousness".

Mr De Klerk said the CP's disclosure of "unevaluated" security intelligence was "outrageously irresponsible".

"Had the report been obtained from a delicately placed source, the CP's treatment of it could have endangered the lives of people."

It had come into the CP's hands by unauthorised and, therefore, illegal means.

It was marked "secret" and this should have been a clear indication — "even to an amateur" — that it could contain extremely sensitive information. "Therefore, its publication was probably in contravention of legal prescriptions concerning security information."

Mr De Klerk said the CP could have established the truth about the report by means of confidential inquiry.

Dr Treurnicht said the important thing was that Mr De Klerk had admitted the document existed.

"He says the document is unreliable and unevaluated. If an official of the NIS deemed it worthwhile to reveal its contents to us, then I consider it important."

Meas 19/4/90
PRETORIA.—A founder member of the Pan Africanist Congress and national leader, Mr Japtha "Jeff" Masemola, who was released from Robben Island late last year has died after a car accident.

Mr Masemola's Volkswagen Beetle was in collision with a lorry between Garankuwa and Sandfontein yesterday. He was taken to Garankuwa hospital and died about 1pm. He was 58.

"LAND FOR ALL"

Mr Masemola, a former teacher, was released from prison on October 15 with seven African National Congress leaders after serving 23 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

He was the second longest serving prisoner after ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

In an interview after his release the PAC political lion said: "We are not paper tigers. We are the real blood tigers."

Mr Masemola once said politics would remain his occupation until he died or the situation changed drastically.

NON-RACIAL

He said the PAC was committed to achieving a non-racial Apartheid with land for all who worked for it.

A spokesman for the PAC said Mr Masemola had been an inspiration to the politically alienated black youth who had no faith in the present negotiations between the ANC and the government.

"The shock of his sudden death is still hard to accept but his spirit will live on in PAC," said the spokesman.—The Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

● Tributes, page 2.
OVATION ... Mr Mandela raises his arms to a screaming and cheering crowd at Wembley Stadium on Monday. Mr Mandela topped the bill in the rock concert in his honour.

And now, we (any)

pay the tribute

By KIN BENTLEY
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Being part of a crowd of 72,000 people paying tribute to Mr Nelson Mandela, who was imprisoned only a few years after I was born, was a strange experience for a white South African.

How, I asked myself, could these British people be so absorbed in a man and an issue, apartheid, in a country thousands of kilometres away and vastly different to their own?

It was understandable that they should congregate to rock and jive to music in the oval womb of Wembley. But it was remarkable that these same people should give an eight-minute standing ovation to grey-haired Mr Mandela.

As a participant in the “March for Hope” by whites into Port Elizabeth’s New Brighton township late last year, I could not help feeling detached from this celebration. The white arms and clenched fists threshing the air to the group Sisetsin's cry of “Free South Africa” somehow seemed a little grotesque.

Because, in the end, there was the realisation that thousands have died in South Africa and hundreds continue to die monthly in Natal. Apartheid remains and, it seems, will be eradicated only with a lot of pain.

Mr Mandela's release is cause for celebration. But there is little else to celebrate.
Airline flight delayed for Mandela

LONDON — An international airline agreed to delay its flight by about an hour to enable ANC leader Nelson Mandela to fly out of London late on Monday night, following his speech to the massive crowd at Wembley.

ANC deputy London representative Billy Masetha confirmed yesterday that a prior arrangement was made with Ethiopian Airlines that a waiver would be granted to Mandela, enabling him to book in late for the flight to Harare.

He said the flight, a normal passenger service, was delayed by about an hour.

Mandela arrived in Harare yesterday and said government had to remove all apartheid laws to ensure progress towards peace, Sapa reported.

Mandela, here to attend Zimbabwe’s 10th anniversary independence celebrations, which entered their second day yesterday, said if President F.W. de Klerk wanted change, he should “remove all laws which are cause for concern to black people of SA”.

Addressing a Press conference, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said developments in SA were encouraging but a lot remained to be done.

Boesak tells ANC: reject violence

LONDON — World Alliance of Reformed Churches president the Rev Allan Boesak has urged the ANC to take a moral lead over government by forsaking all forms of violence.

Speaking from Cape Town over Dutch radio at the weekend, he said such a move by the ANC would oblige government to follow suit. Newspapers in the Netherlands yesterday reported that Boesak said government was responsible for the culture of violence in SA, as it had always chosen to confront problems with violence.

The ANC was, however, equally responsible as it had contributed to the romanticisation of violence.

“The ANC will have to tell the people: ‘We do not believe in violence anymore,’ Boesak said. In doing so, it would place a moral obligation on President F.W. de Klerk to follow suit.

“We have noticed moral matters are a priority to him,” Boesak said.

He also hoped for other changes in the ANC. It would have to become aware that its liberation politics could not serve as a basis for a credible policy.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Archbishop Desmond Tutu has welcomed the ANC’s admission of the torture of a group of ANC dissidents. He said at the weekend he was glad a cover-up had not been attempted, and he hoped the tortures would not recur. — Sapa.

Liquidations set to rise by 20%

THE number of companies liquidated this year will rise by about 20% over 1989, according to Kreditinform MD Ivor Jones and operations director Jack Brownrigg.

This meant more than 300 of SA’s 6000 registered companies could go under, compared with an estimated 2700 in 1989, they said in an interview.

Brownrigg said steep interest rates, affecting highly geared companies in particular, were the main reason for the expected sharp increase.

Even if Finance Minister Frans Botha’s moves to level out interest rates were successful, the effect on liquidations would be felt only in about 18 months, he said. This was because of a time lag between interest rate hikes and liquidations.

A hidden factor in interest rates was one of prime plus. Banks were offering prime rates to low geared companies, while debt-ridden institutions were paying 2% to 3% above prime, he said.

However, recent political developments could prove to be mitigating factors, boosting business confidence and limiting the number of liquidations.

Information Trust Corporation chairman Paul Edwards said his organisation had recently noted a rise in the number of problem accounts — an early precursor to ultimate business failure.

However, many businesses had learnt to adapt to tougher economic conditions.
Thatcher disregards Mandela

LONDON — Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has insisted she will not visit South Africa despite Mr Nelson Mandela's warning that she will be at the weekend not to do so.

She has signalled she will do so when she feels the time is right, shrugging off Mr Mandela's criticism of her rewards-for-reforms approach on sanctions.

Mr Mandela said she must not go until an agreement had been reached to end apartheid. Any 'visit' before that, would send the 'wrong signal' to the South African Government.

MP Mr David Howell, who chairs the parliamentary select committee on foreign affairs, said that Mr Mandela, although a 'wise and able man', was 'not the leader of South Africa and it is not for him to tell Mrs Thatcher where she should and should not go'.

The Minister of State for the Environment, Mr William Waldegrave, said he did not see Mr Mandela's Wembley speech, in which the ANC leader accused the British government of supporting apartheid by relaxing sanctions, as an "ad hominem" attack, saying the two parties differed on 'tactical' rather than ideological grounds.

"The Prime Minister has made it clear that she is looking to ending the state of emergency, the release of remaining political prisoners and real progress on talks about talks is that kind of agenda. We want real progress before she visits. Her visit must take the process further."

See Page 3.
Root cause of Natal violence

In this second of a three-part series, MATTHEW KENTRIDGE, a freelance political researcher proposes that party politics could be the root cause of the prolonged faction fighting in Natal.

There is a process of forgetting in the public consciousness, an attrition of memory which results in the failure to relate current events to their constitutive histories.

Just so with the current political conflict in Natal. The carnage in Maritzburg and the wave of killings in uMhlanga are not self-explanatory, discrete occurrences, but part of a long interaction which has gripped the Natal Midlands for more than two years.

An understanding of the causes of this interminable conflict is essential in order to assess the motivations behind the most recent incidents.

In this region, the bitter warfare between Inkatha and supporters of the UDF and Cosatu has claimed well over 2,000 lives, wrecked family and community life, turned tens of thousands of people into refugees and caused incalculable mental and physical damage.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the origins of the conflict. Some favour what is known as a "socio-economic" argument, which states that the fundamental causes are poverty and joblessness, which, coupled with an angry and volatile township youth, find expression in violence.

Criminal behaviour

In this version, the political nature of the violence is downplayed, and the violence is seen primarily as criminal behaviour on a wide scale.

The theory has certain attractions. Certainly unemployment and a lack of hope contribute substantially to the humid climate of violence that hangs over the region.

But as an explanation, it is insufficient.

Poverty and unemployment are neither unique to the Midlands nor higher there than elsewhere.

In addition, the residents of the area perceive the violence as primarily political. Although many are only vaguely aware of the specific ideological messages of Inkatha and the UDF, they firmly identify the protagonists by political organisations.

A second theory sees the violence as a result of a rural-urban, generational cleavage, whereby older, rural Zulus, with a strong sense of tribal tradition, react strongly against younger, urban cosmopolites.

This theory, too, has appeal and accords to a fairly typical political profile as well. However, again the theory is too general. Both Inkatha and the UDF have cross-generational support, and the terrain of conflict is seen as merely rural-urban, but rural-and-urban as well.

Ultimately, the causes of the war are more political than these analyses concede. Both Inkatha and the UDF perceive the political nature of their conflict.

According to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the fighting in the Midlands is the latest development in an ANC-orchestrated campaign to destroy the organization.

The UDF, by contrast, sees itself as the victim of a joint strategy devised by Inkatha and the State to crush all "progressive" organisations in Natal.

It is not surprising that two such incompatible political movements should fall into dispute.

Modern image

Although it adopts an anti-apartheid stance, Inkatha is a strongly conservative organisation, strong in rural areas, which relies on and appeals to Zulu nationalism and pride.

The UDF, on the other hand, presents an aggressively modern image, and its campaigns have focused on problems facing the urban black population. The UDF's broad, supra-ethnic appeal directly opposes the narrow nationalist stance of Inkatha.

This challenge is recognised by Inkatha and many of the anti-UDF denunciations issued by officials in the organisation are spurred by these perceptions.

Inkatha are warned of sinister whites, Indians and Xhosa in the UDF intent on manipulating and undermining Zulus.

Why this long-standing political enmity should have erupted so dramatically in Maritzburg this other week, and again in Mpuumlanga last week, remains a moot point.

One explanation is that the palpable crowd at the Inkatha rally in Durban on March 25 (10,000 as opposed to the ANC's 15,000 on February 25) may have highlighted, yet again, the threat posed to Inkatha by the UDF.

Inkatha's invasion of non-Inkatha areas in Maritzburg and Mpuumlanga can be seen as an initiative which tries on the one hand to drive the UDF out of the region and, on the other, to win over the residents in these areas to the cause of Inkatha.

If this is the case, the military exercise was singularly misconceived, as the majority of the victims of the attacks come from this constituency.

War of attrition

But there is a second, related, explanation of the explosion in the Midlands. For more than two years, the region has been in the grip of a slow, wearing war of attrition; a stalemate in which both sides control specific areas, and skirmishes take place along borders, rather than across them.

It is possible that the latest attacks constitute an attempt by Inkatha to break free of this impasse, to cross borders, annex territory and so change the political geography of the region.
Bogus ANC fund for domestics to 'buy' employers' homes

DURBAN — Police have launched an investigation into allegations that domestic workers have been paying money into a bogus ANC fund to ensure that their employers' homes will belong to them in a "new" South Africa.

Several domestic workers have informed their employers in Durban and the Transvaal that their homes belong to the domestic workers who have contributed to an ANC fund.

Mr Tom Sebina, spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, said he would welcome a police investigation to find the "criminal element who is defaming the ANC's name".

It is absolutely untrue that we have been collecting money from domestic workers for this purpose. The take-over of private homes has never been on the ANC's agenda.

Mr Gordon Nixon of the Bluff is one of the surprised Durban residents to be told that his home no longer belongs to him.

"My wife and I went away for the weekend. When we returned yesterday, we found two well-dressed African gentlemen happily surveying my property and taking photographs. When I asked them what they thought they were doing, they told me they had been paid R30 by my maid to take photographs. They told me one picture goes to her and another to the 'Mandela Fund'.

"When I offered to introduce them to my shotgun or to call the police, they just laughed and said soon all white homes would belong to the people and to the ANC."

Mr Nixon's domestic was dismissed on the spot and was not available for an interview today.

A similar scene took place when Mrs Shirley Aiston of Fynland tried to sell her home. Her domestic, who had worked for her for 20 years, approached her and said she had "been contributing to an ANC fund and the home belonged to her."

The same thing happened to a Cowies Hill resident and to a Westville couple.

A representative of the South African Domestic Workers' Union (Sadwa), Mrs Nyami Nbele, today urged domestic workers to supply the police or Sadwa with information about the "alleged ANC men" who were taking their money.

Captain R Bloomberg, media liaison spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria, said today: "We urge all domestic workers and employers to come forward with any information they may have so that we can investigate."

He said this type of incident had also been reported on the Reef.
'ANC plot' document pooh-poohed

Crime Reporter

The "intelligence document" released by the Conservative Party last week was nothing but an unevaluated source report and a storm in a teacup, an intelligence source said today.

It had also been established that the document was definitely not a police document.

According to the intelligence source, the document, which deals with an alleged ANC plot to eliminate right-wing white leaders and politicians, had raised laughter in intelligence circles.

"This was a source report at the bottom of the intelligence pyramid. It was raw information and completely unevaluated and its credibility had not been established."

"All intelligence networks have huge and varied sources of information and no one will run to the Government with such unprocessed information," the source said.
‘Victory to be in our lifetime’

LONDON — In an address to about 400 South African exiles here yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said that "the (country) we have worked so long for and dreamt of is likely to be realised in our lifetime".

But he added: "The people of South Africa have reached a new level of militancy which sometimes frightens me.

"I have no doubt that the signal has been clearly given to the Government that a political solution between the ANC and the Government is the only way in which South Africa can be saved from a conflagration never seen (there) before."

He criticised those in the movement opposed to negotiations until the Government had fallen, saying there was no reasoning to their argument.

On the question of black unity, Mr Mandela said a great deal of progress had been made, but more was needed as the Opposition could not afford the luxury of a divided movement.

He was clearly encouraged by the spirit of the exiles: "I would have expected that exiles who have been away from home for up to 30 years to be overwhelmed by gloom and frustration. However, the high status of morale is absolutely staggering."

Star treatment at Wembley

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela was given the full superstar treatment at Wembley Stadium last night by an ecstatic 72,000 crowd.

Musicians more used to being the objects of adulation themselves tried to outdo one another in heaping praise on the ANC deputy president.

Patti LaBelle, who met Mr Mandela backstage, was thrilled at just having made eye contact with him. "It was like the blood of Jesus just washing over me," she enthused.

Little Steven called on the crowd and millions watching in 26 countries to join Mr Mandela in stepping up the fight against apartheid. "Mr Mandela is going back to negotiate. We've got to give him something to negotiate with — that means sanctions."

Such statements from performers were officially frowned on, but after Mr Mandela had delivered his rousing sanctions call, most of the performers ignored the BBC's injunction to keep political comment to a minimum.

When Mr Mandela moved from the royal box to the stage, the crowd treated him to a tumultuous ovation which lasted a full five minutes.

His 20-minute speech was punctuated by more rapturous cheering.
ANC team ‘in SA this month’

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The five Lusaka-based members of the ANC team for preparatory talks with the South African government will probably arrive in SA around April 28 — four days before the talks are scheduled to begin, ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said yesterday.

He said the team required a few days to prepare for the meeting, including consulting the internal leadership of the ANC and its allies.

The five — Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Ruth Mompati — are to be accompanied by a number of aides.

Mr Sebina said it had been decided that another team of ANC leaders and officials, originally scheduled to arrive in SA about three weeks ago, would not leave for the country until a bill was passed — providing for temporary immunity from prosecution for possible offences committed before 1990.

‘This second team has been mandated to assist the internal leadership with various operational tasks. The government has said the bill will be presented to Parliament soon. Mr Sebina added, though, that the talks’ team was not affected by this decision.

He welcomed State President F W de Klerk’s speech in Parliament yesterday in which he disputed the authenticity of the intelligence document made public by the CP last week.

When the document was originally published, Mr Sebina accused right-wing elements in the intelligence services of trying to derail the proposed talks about talks between the ANC and the government — a view similar to that expressed yesterday by Mr De Klerk.'
Torture is justified, says ANC

MAPUTO - A top-ranking member of the African National Congress, Mr Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added, however, that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1984 among members of the movement's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African Government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy," Tshwete said.

Cadres were agents of SA

whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement," he said.

There had been "excesses" during the interrogation of some of those mutineers and agents but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", he said.

Conduct

"The ANC does not in any way approximate in its treatment of detainees to what we see in South Africa today," Tshwete added.

He said the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how detained people should be treated.

Two weeks ago a group of former ANC guerillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

The men, who fled to Kenya from Tanzania, have since been interviewed by several British newspapers and international news agencies and have said they feared for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents being detained at camps in Uganda.
African historian to deliver keynote address

Acclaimed African historian, Professor Ali Mazrui is expected to deliver a keynote address at a three-day national conference of South Africa's Muslim community in May.

Mazrui is an expert on Muslim/Minorities and Muslim and non-Muslim relations. The conference takes place in Cape Town from May 18 to 20.

By Ali MPHAKI

4. The Transvaal convener of the conference, Dr Yusuf Saloojee, said that with rapid and far-reaching changes taking place in the country, "a Muslim response to these developments has become even more urgent and imperative."

"The Muslims with their history of contributions in the struggle for justice will have an important role to play in the future negotiations in the formulation of a new constitution and an alternative (post apartheid) society."
Rumpus over whirlwind visit to UK

Right-wing media launch bitter attack on Mandela

LONDON - Nelson Mandela's whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several right-wing newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader.

Earlier this week, three tabloids - the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Star - published highly critical reports.

The Mail devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of "Savagery behind the Smile". Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mandela should "listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers".

Goodwill

And he concluded that: "The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius - just a muddled, out-of-date politician with some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas."

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerrillas is headlined: "His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it's fighting."

A third report in the same paper by Michael Streeter claimed it is "screwily a general irony that... Mr Mandela, spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime".

Storm

He added that the concert this week was as much a demonstration of capitalism as it is of rock music.

The Sun whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that US Congressman Jesse Jackson "called him the new Jesus Christ".

Jackson had said Mandela was a man of the world "in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering".

He described Mandela's release from jail as a "resurrection".

The Daily Star calculated that the cost of Mandela's "two-day jinks" was R520 000, pointing out that he was staying in a luxury hotel and being whisked from appointment to appointment in luxury cars.

It commented in an editorial that it was "a very far cry indeed from the squallor experienced by his followers in South Africa's townships like Soweto".

The Daily Express took him to task in an editorial for not seeing Thatcher. It asked if Mandela was "altogether wise to allow himself to be enticed to a Wembley pop concert organised by those old-time hawks of the anti-apartheid movement who still refuse to concede that anything has really changed?"

At the weekend the Sunday Telegraph took a wistful look at the marketing of the concert, saying that "waiting in the wings to extract their pound of flesh will be the merchants of Mandela".

Coverage

A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the Left-wing Daily Mirror, which has had unhindered access to Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group's part sponsorship of his visit.

It splashed a colour picture of Mandela holding a white baby across page one with a banner headline: "The hug of hope".

The newspaper quoted Mandela as saying in an exclusive interview that he "learned in prison not to hate the white man".

He also said he hoped to meet Thatcher in May and described her as a "very powerful lady - one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy".

The conservative The Times welcomed Mandela to Britain and said in an editorial that he "truly deserves our sympathy" for the massive task ahead of him in South Africa.

For a service to readers Sowetan will be on sale at Orange Farm near Evaton from today.

Don't forget to get your copy of the Sowetan.
PAC leader, His killed

Soweto 18/4/90

By THEMBA MOLEFE

South Africanist Congress stalwart Mr. Jafu Kgalali Masemola is dead.

He was killed when a car in which he was travelling and a truck collided at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road in Pretoria at about 9am yesterday.

It is believed “Jeff” Masemola (60) was on his way to address a meeting at Grootkruis Hospital.

The house in which he shared with his sister, Mrs. Dorah Madi, in Atteridgeville was packed with people last night soon after the news of his death.

A leading member of the PAC, Mr. Don Moseke, said Masemola's death was so sudden “it is devastating emotionally.”

He said a Press conference would be held at Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg, at 10.30am today.

Prison

A former schoolteacher, Masemola was released from Diepkloof Prison, in Johannesburg, with seven African National Congress leaders on October 15 last year. He had served 25 years of a life sentence imposed on him on July 2, 1963.

In 1985, he was among several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence. The others included ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Mr. Zeph Mothopeng.

On his release last year Masemola rejected negotiations with the Government, saying: “Speaking for myself, I would say the main issue in Azania centres on the repossession of our land because if we follow Mr. (FW) de Klerk’s stand to its logical conclusion it means the Government will be taken over by Africans through the ballot. This is one thing the Government will not allow.”
ANC dissidents seek inquiry

CAPE TOWN — Dissident ANC guerrillas yesterday urged ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela to appoint a commission of inquiry into torture allegations, which one said continued in ANC camps.

On Saturday Mandela admitted that some of the men who made the torture allegations had been tortured by ANC security members, but said that "immediate steps were taken to discipline those guilty."

The leaders of the camp were also immediately dismissed, he added.

Mandela said the ANC hoped SA's government would act as quickly in addressing the allegations of torture directed against its security forces.

Speaking from Nairobi, dissident guerrilla Amos Maxongo said the torture would not stop as long as "the people responsible for all the atrocities were still in power" and that dissidents had written to Mandela urging appointment of a commission of inquiry into continuing torture in the ANC.

He levelled certain allegations against Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise.

Mandela said on Saturday he wished to make it clear that the allegations were not made against himself or the ANC leadership but against the organisation's security department.

Maxongo said it was disturbing that "enemies of democracy" were included in the ANC delegation to hold talks with President F W de Klerk next month. He referred to the inclusion of Modise in the delegation.

Asked whether the group feared for their safety in the wake of their revelations, Maxongo said that Mandela "must commit himself to secure us."

He and the other men were anxious to return to SA.

News agencies reported that the letter said dissidents were bitter because they had been tortured and claimed they had been silenced by MK chief of staff Chris Hani and Tanzanian ANC representative Stanley Mabileza.

They said they remained loyal to the spirit of the ANC, and hoped the letter would clear up misunderstandings as to their motives.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Mandela's admission that ANC members had tortured dissidents had come as a big shock, said Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk moderator Prof Johan Heyns.

"I am thankful that Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC," he said.
Govt 'was shaken militarily' by ANC

GOVERNMENT wanted to talk to the ANC because it had been "shaken militarily", ANC stalwart Elias Motsoaledi told a rally near Groblersdal in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

Speaking in Phokoane village, he said it was not appropriate for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle while the SADF was still armed.

He also called for an intensification of the liberation struggle, saying people should fear deceit rather than blood.

Motsoaledi, a militant former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in Johannesburg, called on youth to gain education to further militant ideals.

"To shoot down the enemy's aircraft you need mathematical knowledge, so get into the classrooms and learn military science," he said.

He appealed to ANC supporters not to be hostile to homeland chiefs.

Chief who were not members of the ANC-supporting Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) should be educated politically until they were won over by the people.

The ANC welcomed homeland leaders who were sympathetic to the people's demands, because they had been brought away from "the enemy", he said.

Homeland leaders who recently refused to meet President F W de Klerk for talks had done so because the ANC had told them not to go, Motsoaledi said.

Speaking at the same rally, UDF publicity secretary and ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota condemned organisations who criticised ANC strategy. — Sapa.
A delegate for black youth

LESLEY LAMBERT
in Cape Town

While she could never have the charismatic or mythical appeal of many of the exiled or jailed ANC members, she has been close to the people they represent and probably has a clearer understanding of one group in particular — the black youth of whose support ANC leaders appear most uncertain.

Carolus, a teacher who is currently employed in a non-academic position with the University of the Western Cape's Education, Resource and Information Project, has established close links with exiled ANC members during her political career.

In 1986, she was a member of the first UDF delegation to meet the ANC. The delegation was limited to those who were allowed passports and Carolus was detained for a second time on her return to SA. She also attended the OAU meeting last year at which the ANC endorsed the Harare Declaration, outlining its preconditions for negotiations. And

The ANC is not ready to negotiate, saying the process of "talks about talks" would have started earlier if government had not been unwilling to grant indemnity to leading ANC exiles wishing to return. And she is angry that people questioned the justification for calling off the April 11 talks after the Sebokeng shootings, in which it is claimed 19 people were killed and many more injured.

"If Umkhonto we Sizwe had planted a bomb in a supermarket which killed and injured the same number of people, would there have been the same argument against the justification?"

On whether the decision to go ahead with the talks was based largely on concern at the outbreaks of violence, particularly in Natal, and the apparent inability of the ANC and government to solve the underlying causes, Carolus says: "The ANC has consistently tried to find a solution to the problems in this country, but up to now the National Party has refused to become involved in discussions. The ANC has decided to go ahead with its commitment to a peaceful solution in our country. It is not posturing."

Of the negotiations which will follow if the obstacles are removed and the "right political climate is created", Carolus says a constituent assembly is the ANC's favoured constitutional mechanism.

"There is a lot of confusion about the negotiations. The ANC does not arrogate itself a place in the negotiations. It wants to be democratically elected to the position and is confident of substantial support."

That Carolus is committed to her cause is without question. In an attempt to track her down for an interview, I was informed by a colleague that she was off sick.

"It's either flu or exhaustion," he said nonchalantly.

It is also understood she and her new husband, UWC lecturer Graeme Bloch, decided to postpone their honeymoon because they wanted to attend an ANC motorcade protest after the wedding reception.
Thousands of Wembley concert fans roar welcome for Mandela

LONDON — Thousands of music fans and anti-apartheid supporters filled the Wembley Stadium in London last night and gave Nelson Mandela a united roar of welcome as the International Tribute in honour of the recently released ANC deputy president got under way.

Sapa reports British comedian Lenny Henry and US actor Denzil Washington, as masters of ceremony, introduced Mandela and his wife, Winnie, to the crowd of about 70,000 people.

Mandela was scheduled to make a short speech towards the end of the concert. On his arrival in London on Sunday Mandela said he was prepared to meet Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher but not on his current trip to Britain.

Mandela, who has been invited by Thatcher for talks, said in an interview published by the Daily Mirror yesterday: “I hope to see her in May.”

Of the prime minister he said: “A very powerful lady, one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy.”

However, he said just before his arrival that Thatcher’s call for sanctions to be dropped was “absolutely disastrous”.

Although Mandela says the way to improve relations between the ANC and Britain is through the prime minister, political sources said his message to the concert would be to maintain pressure on SA until apartheid was dismantled.

However, Thatcher was in no way upset by the ANC executive’s instruction to Mandela to snub her invitation to meet on Sunday or yesterday, reports IAN HOBBS.

A spokesman for the prime minister said her invitation remained open and she looked forward to meeting Mandela at a “suitable time”.

He had an informal “five-minute chat” with two Foreign Office officials on Sunday night during which he made clear that there was no personal snub intended.

Very high-level security is surrounding Mandela’s visit as police are treating seriously fears that racist fanatics or embittered exiled SA groups could try to assassinate him.

His agenda includes talks with 160 political dignitaries, representatives of foreign governments and anti-apartheid leaders from around the world. Black American leader the Rev Jesse Jackson will accompany Mandela throughout his visit.

On Sunday Mandela met leading anti-apartheid campaigner and friend Archbishop Trevor Huddleston for the first time since he was freed two months ago.

Mandela is also attending a private dinner hosted by Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridfata Ramphal where he will hold informal talks with Labour leader Neil Kinnock.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) questioned the presence of Mandela at last night’s pop concert, reports Sapa.

In an advertisement in The Times of London yesterday the London branch of the Washington-based IFF said the slaughter of women and children in SA continued while Mandela and the pop fans enjoyed themselves.
Research aid for ANC urged

MAPUTO — The South African democratic movement should enlist the support of intellectuals, even those critical of the ANC, to research future policies in the country, the rector of the University of Western Cape, Mr. Jakes Gerwel, has said.

Speaking at a workshop on health in southern Africa, Mr. Gerwel said that while the democratic movement had been successful in launching "a widely based onslaught against the State", it had been less successful in harnessing South Africa’s intellectual resources.

Intellectuals had to put flesh on the broad vision of the ANC’s Freedom Charter, initiating serious research into the concrete possibilities of achieving that vision, he said.

Thus, to implement ANC policy on nationalisation, questions needed to be investigated — such as the implications of that policy, the capacity of the State to run those enterprises and the possibility of a general flight of capital from the country.
African National Congress supporter Christopher Ngubane, of Mqopho, near Howick, is baffled by the fighting which has blighted his pastoral village since 1985.

"In fact, I don't know why we're fighting. I can't even say what the problem is. Once we were all friends here," he says.

Right up to three years ago, he and the men from his section of the village would drink with the Inkatha men on the opposite side of the valley.

Then came the strike of 1985 and the fighting started. Now we don't sleep at night. They come through the grass and shoot. Their houses are not far from ours, maybe a few hundred metres away. I really don't know why we have this fighting.

This story is heard repeatedly from good, honest people whose children are being slaughtered and houses are being burnt in the killing fields surrounding Maritzburg. In many ways their dilemma reflects the confusion surrounding a conflict which has become endemic.

As the killing goes on, a maelstrom of accusations and counter-accusations are being tossed between the ANC-UDF alliance and Inkatha. The UDF say they are not the protagonists. The police, they say, are collaborating with Inkatha. They accuse the press of presenting the current wave of unrest as a "50-50 tit-for-tat series of UDF-Inkatha clashes".

But most refugees had fled from truckloads of armed Impalas, the areas devastated were mostly UDF support-bases, and most of the dead were from UDF areas.

Inkatha has dismissed the claims as "dislocated", as "another wild outburst of unsubstantiated claims". It has blamed the UDF and Cosatu for derailing the Mandela-Inkatha peace talks by making provocative statements.

However, political observers believe that the unparalleled violence, which started before 1985, stems from a jockeying for positions at the negotiating table and an all-out battle for constituencies.

The analyst sees ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's talks with homeland leaders (resulting in four of them boycotting talks with the State President), coupled with his declared intention of forming a broad anti-apartheid front and his announcement that he was not yet ready to speak to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as a clear attempt to isolate the Inkatha leader.

Systematic onslaught

Chief Buthelezi on the other hand is having none of it. He says he will not take orders from the ANC. Before his recent meeting with the State President, he said Inkatha was the black political organisation with the largest membership and that he already had a mandate to start negotiations.

The joint working committee of the UDF and Cosatu in Maritzburg say Inkatha attacks on their homesteads and families during the recent wave of unrest were the most systematic, co-ordinated and concerted onslaught undertaken in the past three years. They had come at a time when "conservative forces throughout the country are losing ground to the ANC", they said.

Soldiers have been deployed in an attempt to stop the mayhem — but this must be seen, at best, as a holding operation and a bid to restore law and order rather than resolve the fundamentals of the conflict.

The first hurdle in combating the crisis is to get opposing leaders together, but as Mr Mandela is not prepared to see Chief Buthelezi, the chances of this seem remote. Other steps needed to resolve the conflict include:

- Vast upgrading of living standards and the provision of jobs.
- The restoration of police credibility at a time when accounts of police bias abound. This is a key issue, according to DNP MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje.
- The eradication of a vast backlog of court cases — criminals are known to be at large because the courts cannot cope.

Scores of people have been killed in the latest clashes. Every morning, workers from the Ad Hoc Crisis Committee scour mornings for bodies. Every day, lists are pinned up at the refugee camps in an effort to trace families.

At Imball, where UDF and Inkatha supporters live in close proximity, fighting takes place daily. Unrest monitors say you can watch a "living fireworks display every night" at Imball.

When The Star team visited the locked, empty houses, burnt-out cars and homemade roadblocks bore silent testimony to the events of recent weeks.

One man, unable to take it anymore, was loading his furniture onto a van and moving out lock, stock and barrel. The attackers had come from a house less than 200 m away, he said, pointing over his back fence.

Most of the people have fled the area. The only ones you see moving are those walking slowly towards the main road, their possessions perched on their heads.
ANC must be a normal political party — Boraine

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — One of the ways in which some of the current violence in South Africa could be prevented would be for the ANC to move beyond being a liberation movement to becoming a normal political party, says the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine.

"It would be in their own self-interest to establish their headquarters inside South Africa and more especially to open branches in all the major centres of South Africa," Dr Boraine said.

"This would not only give them a visible face and base which is essential for any successful political party, but it would also enable them to use their considerable clout to lead people away from violent confrontation towards discussion, debate and argument."

In his editorial in the latest issue of Democracy in Action, Dr Boraine said there could be no doubt that the convulsions experienced in the newly emerging South Africa had become fertile ground for right-wing forces.

"There has been a backlash and a lot of education is going to be necessary. Whites have to come to terms with the consequences of the long legacy of apartheid.

"An example of this is the popular uprisings in the Ciskei and other so-called homelands which were tragically accompanied by widespread arson and looting.

"It is inevitable that a society which has been repressed for so long will demonstrate in an exuberant manner. This can so often be capitalised on by a minority who desire to seek material and personal gain from the downfall of dictators and the joy and celebration of the oppressed."

Dr Boraine said what white South Africans were inclined to forget was that the homelands were a direct result of the National Party policy of divide and rule, which had meant that blacks were compelled to forsake their South African citizenship.

He said political changes and reform had to be reflected in the improvement of the quality of life of people if they were going to have any impact on the attitudes and mood of blacks.

"This is particularly true of the legitimate black grievances regarding the present economic system.

"It is unhelpful for the business community to simply denounce nationalisation and redistribution without clearly acknowledging that these genuine grievances exist and that demands made by the black community for a restructuring of the economic system are justified.

"If one can find common agreement that the restructuring of the economic system is necessary, then the debate can start as to whether nationalisation will bring this about or whether there are any other ways and means of restoring a just economic system in South Africa.

"The painful reality is that we have a vast chasm between a minority who are well fed and well clothed and the vast majority who are not only very often poorly clad, badly housed and unemployed, but in many of the rural areas actually face starvation."

"What is required is a great deal of understanding, decisive action, strong hearts and cool heads," says Dr Alex Boraine.
Mandela’s plea to world: Don’t provide prop for apartheid

No ‘rewards for reforms’

The Star Bureau

London

Mr Nelson Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions to an international audience last night, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher’s “rewards-for-reforms” approach as a prop for apartheid.

He told an encaptured Wembley concert audience and TV viewers in 26 other countries that “it is only those who support apartheid who can argue that Pretoria should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken”.

Despite the criticism of Mrs Thatcher, the ANC deputy leader had earlier confirmed that he planned to meet the British premier, possibly next month.

Mr Mandela told an estimated 72 000 concert-goers: “There are some in the world who wish to support the South African Government by giving it rewards and carrots.”

But, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we now need more than ever before.

He undisclosed his audience to make a fresh commitment to the fight against apartheid, “to refuse to be demobilised, even if those who seek to decriminalise us plead that they are doing so out of a new-found concern for the oppressed, and out of the goodness of their hearts.”

“Reject any suggestion that the campaign against the isolation of the apartheid system should be wound down”, he said. The reward that the people of South Africa wanted was the end of apartheid and “the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.”

‘Wrong signal’

That prospect will only become reality as a result of the struggle including the struggle represented by the sanctions campaign.

He was optimistic about reaching his goal: “The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realised sooner rather than later.”

At a Wembley media conference earlier, Mr Mandela said Mrs Thatcher was “not welcome to visit South Africa as this would send a ‘wrong signal’. We are opposed to her coming unless there is a settlement to end apartheid.”

When he took the podium Mr Mandela was given a rapturous standing ovation by the crowd, which had been a hallmark to see him.

They were rewarded when he warmly thanked all those who had “thrown the doors” about the anti-apartheid struggle.

The British government has welcomed Mr Mandela’s decision to meet Mrs Thatcher. The Foreign Office said he had confirmed during a brief meeting with two British diplomats that he plans to return to London later this year, when he hopes to see Mrs Thatcher.

He told the Daily Mirror that the first stop on his world tour, starting next month, was likely to be London to visit the British leader. A Downing Street spokesman said he remained “ready and willing, diary permitting”, to see Mr Mandela.

‘Wrong signal’

The National Party yesterday announced that 72 000 capacity crowd gave the couple a standing ovation. (Photo: Paddy)

Warm welcome… Mr Nelson Mandela, accompanied by his wife, Winnie, at Wembley Stadium yesterday where the 72 000 capacity crowd gave the couple a standing ovation. (Photo: Paddy)

FW expected to maintain Gov’t’s reform initiative

By Peter Fabrius
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk is expected to throw further light on the Government’s reform plans in an important speech to Parliament today.

He will be speaking on the debate on the State President’s vote traditionally an occasion for dealing with weighty political matters.

Although political observers believe that Mr de Klerk will clarify several important Government policy issues, they do not believe he will make any momentous announcements. But they do believe he will try to maintain the initiative by keeping the focus on the Government’s reform plans.

The timing of today’s speech is important, coming as it does before the Government’s crucial talks with the ANC starting on May and Mr de Klerk’s expected return to Britain, Europe and America after that.

The speech may give some indication on any important decisions that were made when the Cabinet held a special “bare basics” session two weeks ago to discuss basic policy.

It is understood that the Cabinet agenda included ways of dealing with remaining apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts. There has been speculation that Mr de Klerk will today announce a timetable for the abolition of these measures.

National Party sources said today the announcement was unlikely and that the Government had already made enough of the running.

“Mr de Klerk cannot keep making concessions while the ANC gives nothing in return,” one source said.

Mr de Klerk may also discuss the continuing violence and the ANC’s continued refusal to renounce the armed struggle.

Mr de Klerk indicated before the Easter recess that he would deal with the Conservative Party’s claims that it has discovered a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wingers and that the Government was not dealing adequately with the threat.

Intelligence sources said today that the ANC plan was “nothing more than an informer’s report which had not been confirmed.”

Mr de Klerk is also likely to address the question of whether or not the NP should admits members of other races in the next alliance with other parties.

Teachers set to end strike tomorrow

Thousands of teachers and pupils are expected to return to classes tomorrow when schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training resume for the second term.

The decision on April 4 by 4 000 teachers in the DET’s Johannesburg region to suspend conditionally their month-long “chakla down” strike, has come as a relief to parents.

Fears were already being expressed that should the strike continue much longer, this year’s results would be bound to be the gloomiest.

Aware of these sentiments, the teachers have agreed that schools should not close in June for the winter holidays.

The Minister of Education and Development, Dr Staffed van der Merwe, last week announced the Government had won a rule automatically firing about 1 500 black teachers for their strike action and a clause to that effect, unilaterally abrogating left-wary.
ANC, UDF backs fired workers

THE ANC and the United Democratic Front stood behind the sacked Dorbyl Shipbuilders and Dorbyl Marine workers in their fight against the importation of foreign labour, ANC's internal wing spokesman, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota, said yesterday.

Lekota was addressing a group of more than a thousand chanting workers, members of community organisations and school children who gathered outside St Emmanuel Cathedral in Durban before the start of a march which ended at the Department of Manpower in Masonic Grove where a memo-randum was handed to the regional director of the Department of Manpower, Mr Hen-nie Venter.
Cops probe takeover bid of white houses 'by the ANC'

POLICE have launched an urgent national investigation into allegations that domestic workers have been paying money into an ANC fund which ensures that their employers’ homes will belong to them in the “new” South Africa.

This follows panic among homeowners after numerous incidents in Durban and in the Transvaal whereby the homeowners were informed by their domestic workers that the homes belonged not to the owner but to the domestic worker who has been contributing to an ANC fund.

Spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka, Tom Sebina, responded indignantly to the allegations and said that the “policy” of taking over white homes was not on the ANC agenda.

He said that he would welcome a police investigation to find the “criminal element who was defaming the ANC.”

“It is absolutely untrue that we have been collecting money from domestic workers for this purpose. The take-over of private homes has never been on the ANC’s agenda and it is not our policy.”

Durban residents, who have all experienced alleged “ANC coups” of their homes, during the last few weeks, are meanwhile outraged at the situation.

Mr Gordon Nixon of Hillhead Road on the Bluff is just one of the surprised Durban residents to be told recently that his home “no longer belongs to him, but to his domestic worker and to the ANC.”

“My wife and I went away for the weekend. When we returned we found two well-dressed African gentlemen happily surveying my property and taking photographs. When I asked them what they thought they were doing, they told me they had been paid R30 by my maid, Friscilla, to take photographs.

“They told me that one picture of our home goes to her and another to the Mandela Fund. When I offered to introduce them to my shotgun or to call the police they just laughed and said that soon all white homes would belong to the people and to the ANC,” said Mr Nixon.

According to Mr Nixon, the men then nonchalantly sauntered off.

His maid was dismissed on the spot and was not accessible for an interview.
WASHINGTON - The full implications of the rising level of violence and the effect of rhetoric about armed struggle in this regard would be thrashed out in talks between the Government and the African National Congress on May 2, according to Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The Minister, in a brief visit to the US, briefed the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in Washington this week, on the thrust of the Government's reform plans and progress towards negotiations.

Dr Viljoen told the Carnegie Endowment the May 2 talks would address specifically the requirement to eliminate remaining legal restrictions on the normal political process (the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners) and the continued use of rhetoric about the armed struggle by certain parties.

He said such rhetoric was causing problems by enabling young people to justify their use of violence in townships and other areas of South Africa.

The Minister was highly complimentary of Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, who he said was firmly committed to a peaceful solution for South Africa. However, he was concerned at Mr Mandela's continued adherence to the basic principle of the armed struggle. This was being interpreted at the lower levels of society as an encouragement to resort to violence, he said.

Mildness

Dr Viljoen described Mr Mandela as an impressive person. "I admire him for his reasonableness and mildness he displays after spending more than a quarter of a century in prison," he said.

Mr Mandela, he added, was no doubt under heavy pressure from younger people who did not share his enthusiasm for a peaceful solution and who would prefer to fight it out.
JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Youth Congress (Sayco) yesterday alleged that members of Inkatha had been sent to Israel for military training.

Sayco vice-president Mr Mnyamezeli Booi said Sayco had videotaped evidence of Inkatha “defectors” who allegedly revealed that Inkatha had sent youths to Israel for military training.

“We are in possession of evidence from defected members of Inkatha that Inkatha has been sending its youth to Israel for training.”

He said that for the “protection of the individuals” the informants could not be named.

Reacting, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the Sayco claims as “untrue and patently ridiculous”.

“As president of Inkatha I state, quite categorically, that I have never sent any members of Inkatha to Israel for military training and I most certainly have not sanctioned, and neither has anybody else in Inkatha, any action whatever designed to enable my supporters to engage in acts of violence against the ANC or any other organisation. These allegations are pure and utter drivel.”

- Sayco will be dissolved and the ANC Youth League re-established in co-operation with the Lusaka-based ANC Youth Section, Sayco said yesterday.

Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Rapu Molekane were re-elected president and general secretary of Sayco at the congress at the weekend.

On the Natal violence, the Sayco congress resolved to endorse ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela’s call for a peace conference. But Mr Mokaba stressed that Chief Buthelezi would not be included in the peace process. — Sapa
Natal youths 'flee to ANC'

LUSAKA. — The ANC yesterday claimed that 150 youths, fleeing the violence in Natal, had sought refuge at the organisation's headquarters here. The ANC said the refugees had arrived during the past week.

ANC spokesman Mr. Tom Sebina said most had been flown to Lusaka from Swaziland via Maputo with the assistance of the UN High Commission for Refugees. Others, he said, had financed their road trips to Lusaka direct from South Africa.

Mr. Sebina said the youths, when questioned, had said they were fleeing the violence in Natal and were unhappy because schooling had become impossible.

The refugees, mostly teenagers from the townships around Durban, were being looked after by the ANC, Mr. Sebina added. — Sapa-Reuter

• Divided rule factor in Natal violence — Page 5
ANC has FW in a double-Nelson

President de Klerk was recklessly playing with the lives of many people by pursuing negotiations with the ANC, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenberg), said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the State President’s Vote, he said Mr de Klerk was intent on holding negotiations with people who perpetrated violence even though he had said in the past that he would not do so until they had renounced violence.

Mr de Klerk was even willing to indemnify from prosecution those who had been responsible for acts of violence to keep the negotiation process going.

However it was the ANC which was dominating the process and setting the pace. Their deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, had cancelled the proposed talks with the Government because of alleged violence at Sebokeng. Mr de Klerk responded by considering prosecution against the police.

Dr Hartzenberg said the ANC had also torpedoed the talks between homeland leaders and the Government. He said Mr de Klerk could not even claim to enjoy the support of all whites: “The State President is firmly in the grip of a double-Nelson.”

Referring to a security document containing threats of attacks on certain people, he said the CP would not cover up the violence being planned by the ANC against the security forces. — Sapa.
Lawyers to probe PAC leader’s death

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The PAC is to appoint lawyers to establish the circumstances surrounding the death of its founder member, Mr Jaftha "Jeff" Masemola (58).

Mr Masemola’s life might have been saved had ambulance crews responded promptly when he was critically injured in a car accident near Pretoria on Tuesday, PAC spokesman, Mr Mark Shinners said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Shinners told a press conference that the badly injured Mr Masemola lay in his smashed vehicle for more than an hour before an ambulance arrived to take him to hospital.

"It is my view that Mr Masemola might not have lost his life had the ambulance been quicker," Mr Shinners said.

Mr Masemola died within hours of his car colliding with a truck at a T-junction on the Brits-Rosslyn road at about noon on Tuesday. The car was a write-off. The truck driver was not hurt.

Mr Masemola’s sister, Mrs Dora Maodi, said the accident took place at about noon and the ambulance "took more than an hour to get to him".

Akasia Town Council fire chief, Mr Sakkie Venter, said his ambulance team acted promptly and professionally, responding to the distress call within one minute.

He said: "We got the call at 12.38 pm from a Mr Mabena. Our ambulance, which was in Pretoria North, was radioed at 12.39 pm and instructed to go straight to the accident — more than 21 kms away. They collected Mr Masemola, transported him to hospital and were back at the depot exactly 68 minutes later."

Gariep Kwee Hospital records show that Mr Masemola had been admitted at 13.35pm. He was in a grave condition with multiple injuries and died in the trauma unit, the superintendent, Dr Louis van Heerden, said.

Mr Shinners also told the press conference yesterday that the PAC would motivate PAC activists to press on for their cause with greater determination.

Mr Shinners said while the PAC deeply mourned their leader and the impact of his loss would be evident, the PAC had lost men of enormous calibre and talent before.

Mr Masemola was jailed in 1963 and released in December last year with seven African National Congress leaders. He served 26 years of a life sentence for PAC activities.

In 1985 he was one of several political prisoners who refused to be released on condition they renounced violence.

His death has been described as "tragic" and "shocking" by fellow Robben Island prisoner and the head of the ANC’s internal leadership corps, Mr Walter Sisulu.

It was tragic Mr Masemola had died just as the goal that he dedicated his entire life to was drawing close, Mr Sisulu said.

Paying tribute United Democratic Front general-secretary, Mr Popo Molefe, said the loss of Mr Masemola was a loss to all the people of South Africa and the entire liberation movement.

Commemoration services in various parts of SA are planned for April 29. A lunch-hour service will take place in Johannesburg tomorrow.
MMABATHO — ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has been turned down by the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) Council for an honorary doctorate, according to a statement by the Unibo Support Committee yesterday.

It said Mr Mandela's name had been put forward by the senate but was rejected in favour of the current chancellor, Sir Albert Robinson, formerly of JCI. — Sapa.
Move to join Sayco with ANC

THE South African Youth Congress will be dissolved and the ANC Youth League re-established in South Africa, Sayco said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The organisation revealed at a press conference that it had resolved at its national congress in KaNgwane at the weekend to merge with the Lusaka-based ANC Youth Section with the aim of re-establishing the youth league.

This was part of a move to transform Sayco from a federation of youth congresses to a unitary organisation, the organisation’s publicity secretary, Mr. Parks Mankahana, said.

Mr. Peter Mokaba and Mr. Rapu Molekane were re-elected president and general secretary of Sayco respectively at the congress, attended by 1,762 delegates from 11 regions.

In another resolution the congress had called on the Government to remove obstacles to negotiation.

On the Natal violence, it endorsed ANC deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela’s call for a peace conference of all organisations opposed to “apartheid violence”.

But Mokaba said “In Zulu, Chief” Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not be included in the peace process.

He accused Buthelezi of being responsible for violence in Natal through “collaboration” with Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

The congress expressed its support for the back to school campaign. - Sapa.

Soweto mother of four is stabbed 16 times

By ALI MPHAKI

HORRIFIED residents in Thibiliswe Extension watched helplessly as a woman was stabbed 16 times in one of the 18 murders reported in Soweto at the weekend.

The body of Mrs Lydia Sikwane (41) was found on a street pavement near her house.

A witness said Sikwane had arrived from church on Saturday night and a man, who appeared very angry, produced a knife and threatened to stab her. The witness...
ANC leaders set to move to SA soon

Lusaka - The first three of the ANC's leaders in exile will move to South Africa permanently within the next two weeks, sources here say.

The three - Henry Makgoti, Steve Tshwete and Reginald September - are expected to leave Lusaka ahead of the ANC delegation selected for the three-day talks about talks with President F W de Klerk, starting in Cape Town on May 2.

Their job will be to expand the organisation's internal structure. They are likely to be based in Johannesburg to begin with.

Makgoti, aged 63, is deputy secretary general of the ANC and head of its National Secretariat.

Tshwete, 49, is coordinator of the Internal Political Committee and a member of the military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

September, 65, is secretary of the ANC's department of political education and a member of the Political-Military Council and the National Working Committee.
PAC to probe death of leader
Jeff Masemola

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to launch a legal investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of its leader, Mr. Japhet Masemola.

Masemola died on Tuesday when the car in which he was travelling and a truck collided at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road outside Pretoria.

He will be buried in Atteridgeville on April 29. PAC spokesman Mr. Mark Shinners told a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Shinners said Masemola, who was popularly known as Jeff, was on his way to Garankuwa Hospital to consult a specialist for a leg injury he sustained while serving a life sentence on Robben Island.

He said the PAC would gather evidence at the scene of the accident.

Garankuwa Hospital and De-Wilde police station.

Masemola, who was travelling alone, was taken by ambulance to hospital an hour after the accident, Shinners said.

His son, Tebogo, found him dead when he arrived at the hospital.

Shinners said: "On his release from prison he had moved around the country, addressing rallies and meetings, calling on our people not to compromise but to fight on until final victory was achieved."

Invitations

"He died after receiving an invitation from the United Nations' Special Committee Against Apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York, and several invitations from organisations in Western countries and Africa."

ANC internal leaders and former Robben Island prisoners Mr. Wilton Mkwayi and Mr. Elias Motsoaledi, and UDF executive member Mr. Theuns Mafolie, yesterday visited Masemola's home.

The Azanian People's Organisation has expressed shock and sadness over the death.

* See page 6

Venda bosses

THE chairman and only member of Venda's ruling Council of National Unity, Colonel Gabriel Ramushawana, is to announce his Cabinet tomorrow, it was learned yesterday.

Speaking at his new offices at Thohoyandou, Ramushawana said the Cabinet would include whites.
At the height of the violence in Maritzburg at the end of March, after 30 people had been killed in a single day, it was announced that Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha and Mr. Nelson Mandela of the ANC would address a joint rally at Taylor’s Halt in the rural area of Valindela.

The following day the ANC withdrew and the rally was cancelled. The general response was one of shock and outrage. The ANC was castigated for maliciously aborting the peace process.

The ANC claims that it had never agreed formally to the rally in the first place. The announcement was leaked, leaving the ANC in an embarrassing position.

In fact, a rally at Taylor’s Halt - the site of numerous clashes between Inkatha and UDF supporters - would have been a dangerous experiment. It could easily have become a battleground.

More significantly, the bluster surrounding the rally is indicative of a strangely short-sighted approach to the question of peace in Natal.

The approach, which can be summarised as the "rally mentality", places all hopes for peace on a meeting or on a joint rally addressed by both Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

A recent newspaper editorial declared: "A joint rally could save Natal," and articles by journalists and other political commentators focus almost exclusively on the political obstacles to such a meeting.

Talks between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi would certainly serve some purpose. Both are charismatic and respected leaders. Their words have clout; people listen to what they say.

An Inkatha-ANC palaver would send a signal to the effect that both sides were getting serious about peace.

However, such a meeting constitutes only the first, and easiest, stage-post on the road to peace.

The history of the war in the Natal Midlands is littered with broken peace attempts. Every few months a new round of meetings - "talks about talks" and sometimes even "talks" - have been convened between top-level executive officials in Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu, and each new initiative has been hailed a major breakthrough.

Unfortunately, none have proved either "major" or a "breakthrough".

Bad faith

Inkatha and the UDF tend to attribute each fresh breakdown to bad faith on the part of the other, and to some extent both have been guilty of this. However, the failure of all peace initiatives to date is the product of a far more fundamental and intractable problem.

It is one which exposes the limits of the rally mentality, and undermines high level, high profile diplomatic activity between officers of the rival organisations.

What each successive failure has illustrated more and more clearly is that the process of translating the decisions of top-ranking officials into action at the grassroots level is fraught with difficulties. There are two compounding aspects to the problem.

The first consists of the lack of intermediate organisational structures; there is no reliable mechanism to relay signals from the top down or from the bottom up.

And even where a chain of command still exists, there is no guarantee that local officials will follow the directives of their national executives. UDF "comrades", for whom the war is a way of life and mistrust of Inkatha the most fundamental component of their world view, were not prepared to heed Mr. Mandela and "throw their weapons into the sea."

Likewise, Inkatha wariers, many of whom have reaped large material and political rewards from the war, will not necessarily accede to Chief Buthelezi's calls for peace.

The second aspect of the problem is the fact that the original political dispute has spawned a host of local personal feuds.

These gloomy prognostications do not mean that there is nothing to be done for Natal. There are three major steps that should be taken immediately and in conjunction with one another to bring about a substantial reduction in the levels of violence:

First, the police must show themselves to be an honest, impartial professional force. The police have forfeited the trust of the black residents of the Midlands and their recent actions show that the old pathologies of partisanship, bad faith and obstructiveness are still there. It is up to the police to flush out the perpetrators of violence comprehensively and in an even-handed manner. When this happens the cycle of violence and revenge will be broken as people no longer take the law into their own hands.

Second, both Inkatha and the ANC and UDF must strengthen their intermediate and local levels of organisation. Talks between Mr. Mandela and Chief Buthelezi will have neither influence nor purchase without a formal, disciplined chain of communication.

Third, a socio-economic development plan is needed. Apart from the need to resuscitate devastated areas and repair the ravages of war, the foot soldiers on both sides must have some alternative to fighting. The development proposal for Natal announced by the State President in early April is a first, but insufficient, step.

The Government has to regain the trust of communities which have been ignored and neglected for years. A development plan under the auspices of the Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs will not succeed in this respect.

Rather, the Government should make development funding available, to be administered by a third party who enjoys credibility with all sides. In other words, something is needed similar to the R2 billion general development trust fund to be administered by Mr. Jan Steyn.

None of these measures is straightforward, nor will their implementation be easily achieved. But at least they are something positive to work towards.

These difficulties notwithstanding, ultimately none of the parties has any choice: without a solution to Natal, the much vaunted forgoing negotiations on the future of South Africa will be just so much empty talk.
ANC at London hitmen hearing

By JEREMY BROOK
London

ANC members will enter the South African Embassy in London for the first time tomorrow as the Harms Commission hears evidence on alleged hit squads.

Yesterday an ANC spokesman confirmed that discussions were taking place between Mr Justice Louis Harms and the organisation on the question of indemnity for members, who would technically be stepping on to South African soil.

"There is no doubt that we will be there as observers. We have a very great interest in the proceedings. But we would like some assurance of indemnity and safe passage for certain of our members who still face arrest in South Africa."

The spokesman added that the two figures who play a central part in the "death squad" allegations — former police captain Dirk Coetzee and former policeman Spyker Tshikulungu — were being flown from Africa to London.

Problems

They were both in good health and "in custody" of the ANC, he said.

The prospect of the commission sitting in London is drawing wide interest in the British media.

Coverage of the event is certain to cause problems as it will be conducted almost entirely in Afrikaans.

An embassy spokesman said that a basement theatre — usually used as a cinema by diplomatic staff — had been set aside for the hearings. But it can hold only about 50 people.

Legal teams representing various parties — including members and former members of the SA police and Lawyers for Human Rights — are to cross-examine Mr Coetzee and Mr Tshikulungu.
Stance on majority rule 'unacceptable' |

The Star's Africa News Service |

HARARE — A top ANC official, Mr Thabo Mbeki, has said President de Klerk's rejection of majority rule in South Africa is "completely unacceptable".

Mr Mbeki said: "There can be no solution to the South African question unless there is majority rule."

He said talks next month with the South African Government would go ahead as planned. They would be about removing obstacles to negotiations.

"What we will be talking about will be the release of political prisoners, ending the state of emergency and the return of exiles to enable the situation to arise for us to go to the next stage," he said.

Mr Mbeki, who is in charge of foreign affairs in the ANC, is regarded as a moderate.

He told a television interviewer that if Mr de Klerk held out against majority rule "of course there can be no solution". What the South African president was reported to have told Parliament was completely unacceptable.
Girl, 10, tells of aunt's 'execution'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

A 10-YEAR-OLD KTC squatter camp girl yesterday described how she had seen her aunt cold-bloodedly executed by a gunman in Old Crossroads.

Ntombenkosi Tasa, whose account was yesterday handed to police, said she and her aunt, identified only as "Miriam," 35, were standing near Lansdowne Road when she saw a fugitive "running like mad towards us" about 7:30am.

Ntombenkosi said three armed men had followed the fugitive, causing people waiting for lifts to work to scatter and jump over a nearby fence. Her aunt had been unable to scale the fence and had hidden behind a house. She followed her aunt in time to see a man grab her and shoot her "on her nose at point blank range".

Her aunt fell on the ground with "blood cozing from her face". Another woman who knew her and her aunt immediately took her (Ntombenkosi) from the scene back home to KTC.

Ntombenkosi said she was positive she would be able to identify the gunman.

The murder of her aunt, one of three within minutes by the armed trio, happened nine days ago.

Mr Jan van Eek, DP spokesman for local black affairs, said he had arranged for the statement to be handed to the Minister of Law and Order for detectives to follow up.

Ntombenkosi said her aunt was from KTC but would be buried at Butterworth in the Transkei in nine days' time.

Police arrested one man within hours of the triple killings and it is expected that an identification parade will be arranged within days.

They already have several other eyewitnesses, it was reliably learned.

The other two victims, also shot at point blank range, were identified as Mr Nodali Sibunzi, 44, and Mr Lungfile Dyan, 40, who died of a head wound in Groote Schuur Hospital.

EXECUTION WITNESS . . . Ntombenkosi Tasa, 10, who watched as a gunman cold-bloodedly shot her aunt.

Woman 'executed' in Xroads killings

The Cape Times headline of April 11
A quick admission defuses ANC torture claims

THE prompt admission by the African National Congress that some of its members had been tortured after a mutiny six years ago has helped defuse a potentially explosive situation for the movement.

Less than a week after seven former members broke their story of detention and torture to the Sunday Correspondent, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela confirmed the truth of their account at a press conference.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," he added that the ANC was against torture and that the movement had dismissed those responsible for these acts after an investigation.

Since then, international reaction and local press response has been muted. Some have congratulated the movement for the frankness of its admission.

Referring to attempts by "National Party mouthpieces" to compromise Nelson Mandela with the torture story, Business Day hit back strongly in Tuesday's editorial: "The best retort is that Mandela was in prison when the atrocities occurred, and in admitting the truth he has acted more forthrightly and more honestly than the South African government in dealing with the atrocious activities of the murder squads which operated while the National Party leaders were certainly not in jail."

The previous day The Citizen ran an editorial which began gleefully:

The claims of torture made by Umkhonto weSizwe mutineers could have been a major embarrassment for the ANC. But it moved quickly to defuse the situation. By GAVIN EVANS

"What an embarrassment for the African National Congress!"

But the issue has been less devastating for the movement than some might have expected, and its effect does not appear to be comparable to that of the "Swapo atrocities" story which broke last year.

First, unlike Swapo, the ANC moved quickly to admit the allegations.

Second, the events took place several years ago and according to all reports on a far smaller scale than the Swapo incidents.

Third, the ANC says that since the incidents the Mbokodo, the Umkhonto weSizwe unit responsible, has been disbanded, the officers responsible have been disciplined and a code of conduct banning torture and physical coercion under all circumstances has been introduced.

Shortly after Mandela's press conference, ANC National Executive Committee member Steve Tshwete said it was not ANC policy to torture its prisoners, that there had been "excesses" during the interrogation of the mutineers, and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

He added that the ANC code of conduct now laid down rules about how people detained should be treated.

Surprisingly, The Star ran the story with the headline "ANC man justifies torture of mutineers" while the Sowetan announced: "Torture is justified says ANC."

But what Tshwete had been justifying was the suppression of the mutiny. "No army can play with mutineers," he said.

According to reports from Nairobi, Kenya, the seven former detainees have sent a letter appealing to Nelson Mandela to assist them in their application to be repatriated to South Africa. The ANC has made no attempt to oppose their plea.
For the SADF troops who've done township patrols before, the most universal welcome for the army as they rolled into Natal's bloody townships last week, was not without irony.

In the "troops out of the Townships" days their presence was scorned. Now, the police image is gone, at least for the time being, among groups as diverse as the Black Sash, DP, organised business and ANC-supporting township residents.

The only question mark is over the deployment of 32 Battalion, the battle-hardened black unit that was so effective in the Angolan war; they were flown into Natal last week. There have been no direct complaints but, certain parties — particularly church leaders who met with F W de Klerk last week — feel the introduction of 32 Battalion to the volatile townships might not be appropriate.

However, SADF Chief Jan- nie Geldenhuys has emphasised to the Portuguese-speaking troops that their role is now that of a peacekeeping force. Geldenhuys has also pointed out that 32 Battalion is above local political affiliations and its discipline and neutrality cannot be questioned. It is also one of the few Permanent Force infantry units available for active service.

But some ANC and UDF leaders are not convinced. They say a unit which has fought against Swapo, the Cubans and the MPLA cannot be without ideological bias. The strongest criticism has been the ANC's Walter Sisulu, who says his organisation is sure the battalion's presence will aggravate the violence instead of bringing about peace. Most other groups are prepared to wait and see.

The Democratic Party's Midlands director, Radley Keyes, who also heads the unrest monitoring group responsible for Maritzburg's townships, says the level of violence has "dropped considerably" since the 2 000 extra troops arrived. "From reports we've received so far, only two people died in Maritzburg at the weekend. That's compared with 14 deaths the weekend before and nearly 40 the weekend before that."

He says the DP welcomes the army in the townships, pointing out that the party has been calling for troops to be deployed since 1987 — only to be told by police that they had the townships under control.

"We've received no complaints about the army yet, though their presence is still relatively new. We believe they should be given the chance to prove their credentials. One difference we have noticed is that when we deal with senior army officers commanding units, we are aware we are dealing with professional soldiers."

The DP group's experience with the SAP has not been as happy, which Keyes puts down to the "framework in which the police have had to operate over the years. Before, when the ANC was banned, the UDF was viewed by police largely as an internal wing of the ANC. They became the enemy — a perception which they will work under for a long time and I think the police are now finding it hard to break free from that perception."

Yet, while SADF troops have made a big impact in the townships, they have already paid a price for the short time they have been in Natal. At the weekend, Rieffman Stanley van Wyk, a member of the Cape Corps, was shot and killed in an ambush at Mpu- mulanga, one of the flashpoints of the violence.

Though not directly related to the violence, a second soldier — David Savage, a Citizen Force member on a one-month camp in Maritzburg's townships — was killed on Saturday night in a road accident.

The SADF is finding conditions difficult in Maritzburg's Edendale Valley. It is a notoriously hilly area, with few passable roads, scattered settlements and no electric lighting. A spokesperson, the SAAF, which is supporting the army with helicopters and spotter planes, says there are problems when deploying troops to remote areas of the valley.

"The people involved in the fighting between Inkatha and the UDF are usually on foot and they know the local terrain. They hear the army coming well in advance and, by the time they arrive, it's over and they've gone." For this reason, the SAAF is dropping off troops from helicopters, Vietnam-style, in areas where fighting breaks out. Planes are also being used to guide convoys through rugged areas.

Another problem the army has — though they will not discuss it — is having to work under the SAP's riot unit. Troops on the ground say they do not like having SAP members with them on patrols; they believe it makes them a target and they feel it doesn't do their neutral image any good.

Keyes says he is aware that being seconded to the police causes problems for some SADF members but says the only alternative might be martial law — which nobody wants right now.

With the increased SADF presence, the level of violence is likely to stay low and some semblance of normality might return to Natal's troubled townships. The question is what will happen when the army leaves the area.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu police face a barrage of allegations of murder and reckless behavior, many of which were heard in Durban's Supreme Court on Friday based on affidavits made by SAP members.

Based on "wild and reckless" incidents in the South Coast township of KwaMakhutha, two SAP officers lodged an urgent application in their private capacities against the KwaZulu police, accusing them of shooting randomly at residents.

The SAP allegations were backed by members of Durban's Legal Resources Centre, who spoke to about 250 women refugees staying in a refugee camp in Durban. The refugees fled their homes because of what they alleged was a reign of terror. A return date has been set for March 2. Shown Harris

THE PRESIDENCY

No time to play

There was an iron fist in President F W de Klerk's velvet glove this week. He warned in parliament that government will not tolerate, from Left or Right, attempts to derail the delicate negotiation initiative.

To the Conservative Party he read the riot act, accusing it of irresponsibly "playing with fire" and suggesting that it reflect "deeply and seriously" on its actions. To the ANC he suggested a moderation of statements by its leaders and an acceptance that negotiation is a process of give-and-take.

He also gave an indication of how the National Party will approach both the "talks about talks" with the ANC on May 2 and the main negotiations when they get off the ground. On May 2, government will tell the ANC that its continued commitment to the "armed struggle" conflicts with the concept of peaceful negotiation. "(1) therefore constitutes a further obstacle, alongside the reality of violence, that has to be removed."

And in a preview of its main negotiation stance, de Klerk again stressed that government sees no merit in either partition or simple majoritarianism (in either a unitary or geographically federal state) as constitu-
THE ANC  F M 20/4/90

Skeletons arise

No doubt aware of the damaging publicity and loss of electoral support suffered by Vrystaat Swapo after its torture dungeons were uncovered last year, the ANC has wisely admitted torturing "some" alleged dissidents of its own.

The acknowledgement by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela last Saturday, follows reports in the London Sunday Correspondent. The paper quoted seven former ANC members, now in Nairobi, who said they'd been tortured by certain ANC military leaders to extract information. They had met Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Kenya (recently there to attend a meeting of the All Africa Conference of Churches, of which he is president) and asked him to arrange for their repatriation.

According to Mandela, the security department officials responsible were immediately disciplined and those in charge of the camps in question were immediately dismissed. He added, that the SA government would act with equal alacrity in addressing similar allegations against its security forces.

But the matter doesn't look like resting there. The Nairobi dissidents have reportedly written Mandela an open letter, calling urgently for a commission of inquiry into "continuing" ANC torture. A leading figure named is the commander of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, Joe Modise, described as "an enemy of democracy." Modise is in the ANC team due to meet President F.W. de Klerk on May 2.

It is alleged that Umkhonto chief of staff

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Chris Hani and ANC Tanzania representative Stanley Mabileteša tried to silence the dissidents, who remain loyal to the ANC.

The background to alleged ANC atrocities, in which it is claimed 60 dissidents either died or disappeared, goes back to what has been described as an open revolt in ANC camps in Angola in 1984. This was apparently centred on unhappiness at having to fight alongside Fapla against Unita, rather than concentrating on the armed struggle in SA.

Last September, the newsletter Africa Confidential featured a report under the heading "Crackdown hits Hani's men," in which it was claimed that the ANC leadership was struggling to maintain cohesion in the face of severe setbacks since Umkhonto's withdrawal from Angola and Zambia. The article went on to claim that, while the ANC was attempting to take the diplomatic initiative with its own negotiation proposal, it is conducting a major security sweep of suspected wrongdoers or agents of Pretoria within its ranks." The brunt of this was felt in Umkhonto, its treasury department and in the SA Communist Party, said the report, adding: "An indirect result has been to cripple the presidential ambitions of Hani."

Hani was thought to be close to Thami Zulu, the powerful military commander of the ANC's Swaziland-Mozambique front, whose detention by the ANC was described as the most sensational development. Zulu's arrest followed the exposure in 1988 of "Comrade Cyril", operations chief of the Umkhonto's Natal front, who had operated under Zulu's command and who committed suicide after being allegedly exposed as a Pretoria spy.

A more worrying report touching on the ANC's "internal democracy" concerns some of its disciplinary practices. In January, the newsletter claimed, for example, that marriage in the ANC was at the party's discretion. And at the completion of their studies in Scandinavia, ANC students cannot claim their diplomas. Institutions of learning, apparently, "had a written undertaking with the ANC to send certificates directly to Lusaka. The aim is said to be to thwart the brain drain." This has uncomfortable parallels with the way Swapo is said to have operated in its worst chapter.

The good news, perhaps, is that with the ANC now out in the open, it can bury such skeletons.
Message men

Handling the ANC's image could be big business — and a daunting challenge. At least one national PR agency is understood to have made a tentative approach. Professional publicity for the ANC is regarded as a sensitive issue by university academics who claim to be close to the organisation. Some have set up workshops to train ANC members in "media skills."

There is antagonism between PR agency experts and academics running the workshops. Agencies say some academics are selling the ANC short by failing to get beyond naive anti-capitalist theory and by ignoring the practical skills needed to deal with the media and public.

The academics, in turn, accuse agencies of crass opportunism, saying they have no place trying to represent an organisation when they do not subscribe to its ideology. The ANC doesn't seem perturbed about its image. It says the issue is not yet on the agenda even though the organisation's PR record is not good.

The director of a marketing agency, who refuses to be named, points out that since Nelson Mandela's release, events have shown that marketing is vital in the ANC's transition from an external liberation movement to an internal political organisation. He mentions the jittery response of investors to repeated statements on nationalisation and the Durban rally, where many feel Mandela lost credibility by naively calling for an end to the Natal violence.

The marketing director feels that many ANC leaders are out of touch and need professional advice on how to speak to different constituencies. A more worrying aspect is the ANC's attitude towards the media.

A socialist who has attended some of the academics' workshops says a monster is being born. "They are not getting beyond basic theory, which argues that the press is biased and capitalist-supporting and that in the right climate they can be used by the ANC as a propaganda machine. They are laying down the ethical arguments now for some sort of future control over the media. It's dangerous because the result could be future restrictions imposed by the ANC, like the ones which have just been lifted."

Eric Louw, acting director of the University of Natal's Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit, says agencies do not understand the traditions of the Congress movement and the ANC's form of grassroots democracy.

"Agencies have a manipulative understanding of communication, the ANC has a democratic understanding. The ANC works from the bottom up, from the decisions of their members. The agencies have a top-down approach."
No time to play

There was an iron fist in President F W de Klerk’s velvet glove this week. He warned in parliament that government will not tolerate, from Left or Right, attempts to derail the delicate negotiation initiative.

To the Conservative Party he read the riot act, accusing it of irresponsibly “playing with fire” and suggesting that it reflect “deeply and seriously” on its actions. To the ANC he suggested a moderation of statements by its leaders and an acceptance that negotiation is a process of give-and-take.

He also gave an indication of how the National Party will approach both the “talks about talks” with the ANC on May 2 and the main negotiations — when they get off the ground. On May 2, government will tell the ANC that its continued commitment to the “armed struggle” conflicts with the concept of peaceful negotiation. “(It) therefore constitutes a further obstacle, alongside the reality of violence, that has to be removed.”

And in a preview of its main negotiation stance, De Klerk again stressed that government sees no merit in either partition or simple majoritarianism (in either a unitary or geographically federal state) as constitu-

tional solutions to SA’s problems. When it sits down to talk, the NP’s plan will be based on a “power sharing” system in which full democratic rights will be accorded to all under the protection of a Bill of Rights which will also safeguard minorities.

He repeated government’s sincerity as a reformer acting from a position of strength and called for an equal commitment from other participants. “If negotiation is abused for the purpose of gaining time for secret disruptive agendas, negotiation becomes futile.”

Secret document

But he merely chastised the ANC. It was for the CP that De Klerk reserved his real wrath, pegging his attack on the now discredited “secret document” released to the media recently by CP leader Andries Treurnicht. An alleged ANC plan to attack right-wing leaders was in the document.

De Klerk said the information was contained in an “unevaluated secret report from the ranks of the intelligence community.” The report was subsequently judged to be so unreliable that it did not need to be submitted to government. The CP could have established this by means of confidential inquiry.

“It is truly shocking that the leader of the CP, in his eagerness to get at the government, should have made himself guilty of outrageous irresponsibility... I wish to dissociate myself in the strongest terms from the insinuation by the CP that government was knowingly prepared to expose rightwing leaders to danger and assassination by the ANC.

“Any such allegation or insinuation is not only unfounded, but also libellous, base and devoid of all truth.”

De Klerk’s speech set the tone for a debate on his budget vote that was due to continue after the FM went to press. It showed that while he may be losing patience with ditherers and destroyers to both Left and Right, he remains determined to push ahead with fundamental change.
ANC uproar over ‘IRA link’

LONDON — The ANC has reacted angrily to an MP’s allegation here that members of the organisation had met a senior IRA official in Northern Ireland.

It challenged Conservative MP Mr Andrew Hunter to repeat his allegations outside the House of Commons “so the ANC may have recourse to law”.

Mr Hunter urged an investigation into reports that two ANC members had met the leader of the IRA in South Down. — The Star Bureau.
CP vows not to divulge its source

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has vowed that it will not tell police the name of the intelligence official who leaked to it the report about an alleged African National Congress plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, security officers and homeland leaders.

Two police officers visited CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers in Pretoria yesterday, the Conservative Party deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said in a statement.

"The obvious aim of the visit was that Mr Beyers should divulge who the person was he received the document from," said Dr Hartzenberg.

"The chief secretary of the CP will not divulge his source," he said.

"Any attempt by the State President to try to intimidate the chief secretary of the CP in this way is condemned.

"This investigation against a person who revealed the ANC's evil plans to the CP contrasts sharply with the immunity from prosecution which the State President recently extended to terrorists," Dr Hartzenberg said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told Parliament this week that an official of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) leaked the document.

President de Klerk said this week in Parliament that the CP had acted "extremely irresponsibly" and probably illegally in leaking a classified document.

The document contained unvaluated intelligence which had subsequently proved to be unreliable, said Mr de Klerk.
‘TALKABOUT’ LIKELY TO BE LENGTHY

By ANDREA WEISS
Weekend Argus Reporter

"TALKS about talks" between the African National Congress and the government from May 2 in Cape Town will be the start of a "protracted" process, according to Mr Trevor Manuel, chief representative of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Speaking to the Association of Democratic Journalists yesterday, Mr Manuel spelt out the likely agenda of the ANC team.

One point on the Harare Declaration — the removal of troops from the townships — would be approached with "sensitivity", he said.

Natal

People "on the ground" in Natal had indicated that the Defence Force was far less partisan than the KwaZulu and South African police.

A key issue would be the definition of a political prisoner with a view to the release of all people convicted of "crimes against the apartheid regime".

Mr Manuel said the ANC could see little reason why President De Klerk would wish to hang on to the emergency.

"We anticipate that this might be an issue he will relent on."

The lifting of the Internal Security Act and other legislation which restricted political activity would also be discussed. Once the Internal Security Act was scrapped the notion of indemnity for exiles would lose its meaning, Mr Manuel said.

If this happened, there would also be no grounds for obstructing the release of political prisoners.

Discussions would also focus on ending political trials and executions.

Talking about the ANC's reasons for calling off the previous scheduled talks, Mr Manuel said it was a very "white" perception to suggest that the ANC's stated reason — the Sebokeng shootings — was flimsy.

The outcry would have been very different if 11 had been killed in a shopping centre by a bomb placed by Umkhonto we Sizwe, he said.

No process of negotiation was possible for the ANC without taking along the constituency it represented.

Discipline

Commissions of inquiry could not substitute for the need to establish discipline in the police force, he stressed.

Talking about differences in perception from the government, Mr Manuel said the ANC believed a constitution for a new South Africa could only be resolved by a Constituent Assembly, whereas Mr De Klerk still seemed "wedded to the idea" of a coalition of leaders.

"In essence, we believe negotiation must involve the maximum number of South Africans," Mr Manuel said.

Mr Manuel said certain "contradictions" seemed to exist while talks were imminent because the masses still needed to be mobilised.
LUSAKA - The African National Congress said yesterday it would carry out a census of its exiled members and supporters to prepare for their return to South Africa.
SHORTLY before his death in 1977 Steve Biko made it clear in an interview with a foreign journalist that the road to liberation would be made easier if the ANC, PAC and BCM formed a united front to confront oppression and exploitation.

Where, then, does the BCM differ from the ANC and the PAC?

The BCM emerged after the ANC and PAC had been formed and it recognises the contribution of both movements to the liberation struggle.

The BCM believes it cannot favour one over the other. Because it believes in black solidarity the BCM is willing to stand apart from both organisations in order to play a unifying role.

Divisions between the ANC and PAC are detrimental to the struggle and every effort has to be made to bring the two forces closer to each other.

The BCM recognises that any such unity must be governed by the acceptance of certain principles, including the recognition of equal partnership and non-collaboration.

Ideologically, the BCM differs from both movements.

The ANC’s membership is “non-racial” in character. The PAC appears also to follow a government by the acceptance of certain principles, including the recognition of equal partnership and non-collaboration.

One of its spokesmen said: “We are prepared to accept help from those (whites) who subscribe to our principles and policies.”

However, the PAC goes on to say “the tiny minority of white activists can never liberate us”. Thus, the PAC has not clearly spelt out its policy on membership.

THURSDAY, April 12, was the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM). To mark this day, which has become known as BCM Founding Day, long-time black consciousness adherent STRINI MOODLEY writes about the movement and the philosophy that drives it.

Whites are not accepted as members of the BCM. The BCM defines its membership as “all those who are by law and tradition discriminated against and who identify with the struggle for liberation”.

The exclusion of whites has earned the BCM the tag of “reverse racists”. However, the BCM believes whites can only play a role within their own communities by preparing them for change.

Once white people come into black organisations they tend to shift the focus of the struggle, diluting its militancy.

Psychologically, whites cannot shed their entrenched superiority complex and, consequently, they tend to have a different perspective from blacks.

This is not a racist argument as whites will not be excluded from a socialist Azania – in which there will be no room for “group” thinking.

As for who constitutes the oppressed and exploited, the BCM includes in its membership Africans, Indians and coloureds – as long as individuals do not identify with the ruling class by participating in separate development institutions.

The BCM is the only organisation that has clearly defined a revolutionary philosophy to meet the needs of the oppressed.

Whereas the ANC roots its activities in the Freedom Charter and the PAC in the doctrine of Pan-Africanism, the BCM has evolved BC to present a credible answer to the problems of oppression and exploitation. More importantly, it has devised a clearly defined programme to prepare an informed and self-reliant membership.

Intrinsic to BC is the question of scientific socialism.

BC is a Marxist interpretation of struggle designed and based upon the material conditions of the workers.

It was the BCM that first articulated the concept of psychological oppression and liberation. This concept fired the imagination of hundreds of thousands of blacks between 1974 and 1976 and created a new mood which is still in evidence today among Charterists and Pan-Africanists.

The emergence of the BCM changed the nature of the struggle.

Today, the BCM continues to stamp its image on the struggle. It sees itself as being in the vanguard that protects the interests of the black working class against those who would negotiate away their right to own the land and its resources.
ROCK MUSIC has almost invariably taken a hostile stance against responsibility.

Until nostalgia rock came on to the market for the first generation of fans to hit middle age, it was the classic expression of adolescent rebellion against parental power and values.

"Sex, drugs and rock 'n roll" became a package trip, though one which most suburban rebels experienced only in imagination or in weekend bursts of nervous daring.

Rock concerts carried this excess to excess.

The famous Woodstock festival in the late Sixties was a sort of alternative public holiday in which sex, drugs and rock 'n roll cavorted miserably in a sea of mud created by the traditional downpour.

But whatever may have been said against these early concerts, no one pretended they had a Higher Purpose. They were frankly for enjoyment, a fling before settling down to the serious business of paying the mortgage.

What, then, are we to make of the new style of pop concerts, highly organised commercial occasions inspired by some lofty ideal — which began with Bob Geldof's Live Aid in 1985 and continued on Easter Monday with the Nelson Mandela concert?

For these concerts harness rock to a set of values which are respectable, serious, adult, even pious. Originally (with Geldof), charitable relief, and now (Mandela) political comment.

Some, of course, will deny that anything of the sort is going on.

They believe the fans tuned out Mr Mandela's remarks on sanctions, as if it were an advertising slot between numbers and the audience remained quite innocent of any political response.

But this is naivety posing as cynicism.

Live Aid raised not simply a large sum for famine relief, but also the consciousness of its audience that there was a world beyond Wembley and problems worse than acne. It was a remarkable and praiseworthy achievement.

But as Geldof himself discovered when he went out to see how the aid was being distributed, it was an achievement shot through with ambiguity.

Even altruism, as straight-forward as famine relief is compromised in a world in which governments use aid to line their own pockets, reward their supporters and bribe the uncommitted while deliberately denying it to hungry people.

How much more ambiguous, then, must be a rock concert celebrating the cause of the African National Congress. For the ANC is engaged not in charity but in a struggle for power. True, that struggle is against a repressive government — which seems to place rock on its usual side of opposition to authority.

But it is also against other black Africans, no less victims of apartheid, in organisations like Inkatha. It is a violent and bloody struggle in which many have died.

And what is the struggle for? The ANC seeks to establish its own government. That places rock on the side of authority — an authority, moreover, which sometimes speaks in a language far removed from the dispassionate spontaneity of the rock musician.

For Mr Mandela is not merely "the most famous political prisoner in the world", he is also "a disciplined member of the ANC".

And the policy of sanctions, which he supports, is based not on any effusion of charitable love but on the long-term calculation that an increase in the suffering of the innocent is the necessary cost of bringing further pressure to bear on the white government.

What this concert celebrates is not an uncomplicated search for justice but the struggle of a faction.

The rock rebel and the political revolutionary, though united at Monday's concert, are really at cross purposes. The revolutionary wants to capture power; the rebel to ignore it.

In choosing between them, one is tempted to conclude that a man is rarely so innocently employed as when he is engaged in "sex, drugs and rock 'n roll". — Daily Telegraph
Join forces to beat the forces of violence

POLITICAL leaders have lost sight of a fundamental truth: that human beings never think alike, that they are bound to belong to different movements, parties and religions, much as they like different styles of clothes.

We have leaders of political movements who want to triumph alone, who do not debate issues, but strive to destroy those movements unlike their own. This leads, ultimately, to seeking to destroy other human beings. It means creating an atmosphere in which people with murderous, sick psychologies can vent their passion upon other human beings.

It is a grotesque abnormality for any political party to aim at capturing or winning the loyalty and following of all groups and members of society. A normal political party, anywhere in the world, aims at winning the majority of voters, which normally is more or less a quarter of the population.

Wanting to capture the following of all groups and members of society is chasing after an impossibility, an impossibility which can only be achieved through violence and repression of dissent; wanting to capture the allegiance of the groups, associations, and members of society is the very essence of totalitarianism. Human history caught a terrifying glimpse of that in Nazism and Stalinism.

Disrespect

Political parties or movements should be charged with dynamism, yes, but also with humility.

Our leadership must display that elementary, great, and noble trait: recognising the possibility of being wrong and the need to talk with others not in your movement; and never have as an aim of your movement the allegiance of all groups and members of society, and destroying another movement or faction; this inevitably leads to genocide.

We also have the problem of our youth. We have youth nurtured by an educational system which was designed by people who were totally lacking in the basic respect for the human being called African. The entire society created by white supremacy, and the educational system created by that white supremacy, filled that society with disrespect for the human being.

I am not saying that all of us have succumbed to this inhumanity. The overwhelming majority of us are still shocked by this wanton disrespect for human life, by this wanton violence and killing of human beings. We have become silent, and have withdrawn into our own world of thoughts, as things, as ourselves. We have become silent and cowardly out of fear.

Now we must stand up and speak out. We either want the war, the wanton violence and killing of countless human beings in Natal to continue, or we want to stop it.

The African community in flames. Which groups of individuals, upon seeing a wild, consuming fire around them, would not instantly run to see what they were doing and then a bucket of water to hurl at the flames? That is precisely what we should be doing.

Prejudices

The ANC/UDF, PAC and Azapo leadership should stop immediately their partisan activities and pay attention to putting this fire out. If we want this war stopped, the leadership of these organisations must approach and talk to the other major party in the war, Inkatha, headed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

When one talks to ordinary, adult people, one encounters dismay at the refusal of the ANC to talk to Chief Buthelezi. However, this is not a matter just for the ANC and Chief Buthelezi alone.

The PAC and Azapo — indeed, all Africans — must stop their routine activities and fill buckets with water to douse this fire which is consuming the African community.

We must not pander to the prejudices of those who urge us to postpone putting out this fire until their prejudices are satisfied.

Does it make any sense to say that we want the unity of South Africans and movements, and yet refuse to work for amicable, friendly, co-operative relations with the liberation movement of rural and semi-rural people we have, Inkatha, and with the lead among whom they respect and follow?

Disunity

It does not make any sense whatsoever to me, and I believe it is time to speak out.

The vitriolic war against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha is introducing the ethnic factor into political conflict among Africans, and this could spell doom for the liberation struggle of the black masses.

Whether we like him or not, Chief Buthelezi is a major factor in South African political life; he, and Inkatha, intend participating in the electoral politics of the new South Africa.

By painting him as the arch-devil of South African political life are his enemies not creating a terrible problem for the future? Are we not preparing civil war for this country?

If any movement is determined to destroy Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi the logical end of that determination is an increase in the scale of war among Africans, and the physical killing of Chief Buthelezi.

Should we opt for that, the entire African community shall be so charged with tension that violence may very well spread to all parts of the country. The enemies of majority rule in South Africa will do everything possible to trigger violence, and encourage disunity throughout the country.

The last line of defence, for racist interests, is nation-wide violence and war among Africans. Agent provocateurs are undoubtedly moving up and down the country, looking for such opportunities.

When Mrs Victoria Muxenge was murdered, word went out that she was killed by Inkatha, and many a "proof" can be concocted to show death to Inkatha. Now it is revealed that Mrs Muxenge may have been killed by the death squads.

At Umata, we are told that individuals wearing ANC T-shirts and walking alone are captured, put into cars, to be beaten up viciously. Word is out that the people perpetrating these acts are PAC. Undoubtedly, PAC has absolutely nothing to do with these acts. It is most likely the agents provocateurs to trigger war between ANC and PAC.

Wounds

All organisations should hold hands, issue a common statement denouncing such acts and imploring the African masses not to react irrationally to such provocations. Otherwise this land shall be the sorry path of Uganda.

Should we opt for the continuation of this war between the ANC/UDF and Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi, then we may as well para-phrase King Shaka's last words, as he lay dying from the wounds inflicted upon his body by his own brothers, and say "Nqaca uShaka"— "We shall never rule this land.

Extracted from a speech at a graduation ceremony in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

Barend's lot

The Government, says Mr
The ghost of the Freedom Charter settles a land row

THE Alexandra Town Council’s decision to re-sell the township’s expropriated properties to residents has driven a wedge between buyers and tenants still living on those properties.

African National Congress leader Elias Motsoaledi was called in by the Alexandra Civic Organisation earlier this month to intervene in the dispute over whether residents should buy the 6 000 properties earmarked for sale. At a public meeting, he was asked to interpret the land clause of the Freedom Charter to determine whether it was right for residents to buy properties — or whether the land should belong instead to the council.

The residents, estimated to be about 70 000, belong mostly to the generation who either resisted the bulldozers or had nowhere to go when properties were expropriated following the government’s decision in 1963 to turn Alexandra into a single sex hostel complex.

With their freehold rights stripped away, residents continued to live in the area — but as tenants of successive local authorities to which they paid monthly rentals of R7 per room and R4 for any additional rooms.

Alexandra was granted a reprieve in 1979, and three years ago the then administrator, Steve Burger, offered properties for sale, a process continued by the Alexandra Town Council when it came into office the following year.

But most residents, stripped of their freehold rights years ago, have now ironically chosen — much against the blacks’ dream of becoming proud landowners — to remain tenants of the council they had been shunning since its inception.

They fear that some of the property owners may choose to live without tenants, resulting in homelessness, while the others may charge exorbitant rents and evict their tenants for failing to pay the high rentals.

The local authorities have been selling the properties with the proviso that no tenant should be evicted before the expiry of five years. Another condition is that should a resident wish to buy a property he or she may only do so with the unanimous written consent of all the tenants on the property.

According to a representative of the pro-ANC Alexandra Civic Organisation, Obed Bapela, many property owners had not been complying with these rules. Faced with hostilities between the landlord and the tenants, the ACO, led by its trade unionist president, Moses Mayekiso, took a test case to the supreme court last year.

A tenant, Samuel Moodha, who had lived in Alexandra all his life, sought a court order nullifying the sale of the Third Avenue property where he lived.

The residents of Alexandra had a problem: the landlords could quote the Freedom Charter about their rights to buy property. And the tenants could quote the Charter on the rights of the landless.

THAMI MKHWANAZI reports

Two years ago he agreed to buy the house. But when he took the first deposit to the council offices, he was told by an official that the property had been sold three days earlier to Patricia Jass, the wife of an offspring of the original owners of the property.

Moodha ignored the news and continued to pay his rent to the council.

Three months later the Jasses demanded he pay them R150 rent — 700 percent more than he was paying the council.

He went to court. In February the council and Jass agreed to stop the sale and restore the original rentals, payable to the council. The agreement was made an order of the court.

Hailing the case as a "decisive victory", the ACO released a statement demanding that landlords repay all rentals collected from tenants. It also called on the council to refund to the landlords all monies paid to the local authority in respect of "illegal" sales.

But many landlords, some of whom are adherents of the ANC’s political programme, argued that the acquisition of private land and property is a right enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

Countered Bapela: "We have the right to own land and property, but not at the expense of the landless."

When tenants and landlords reached a statement in the interpretation of the land clause of the Freedom Charter, the civic organisation called in ANC leader Motsoaledi to address a public meeting on the issue.

Motsoaledi told residents — amid cheers of “Viva ANC, viva SAPC” — at Alexandra’s Kwanobuhle hall two weeks ago that the Charter clause, at the time of its adoption, had referred to national land and not “individual stands” in an overcrowded township.

“It is precisely the disparity in allocating 87 percent of the land to a tiny white minority and 13 percent to an overwhelming majority that appears to divide you today.”

“Indeed the Freedom Charter provides for people to occupy land wherever they choose, but this should not be at the expense of others, be they white or black.”

Obed Bapela
Politics ... and pop singing in the rain

And the crowd snapped up all of Mandela

"BLOW a whistle for freedom," shouted the black cockney, brandishing a handful of silver vehicles with tapers in the green-black-and-gold colours of the African National Congress. "Buy an ANC flag," called out another, waving one on the end of a possible stick. At the bowels of the Wembley stadium came two brothers in dark spectacles — one holding a pair of bongo drums, the other posses- sively clutching a shopping bag full of T-shirts — who were involved in a heated argument with a skinhead in a leather bomber jacket.

"We're breaking copyright?" one brother de- manded.

"Yeah."

"By using Mandela's name?"

"Yeah. It's part of British law."

"You're saying Mandela's name is copyright- ed?"

"Yeah, well, look, obviously they've come to some sort of agreement. I mean, I'm not a lawyer."

"Listen, man, I'm only doing a job..." "...we work for the official merchandisers..." "...there is no excuse." "The bubble of indignation voices in the debate between free enterprise and vested interest was lost in the swirling hurly-burly to see The Man, to hear the living legend."

Hours later and all the squabbles over mer- chandising, commercial exploitation, and the politics of rock were lost in the blare of the mega-speakersowering over that hollowed out.

Mandela spoke with his usual delicacy and power. "Thank you that you chose to care, be- cause you could have decided otherwise. Thank you that you elected not to forget, be- cause our fate could have been a passing con- cern... even though the thickness of the pris- on walls at Robben Island, Pollsmor, Pretor- ia, Kroonstad, Diepsloot and elsewhere, we hear your voices demanding our freedom."

In the last two months, the mood of the ANC had swayed from a feeling of relief to a feeling of fear. The government had attempted to suppress the ANC's activities, and had arrested several of its leaders. The ANC had responded by increasing its activities, and had begun to organize mass protests and demonstrations throughout the country. The police had responded by using force and violence to suppress the protests, and had arrested and detained hundreds of people. The ANC had responded by increasing its activities, and had begun to organize mass protests and demonstrations throughout the country.

Mandela had been released from prison after spending 27 years there. He had been a symbol of resistance against the apartheid regime, and had become a figure of global significance. His release had been greeted with widespread rejoicing, and had been accompanied by a wave of celebrations throughout the country. The ANC had used this moment to call for a national conference to discuss the future of the country, and had called on all South Africans to participate. The conference had been a major event, with thousands of people attending from all over the country.

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The Mandela concert at London's Wembley stadium, held in the rain and freeing cold, was a mixture of politics, pop music and commercialism. ROBIN DENSTOW looks at the music that helped release Mandela, while below, DAVID BENEFORD checks out the merchandise industry Mandela helped release.

He came on, after a burst of rap, a traditional big stadium welcome of thousands of masses and cigarette lights glowing in the darkness, and an introduction by the purple-clad Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and quickly turned what had been a solid but often unmemorable pop show into a pop-political event where the words were for more powerful than the music.

He played Wembley perfectly. His powerful, low-key performance at an event like this may have seemed remarkable by British political standards, but this extraordinary political rally did have some links with the musical pro- tests in South Africa back in the 1950s, in the days before the African National Congress was banned. Nathan Melville was part of the Man- khutu Brothers, the South African answer to the O'Jays, in the 1940s and 1950s and two of the original lineup were featured in one of the two South African sections of the show that Mandela, if not the Wembley crowd, would have found familiar.

Melville and Joseph Mogotjo stayed on in Britain after arriving here with the South Africa- n musical King Kong in the late 1950s, and their reunion with other exiles was one unex- pected highlight of the show. The set ended with a suitably emotional Jerry Dammers leading the crowds through a spirited version of the song he wrote, Free Nelson Mandela, which he de- scribed as "a more of song" but still valid "because he is not fully free yet because he can't vote in his own country."

The exiles' section was put together by Cop- hius Semenyi, who was also responsible for the second set that brought in traditional Jonu Gwase and was a reminder of the sophisticated jazz music that existed in South Africa before Mandela was jailed. It was smooth, plea- santly low-key stuff, but this section badly lacked the fire of Hugh Masekela's trumpet work. Masekela, after all the controversy and turmoil, didn't turn up.

There was an unexpected and welcome ap- pearance by Johnny Clegg and several mem- bers of Savuka, who appeared with Jackson Browne. Backed by just a couple of acoustic guitars, they switched between traditional Zulu songs, Clegg's political songs, like One Man One Vote, and Browne's more laid-back California pop in a set that was both low-key and gently powerful.

Clegg and Browne were among those who appeared at the front of the stage while the big bands were still setting up behind, and in many ways these low-key spots were the best parts of the show. Neil Young gave a brief but power- ful solo set, provoking the stage as he bathed out "Rockin' in the Free World," while the over- head Less Reed mesmerizingly introduced eco- logy into the proceedings with "The Great Ameri- can Whore."

There were then the sectional sections where one man provided the backing for a whole ser- ies of artists. George Duke provided the setting for Bonnie Raitt, Annis Baker and Natalie Cole, who were sold butpredictable, especially when joining Clegg in "With the Grain."

Rather better, at the very start, was the set that opened the show, the second set that was put together by Daniel Lanoue, who was based in London, and was largely based on the back-up band that had been used for the last concert, and was predicted to be the most powerful weapon for their perceived enemies. Mandela's release and his recent return to Africa had brought a new level of support for the ANC, and the crowds at Wembley were expected to be even larger than the previous one.

Apart from some 70,000 who braved the rain and cold to see him, his image was beamed in...
Police hit squads are attacking UDF sympathisers — residents

POLICE hit squads have been attacking UDF members in Imbali township, near Maritzburg, it is being alleged

Residents say white members of the SA Police and black KwaZulu Police have been on the rampage since before the March 28 outbreak of violence in the area.

At least two people are said to have died since the beginning of this month and several others have been injured and their houses attacked by the hit squads in separate incidents.

Police allegedly attack residents with weapons which include pangas, tomahawks and guns, and charges have been laid at the Pietermaritzburg police station near Imbali and Edendale.

Pietermaritzburg police liaison officer Lt D Vhawane been confirmed police were investigating several charges against the police.

He told City Press police dockets would be sent to the Attorney-General for a final decision on whether to prosecute.

The victims allege the offending policemen are well known in the area and investigating police are dragging their feet.

Vhawane been refuted the allegations. He said there was no cover-up and allegations against the police were given "top priority."

"The police are working in different areas to combat unrest and it is difficult to get them together in one place for an identification parade in the present situation," said Vhawane been.

Those who have allegedly been attacked by police hit squads include Imbali Residents' Association leader Elphas Silbwe, 42, and known UDF activists Laxton Silwane, 45; Veli Mkhize, 30; David Majodini, 22; Owen Mtembu, 46; and Obed Ndaba, 42.

They were allegedly attacked at their homes, shot at and hacked with pangas and other weapons before they were left for dead. Several houses are also alleged to have been gutted by police.

Thulani Ncube, a youth activist, and another youth, known only as Hadebe, were allegedly cornered in a house in Mbabane Street and shot dead on Thursday last week.

Silwane, an active UDF member, said police, accompanied by a local councilor, fired at his house last Wednesday.

He said the attack followed several police raids on his home, noting that he was a "target" after the march.
Thulani Noobo, a youth activist, and another youth, known only as Hadebe, were allegedly cornered in a house in Mbabane Street and shot dead on Thursday last week.

Sibiya, an active UDF member, said police, accompanied by a local councilor, fired at his house last Wednesday.

He said the attack followed several police raids on his house after the councilor threatened him with death. He fled to the DP office in Maritzburg last Thursday for help.

The DP has confirmed the incident. A spokesman said when Sibiya was returned to his home the following day, the DP found three policemen in the house.

"My house was ransacked and I lost all my life's savings after police stole the money I kept in the house," Sibiya said.

Silwane, was allegedly awakened in the middle of the night and thrown into the back of a police van, where he was blindfolded before being driven to an unknown destination.

Silwane said he was tortured and beaten before the police took him to another place in thick bushes where he was "kicked senseless" and left for dead because the police said he was a UDF leader.

His head was forced into a tight-fitting car tube so he could not breathe and he was left for dead.

Passers-by took him to a Midlands hospital. He spent three days there before being transferred to Wentworth Hospital for another three days. He returned to work last week.

Silwane, a furniture store field manager, had severe head injuries and broken ribs. He still finds it hard to walk properly.

"I know the police who attacked me and the matter has been reported to the police through my lawyer but I have heard nothing yet," he said.

Male nurse Mkhize, said he was asleep when police broke into his room after forcing their way into the house and holding his parents and other family members at gunpoint.

"Among the police were four white SA Police who slapped me about before panga and tomahawks rained on me," he said.

He fainted and when he regained consciousness police were ransacking the house and he made a dash for it.

"The police then went berserk, breaking furniture and doors before they went outside and sprayed the house with bullets," said Mkhize.

Mkhize also knew the police who attacked him and reported the matter.

Ndaba, and his friend and neighbour, Pit Ndhlovu, were standing at Ndaba's front door when a policeman in a group of nine opened fire, hitting them in the legs on March 22.

Ndaba said the police were in the company of the son of a notorious Imbali councillor and a high-ranking member of Inkatha.

Wahwanebien said people who were not happy with the progress of investigations in police-related crime should contact the investigating police officer's Head of Department or write directly to him.

Letters should be directed to the Station Commander, P/b 903, Maritzburg, and the matter would receive his prompt attention.
Cops probe death of PAC leader Jeff

DE-WILDT police have launched an investigation into the death of Pan Africanist Congress founder member Mr Jafa ‘Jeff’ Masemola who died in a car accident on Tuesday.

A police spokesman said they were investigating the accident which happened at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road on Tuesday at about 1.15pm.

The spokesman said Masemola’s car was involved in a collision with a truck at the intersection.

He was rushed to the Garankuwa Hospital with multiple injuries.

Dr Louis van Heerden, the hospital’s acting chief medical superintendent said Masemola was admitted about 1.35pm with multiple injuries.

He was taken to the hospital’s trauma unit where he died a few minutes later.

Masemola will be buried in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on April 29.
National socialist structure is born

By MOKGADI PELA

A NEW political organisation committed to socialism was founded in Cape Town over the Easter weekend.

About 200 delegates from all South Africa's major centres attended the founding congress of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa).

Wosa official Mr Victor Steyn said the organisation was formed because of the historical necessity for a body which would promote the interests of the working class in the struggle.

Steyn said Wosa principles were: the leadership of the black working class, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-sexism, and one person one vote in a unitary country.

He said Wosa was opposed to a negotiated settlement as it would compromise the interests of the working class.

Dr Neville Alexander is chairperson of the new organisation.
Socialists unite for a workers’ organisation

By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

A NEW organisation, the Workers’ Organisation for Socialist Action, headed by long-time activist Dr Neville Alexander, was founded last weekend in Cape Town.

General secretary Jean Pease says: “Raising the banner of working class interests is the paramount short-term goal of Wosa.”

She says committed socialists from various parts of the country felt there was a need to form an independent national political organisation to promote working class interests.

Wosa will draw its membership from regionally-based socialist organisations like the Cape Action League, the Johannesburg-based Action Youth, the Mayibuye Youth and Students of Young Azania (based in Uptington), loose formations from the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Cape, Western Cape and Natal, and individuals from various parts of the country and from both major trade union federations.

The organisation’s basic principles are similar to those contained in the Azanian Manifesto, a document adopted by the National Forum, an umbrella body of working class organisations formed in 1983. These include black working class leadership, anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism, anti-racism and one-person one-vote in a non-racial, unitary country.

Executive member Crain Soudien said Wosa “seeks to build links with other organisations committed to such principles” and would encourage fraternity with other organisations, including the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.”
FW sheds his gloves as talks get closer

AFTER a season of gentle coaxing, State President F W de Klerk is now removing his gloves in readiness for his talks with the ANC.

He has been moving carefully, following a well thought out programme.

With the mastery of a martial artist, he has swung back to the original National Party position, demanding that the African National Congress renounce violence and armed struggle.

He laid the trap carefully. At a time when everybody thought talks with the ANC were unlikely because the Government was insisting that it renounce violence first, the National Party toned down the demand.

We all knew it was still lurking somewhere at the back of their minds, but they deliberately made it an unimportant issue. They were even praised for their willingness to talk to the ANC even when it was still talking of armed struggle.

This round went to De Klerk.

Preconditions

The ANC and the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa laid down, preconditions for the negotiations. On paper they appeared tough: the unbanning of all political organisations; the release of political prisoners; the lifting of the State of Emergency; the removal of troops from the black townships; and the halting of all political trials and executions.

Most people thought the National Party was unlikely to meet these. But we did not realise that there was a new National Party. We had assumed that it would react in its normal unimaginative fashion.

De Klerk released a few prisoners who were serving life sentences - just a tantalisingly few prisoners - and the world applauded him.

Fewer troops

He unbanned the ANC, PAC, SACP and other organisations. More applause.

He reduced troops in the black townships to the point where they were no longer an issue.

Then he balked at lifting the State of Emergency.

Some political prisoners went on a hunger strike and he started releasing a few who had a few more months to serve before completing their sentences.

Every little step he took towards meeting ANC demands earned him more kudos.

He was using the ANC's demands to his advantage.

He invited the ANC to talks to discuss the remaining obstacles to negotiations, and it accepted.

At this point De Klerk is leading on points.

Ready for the kill

Now that he has everybody moving in the same direction, he is ready for the kill:

Okay, ladies and gentlemen, he says (he still has not graduated to using Comrades, despite what some people in the townships might be calling him). You want me to lift the State of Emergency? How do I do that when in the first three months of this year, 574 people were killed in political violence?

I'd be happy to do it if you could assure me that this violence will come to an end.

(Here the ANC will have to accept that the State of Emergency is necessary or will promise to help police the townships until peace is restored.)

Armed struggle

You also say I should release all political prisoners?

How do I let trained members of Umkhonto we Sizwe loose in the community before you have instructed them to desist from acts of violence?

Every time you issue policy statements, you insist that the armed struggle will continue. This means that your soldiers are still under instruction to continue blowing up buildings, killing and maiming innocent men, women and children.

Be serious. Call off the armed struggle and persuade your comrades in the PAC and other organisations to do so too, then we can talk of releasing all political prisoners.

Please note: This conversation takes place even before the subject of constitutional negotiations has been touched.

The ANC faces tough decisions as it goes to meet De Klerk next month.
Sabta won’t join any political movement

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

All members of the Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) are free to join political movements of their own choice, but the association will not affiliate to any political organisation, sources said this week.

Sabta’s public affairs manager Mr Mike Mlaltelelang said the association fully supported community and political organisations and trade unions in their opposition to apartheid.

The organisation was reacting to reports that two of the taxi associations – the Port Elizabeth Black Taxi Association (Pebta) and the United Black Taxi Association (Uata) – who are their members, have chosen to affiliate to a political movement.

The reports stem from a meeting where the two affiliates formed an interim committee with the aim to form a single taxi association.

After the meeting there were reports that the committee will be called “Amandla” which Sabta regarded as a political slogan.

Vice president of Pebta, Mr S R Beja, who is also a member of the committee, said reports that the committee was called “Amandla” – by all judgment a political slogan – were totally untrue and misleading.

Duty

“The constitution of our mother body is clear on this issue – we have no political affiliations. However, individual members are not barred from political alliances and affiliation,” Beja said.

He said the duty of the committee was to unify the two associations into one unit. The attempts to unite them would obviously help bring about peace in the region.”
some 30 countries, the concert watched and heard by a worldwide audience said to number more than one billion.

It was, as the organisers have so often emphasised in shrugging off the charge of commercialisation, the greatest political platform a politician could have. And he used it with a familiar diplomatic shrewdness, essentially to thrust at British foreign policy.

There was, of course, no reference to Westminster or Thatcherism, but the target of his message was beyond question. “The apartheid crime against humanity remains in place; it continues to kill and maim; it continues to oppress and exploit,” he warned.

“Reject any suggestion that the campaign to isolate the apartheid system should be wound down. It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken, such as our release and the unbanning of the ANC and the other organisations.”

He added: “There are some in the world who wish to support the South African government by giving it rewards and carrots. But we, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we need more than ever before.”

The promise of that support was offered in the roar that greeted him across the pitch and up the stands of Wembley.

Above Mandela’s head as he spoke, a huge board proclaimed the words always associated with his name: “The struggle is my life.”

Another quotation worth recalling had been emblazoned across the T-shirts the pedlars were trying to sell outside. It was a line from a statement of defiance that he put out from his prison cell after refusing an offer from Pretoria of his conditional release: “I am not prepared to sell the birthright of the people to be free. I will return.” Last night he did. — The Guardian, London
ANC to sit on G'town Fest board?

THE new chairman of the Grahamstown Festival committee has issued invitations to African National Congress members in exile to attend the festival in July as a move towards inviting ANC representation on to the committee.

"Many of the cultural leaders in formerly-banned organisations have not been involved in the festival and we feel it essential that they be asked to join us," Alan Crump, fine arts professor at the University of the Witwatersrand and the festival committee’s new chairman, said at the weekend.

"We’d like to have a true representation of the country’s cultural groups on the committee including cultural leaders both within and presently outside the country.

“When the leaders of the ANC return to this country we want them to address us on how they see the festival in South Africa and what role they want it to play, on eurocentricty and on the organisation that hosts the festival, the 1820 Foundation.”

Everything is open for discussion, Crump said, from the composition of the festival to the name of the foundation, although the festival committee can influence the former much more strongly than the latter.

"We are at a watershed, symptomatic of the country, and the fact that the festival has been brilliantly successful in the last few years is no cause for us to rest on our laurels."

Last year’s festival, hit by a last-minute boycott called by the Congress of South African Writers and a statement from the Transvaal Interim Cultural Desk saying the desk could not support the festival, still managed to attract record crowds. But a number of programmes designed to involve the black community were not unqualified successes — partly because local groups had not participated in planning them.

Consultation began early for this year’s festival, and in February, at a meeting convened by the Grahamstown Cultural Workers’ Committee, representatives of a number of civic, church, youth, sports and other groups agreed it would be “inappropriate” to call for a boycott of this year’s festival, although problems remained.

Local problems they would be working on, according to a CWC statement, were “the festival’s eurocentricity, its inaccessibility and its costs, as well as free tickets and of not importing skills to local artists on a year-round basis.”

Several thousands of rand worth of free tickets will be distributed to the community this year, as they were last year, although the methods may be different; Crump said they would be guided by the CWC on that. Workshops in movement, fine art, acting and music have been scheduled, as they were last year, to run in township venues during the festival.

More fundamental questions affecting the festival were due to be discussed during a weekend workshop in late February bringing together representatives of the National Cultural Desk, the 1820 Foundation, the festival’s sponsors — Standard Bank — and other interested organisations, but it was postponed.

Crump, who has been a member of the committee since 1984, is aware the committee chair is a hot seat. In addition to the critics who believe the festival lacks both relevance and community connections, there is the “blue rinse desk” that finds its fare “too radical” and wants an exclusively eurocentric festival.

“Ten years ago, the festival’s themes, printed on posters, were, for example, ‘ Mostly Mozart’ or ‘Bolshy Beethoven’. It’s very, very different now” — although excluding Mozart on the bicentennial of his death, when the rest of the world is honouring him, would be “naive”.

On the other hand, “the building of contemporary South African film, the brilliance of contemporary South African music, and the inclusion in the winter school of more than cultural values is essential”.

This year there is a new festival officer, new committee, new chairman and new fringe officer — and Crump is optimistic the problems can be solved. “In the making of the festival, we have two out of three aspects which are guaranteed. We have the infrastructure for the organising of something as complex and multifaceted as a national festival, and we have the financing — the Standard Bank has its own fulltime staff working on the festival throughout the year.

“The third aspect has to do with debate and discussion: how the festival can see its way through the 1990s and be representative of the new country.

"I as chairman will definitely work towards a resumption of talks with the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress and a policy statement on community activities during the festival. We’re aware that the nature of an undertaking like the festival is directly related to the political vicissitudes, if you like, the changes in the country."
Origins of the ANC's national choral hymn

From Dr DEIDRE HANSEN (Rondebosch):

In the Cape Times of April 10 there appeared a letter from C Moll of Newlands, seeking details about the choral hymn Nhosi sikelel'afrika. The hymn was actually composed in 1897, and sung two years later at the ordination of Rev M Boweni, a Shangana Methodist Minister. This took place in the township of Nancefield (Klipspruit), located outside Johannesburg. Enoch Sontonga was a prolific composer, and was always composing music for performance at public entertainments. The choral hymn was so successful that it was commonly sung in African schools.

It was further popularised by the well-known Oblange Zulu Choir of the Secondary School of that name, founded by the Rev J L Dube. This choir frequently gave concerts in townships on the Rand, and even in the city itself. It was only later that the ANC adopted the hymn as a closing anthem for its meetings, and it was not long before the hymn was sung in several other Bantu languages. It has now become a sort of pan-African national anthem throughout southern Africa, and even further afield in the subcontinent. Enoch Sontonga composed only one stanza, in the Xhosa language, and it was Samuel Mqayi, the Xhosa National Poet, who wrote seven additional stanzas. The entire choral hymn was then translated into English by Dr DDT Jabavu, who described his translation as a "free" one.

The complete words were published in Umteteli wa Bunlu (1927, June 11 issue), and in the same year, in the book Imikobe nemibongo (Shekiden Press). Two years later, in 1929, the hymn appeared in the Presbyterian Xhosa hymn book, Incezinti yamukula nesikelebo engoma (Lovedale Press).

I have in my possession a four-page leaflet, which I obtained at the Lovedale Book Store, way back in 1965. It contains the complete choral hymn (with all eight stanzas), the tonic solfa "score" by Sontonga, and a transcription of the score in staff notation. A photograph of Sontonga appears on page one of the leaflet, which was printed by the Lovedale Press (Sol-fi Leaflet No. 17).

In this leaflet, the hymn appears in four-part harmony, with a middle section, in which soprano, and other voice parts sing in response style. However, whenever the hymn is sung by large groups of people (and I have heard it sung many a time at various events), the basic melody and harmonic progressions, are greatly enriched by additional voice parts — what is technically known as African polyphonic singing.

How anyone can object to this choral hymn is beyond my comprehension. No doubt if the ANC decided to opt for Beethoven's Ode to Joy as their anthem, certain Beethoven devotees would immediately "change their tune" and even boycott Beethoven's music?
Mandela to visit birthplace after rally

UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela arrives in Umtata tomorrow for a visit during which he will address a rally and return to his birthplace, Qunu.

Local reception committee member Patekile Holomisa said the rally would be held on Sunday at an open air venue in Umtata, near the SA Embassy.

Mandela will also hold talks with several Transkei chiefs. The visit is expected to last a couple of days.

At Qunu — which he has not seen for about 30 years — Mandela will visit the graves of seven relatives, including his mother, who died during his 27 years in prison. He will also meet his remaining relatives. — Sapa.
Masemola's death probed

PRETORIA — Police have launched an investigation into the death of Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) founder member Jeff Masemola who died after a car accident on Tuesday afternoon.

A spokesman for the De Wildt police said yesterday the accident happened at an intersection on the Brits-Rosslyn road about 1.15pm on Tuesday when Masemola's car collided with a truck. He died shortly afterwards in Ga-Rankuwa Hospital.

Masemola will be buried in Atteridgeville on April 29. — Sapa.
Mandela goes back 'home' after 30 years

THE deputy President of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, will arrive in Umtata tomorrow for a visit during which he will address a rally and return to his birthplace, Qunu.

A member of the local reception committee, Patekile Holomisa, said the rally would be held on Sunday at an open air venue in Umtata, on the Engcobo Road beyond the South African Embassy.

Mandela will also have discussions with a number of Transkei chiefs during his stay, which is expected to last a couple of days.

At Qunu - which he has not seen for some 30 years - Mandela will visit the graves of seven relatives, including his mother, who died during the 27 years he was in prison.

He will also meet his surviving relatives in Qunu.

Mandela said shortly after his release he longed to return to his birthplace and "see the little stones I played with as a child, and the rivers where I swam".

The chairman of Transkei's ruling military council, Major General Bantu Holomisa, said this week the executive of the military government had been formally invited to attend the rally.

Meanwhile, Mandela arrived at Jan Smuis Airport in Johannesburg last night after attending Zimbabwe's 10th anniversary celebrations. - Sapa.

The exciting new way
ANC hails FW move for probe

HARARE - ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has welcomed South African President FW de Klerk's move to set up a judicial inquiry into the killing of black demonstrators in Sebokeng last month.

The Sebokeng shootings on March 26, in which 17 people died, caused a major hitch in preparations for preliminary talks between the ANC and the South African Government.

The talks, originally set for April 11, were postponed to May 2 after a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk.

De Klerk announced this week that his Cabinet had approved the appointment of the commission, to be headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.
Masemola services

THE Pan Africanist Congress and two of its affiliates have arranged memorial services in the Vaal Triangle for PAC leader, Mr Japhta "Jeff" Masemola, who died after a car accident this week.

A service will be held from noon today at Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg.

Tomorrow another service will be addressed by the general secretary of the Azanian Students Movement, Carter Seleke. It begins at 10.30 am at the Methodist Church, Zone 7 Sebokeng. Busang Thakaneng, a cultural group, will perform.

On Wednesday PASO general secretary Lawrence Nqandela will lead a service at the Sebokeng Vista University.

Four killed, 20 injured in demo

SOUTH African police shot dead four black youths and wounded about 20 during a demonstration in a black township yesterday, in an incident that could jeopardise next month's negotiations between Pretoria and the African National Congress.

Black activists in Rammulotsi township, Witbank, about 200km south of Johannesburg, said four boys aged between 13 and 16 were killed when a peaceful march was stopped by policemen who opened fire on the crowd.

Police said the youths refused two requests to disperse, and then began throwing stones at the officers.
SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

AN OFFICIAL of the National Council of Trade Unions, on Saturday attacked the ANC for agreeing to exploratory talks with the South African Government on a negotiated constitution.

Nactu Acting General-Secretary Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, addressing over 10 000 mourners at the funeral service of PAC founder-member Mr Japhet Masemola, accused the ANC of going into talks with the Government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement.

"It is very sad for the ANC to have taken that decision. We in Nactu say it is arrogant of the ANC in that regard."

He said the only choice of the PAC and Nactu was to escalate the struggle.

The criticism came just a day after an ANC external delegation jetted into Cape Town from Lusaka for the talks, which are scheduled to begin on May 2.

Masemola was dedicated to the strategy of the armed struggle, Mr Ngcukana said.

"President F W de Klerk has indicted that any negotiated solution with the puppets of the people must be tested by the white electorate," Ngcukana said, adding De Klerk had shown he was very much against majority rule.

Masemola, who died two weeks ago at the Garankuwa Hospital near Pretoria, was described by speakers at the funeral as having been very uncompromising toward a negotiated settlement with the Government.

Flags

He reportedly perceived negotiations as a form of political "power dice."

The funeral turned into a full-blown PAC political rally with thousands of mourners dressed in the black, green and gold PAC colours.

Flags and banners of the PAC, its military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the organisation's affiliates flattered over the Attridgeville Stadium where the service was held.
Accusations traded as slaughter goes on

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Accusations and counter-accusations are flying between the political players in the Natal war about their roles in the violence.

Inkatha president and Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has vehemently denied claims that he is behind the slaughter. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) maintains that it and its UDF/ANC affiliates are the victims.

**Buthelezi says:**

"I am ready and willing to play my part (to bring peace) in whatever way I can."

In a strongly worded statement, Chief Buthelezi said he was doing his utmost to bring an end to the bloodshed and that while the violence continued, it was not violence of his making.

"I truly believe that the origins of the violence, now out of control, were not of Inkatha's making. I can't stop it. Mr Nelson Mandela and the ANC can't stop it. The UDF can't stop it. Cosatu can't stop it. Church leaders can't stop it. The whole ghastly situation appalls me . . . I want no part of it. Inkatha wants no part of it."

Earlier this week, he described Cosatu as power hungry and "looking forward to becoming a Cosatu government over a Cosatu-run South Africa."

"It was Cosatu which created the low-pressure system . . . which originally sparked off violence which spread and spread and which is now enveloping vast areas. It is they -- Cosatu -- who came to sow death and destruction."

**Cosatu says:**

"From our side, we are prepared to do everything in our power to bring peace to the region."

Responding angrily to criticism levelled at it by Chief Buthelezi, Cosatu accused the Inkatha leader of making "wild and unsubstantiated allegations" which were the "height of irresponsibility at a time when our people are dying in Natal."

"This kind of language only creates a climate in which Cosatu members are identified as targets for the warlords and kwaZulu police," a statement said.

"In the past few weeks it is Cosatu and UDF members who have faced the brunt of violent vigilante attacks. Documented evidence has shown that the violence in Maritzburg in recent weeks has been the result mainly of invasions by armed Inkatha impis raiding non-Inkatha areas."
Success of a new SA constitution hinges on ‘broad political participation’

A new South African constitution can only be successful if it is the product of broad political participation.

In “Shaping a Future South Africa”, Anglo American’s team of writers suggests how broad-based participation can be achieved in the process of drafting a new constitution.

They identify three stages in the constitution-making process.

First, proposals should be drafted by various authors reflecting all the key parties to political conflict. Apart from rich international experience, SA groups such as the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the ANC and the National Party have already tabled proposals for constitutional change.

These documents suggest some important areas of agreement: a united (though not necessarily unitary) country, equal political participation for all, a multi-party democracy, the independence of the judiciary and a bill of rights.

The authors say an expert individual or group could chart areas of agreement as well as a set of alternatives. Foreign expertise could be enlisted to examine what SA could learn from other societies.

“We must look for countries of comparable levels of economic development, in industrialisation and urbanisation. Brazil, Mexico, Portugal, Greece and India may all have something to offer in this regard.”

Second, alternative proposals should be debated by all groups with significant political power — on the condition that they are willing to compromise. The process of debate should allow for leaders to discuss concession or deadlock issues with their supporters.

“Constitutions agreed to by leaders without the step-by-step knowledge and support of their followers are unlikely to be effective.”

A third stage is the ratification and adoption of agreed compromises by the broadest and most inclusive process of popular participation possible. In divided societies like South Africa, constitutions not only need the support of numerical majorities but also those politically organised minorities on whose co-operation the constitution depends.

This suggested process raises many problems. Which individual or group enjoys sufficient confidence across groups to be entrusted with the drafting of proposals, how can the type of debate needed be initiated, and what form of popular but inclusive endorsement would indicate broad-based support?

The authors suggest that the starting point should be the drafting of a bill of rights, a principle which has been accepted by most major players.

“The purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure the necessary degrees of freedom for all citizens to join or form political parties, articulate and debate political aspirations, and engage in peaceful political activity.”

“At the same time this concept is designed to protect public order against political violence.”

“Surely this instrument — if supported by a political culture which makes it more than a piece of paper — holds the promise of reconciling freedom and order in a way that will make a debate about future constitutions both possible and constructive. Perhaps the first debate should be about the bill of rights.”

Urging all citizens to take command of their destiny by participating in the drafting of a new constitution, the authors conclude: “Democracy is not South Africa’s inevitable or automatic destiny. In history government by consent has been the exception rather than the rule. Yet there are grounds to believe that democratic politics are possible in South Africa.”

“Popular cultures, indigenous and imported, which cherish liberty, key democratic institutions such as the courts, the press and universities, economic independence and — perhaps crucially — a set of alternatives, all of which seem much less attractive; all suggest the possibilities for a meaningful, inclusive democracy here.”

Much will depend on the expectations SA’s citizens express and the accountability they demand of their political leaders.”
Zimbabwe is poised for an ‘economic revival’

ZIMBABWE’S President Robert Mugabe this week promised his people, many of them jobless, an economic revival in the next decade as he led celebrations marking 10 years of independence from white colonial rule.

“We are now poised for an economic breakthrough, all other things being equal,” he told thousands of supporters in Harare’s Chiremba-built 70,000-seat National Stadium.

“The next five years must certainly be a dramatic leap forward.”

The celebrations, also attended by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela, have been overshadowed by growing worries among Zimbabweans over runaway unemployment.

Economists say only between 10,000 and 20,000 new jobs are created each year although about 300,000 children leave school. Unemployment is estimated at more than one million in a population of nine million.

Mugabe said government efforts to promote investment had generated tremendous confidence in Zimbabwe, but he did not announce any new policy initiatives such as trade liberalisation, which his ministers have promised by mid-1990.

Flanked by leaders of numerous African one-party states, among them Malawi’s life President Kamuzu Banda, Mugabe side-stepped the controversial issue of whether to abolish the country’s multi-party political system.

The independence anniversary also marked the expiry of the British-negotiated Lancaster House constitution, which enforced a 100 percent vote in parliament before certain entrenched clauses in the country’s Bill of Rights could be changed.

Now two thirds of the House vote will be enough to amend key clauses which block Mugabe’s long-stated goal of a one-party state.

His first term as Prime Minister followed a sweeping win in the pre-independence poll in 1980. He was re-elected in 1985, and in 1987 he widened his powers by becoming president.

In last month’s general election, his Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu-PF) party came out on top for the third time, taking all but three of the 120 seats. Mugabe also defeated the only rival presidential candidate by a four-to-one margin.

Lord Carrington, who as British Foreign Secretary, forged Zimbabwe’s independence constitution in 1979, also attended the anniversary. In an interview with Associated Press he said the white minority remained essential to the prosperity of the former British colony.

Of Mugabe’s plans, Carrington said: “I don’t particularly think one-party states are a very good idea... they rather tend to become one-man states.”

“But you have to remember that you can’t impose... your views on other people.

“It (the constitution) has lasted for 10 years. If the people of Zimbabwe want to change it, it is not for you and me to decide that they can’t.”

Since independence, the white population has fallen by more than half to some 90,000 and whites are now outnumbered 100-to-one by the rapidly growing black majority.

Carrington, who argued fiercely with Mugabe during the independence negotiations, said the former guerrilla leader has been “astonishingly magnanimous” and has made a genuine effort to “keep the whites there and have a multiracial society”.

“There have been some bad things as well... a certain amount of corruption, a lot of unemployment and so on,” said Carrington.

“But, on the whole, I would have thought it was considerably more positive than minus.”

“(Mugabe) was determined not to be prime minister of a bankrupt country,” he said.

“That was why he kept the whites on the land and kept the whites in industry. And I think as long as he goes on doing that there is no reason why Zimbabwe shouldn’t go on being a very prosperous state.”

Meanwhile, Mugabe this week opened a new 14-storey headquarters for his Zanu-PF party.

Banda performed the ribbon-cutting ceremony.

The opening followed a staging attack by Mugabe on opponents of his planned one-party state.

He singled out Zimbabwe’s Roman Catholic Church for “raving and ranting” over the issue.

President Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela at the celebrations.

"Let the Catholics not waste their time lecturing us that there is strength in division. We will never accept that," Mugabe said.

He said disunity would lead to chaos but a one-party state would not be imposed unless the majority of the people wanted it.

“We will solve our disagreements as a family,” he said.

Earlier this week the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace published a large advertisement in the country’s main newspaper opposing a one-party state.

The commission is a human rights monitoring group which has been critical of Rhodesia’s white minority government in the 1970s and has clashed with Mugabe on many occasions.

Although Mugabe promised after the election that opposition parties would be allowed to exist for the time being, his government has been stepping up efforts to present other parties as a security threat.”

Sapa
Torture: ANC must come out in the open

WHILE it is to be welcomed that Mr Nelson Mandela admits torture took place in the ANC and it is said corrective steps have been taken, serious questions about the issue remain unanswered, says Die Burger in an editorial.

The impression was left that such treatment of the ANC's detainees had been stopped.

These claims were denied by those who were tortured. In an open letter to Mr Mandela he was asked to see to it that the guilty be punished as it is alleged that torture continues. According to the letter there is concern about the fate of about 120 dissidents who are held by the ANC.

The ANC should be open about this issue. As early as 1988 it was alleged in a report to the American Senate that the ANC tortured its prisoners. Did the organisation do something about the issue at the time?

The ANC will also have to say what it sees as acceptable treatment in the interrogation of detainees and what steps does it take to ensure that detainees are treated humanely.

As an organisation that wants to take part in negotiations for a new dispensation in South Africa, the ANC's attitude to democracy affects South Africans deeply, says Die Burger.
Smear campaigns are bent on causing fear, anger in SA

Jewish leaders agreed the ANC was not responsible. Jewish Board of Deputies national chairman Gerald Leissner said: "Anybody can write left-wing slogans. We believe the attacks were the work of the right wing." The two attacks have shocked the Jewish community, triggering awful recollections of the Holocaust. Meanwhile, Jewish Theological Seminary chancellor Rabbi Nissim Wernick has announced the creation of the Shomrim — a group formed to protect Jewish holy places and people "whenever anti-Semitism raises its ugly head". "We can no longer afford the luxury of words and resolutions. We are prepared to correspond with deeds," he said.

A third disinformation campaign has also played on racial issues. Fear gripped Indian communities recently when a pamphlet advising black men to have sex with Indian women hit the streets of Pretoria, Ladum, parts of the Transvaal and parts of Natal.

Parroting to come from the ANC, the inflammatory pamphlet said AIDS expert Dr Rubeen Sherr had proved Indian women carried antibodies to the AIDS virus and black men should therefore choose them as sexual partners.

It claimed South Africa paid Israeli scientists 10,000 NIS for the virus, and "white racists" were using it in a slander campaign.

It also called on blacks to arm themselves with "pangas, knives, guns, bricks and stones to destroy the white racist. Kill an Indian, coloured or white today." Once again, the ANC was forced to clear its name.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela said: "This is a smear which totally contradicts the ANC's policy of non-racialism. We had nothing to do with it."

Lashed

Police agreed and said: "The pamphlets are no more than an amateurish effort to create uncertainty and panic — especially in the white community."

And disinformation swept through the portals of Parliament last week when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht announced the existence of a secret ANC plan to assassinate right-wing leaders, make the homeland un governable and carry out attacks on whites.

President F W de Klerk lashed out at him for disclosing a report "probably fabricated to upset peace talks".

Forced to defend himself, Dr Treurnicht...
Killer hails ANC leader in 'Kei

By BILL KRIGE

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was greeted at Umtata Airport yesterday by a casino bomber whose act of terror was described by a judge as "cold and callous".

A little more than two months ago Mr Phumzile Mayapi, 31, was on Death Row in Transkei for a double murder stemming from a limpet mine blast in a toilet at the Wild Coast Sun on April 18 1998.

But he was on hand as a member of the Mandela Reception Committee to greet his leader, who arrived to a red-carpet welcome at the start of an extended visit to the land of his birth.

The explosion in the crowded casino, caused by Mr Mayapi and his colleague Ndhlelele Ndazemela, tore apart teenager Bhekhosi Nkakane.

'Callous'

He had just celebrated his 13th birthday.

A few days later, Durban resident Thomas Hudson, 30, died in Addington Hospital of his wounds.

At least two other men, one black one white, were severely injured.

Both Mr Mayapi, 31, and Mr Ndazemela, 28, were ANC operatives who received military training in Zambia, Cuba and East Germany in the early 80s.

Passing the death sentence on them in May last year, after a noisy interlude in which both men shouted ANC slogans from the dock, Mr Justice Mitchell described the bombing as a premeditated "cold, calculating and callous act".

Release

The two men were freed from Death Row by Transkei's Military Council.

Their release coincided with Mr Mandela's from Victor Verster Prison after 27 years in jail.

Mr Mandela has a varied programme in slow-moving Transkei during the next few days. It includes a rally, dinner with President Victor Ndamase, talks with business leaders and industrialists, and a visit to his birthplace Qunu, his first in 30 years.

Hundreds of thousands of people were converging on Umtata this weekend to catch a glimpse of the ANC leader.

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa heralded his visit as an event of unparalleled importance in the political history of Transkei.
Rebel guerrillas wait in Kenya and dream of returning home

From NORMAN ELLIS in Nairobi

The rebel guerrillas insist that they remain staunchly loyal to the ANC and its deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela. But they accuse the military command of corruption, abuses of power and of alienating young recruits. And they believe Mr Mandela is being regularly misled and misguided by these leaders.

Among their most serious allegations:
- Hundreds of guerrillas were rounded up in Angola after the 1984 mutiny, 60 of whom are feared dead. Up to 120 are still being held in detention camps.
- The mutiny was staged only after peaceful efforts to air their grievances were exhausted. The recruits were opposed to fighting alongside Angolans and Cubans against South Africans and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita, arguing they had left home to train for guerrilla warfare inside their own country.
- They were lashed to trees and sjambokked, locked in metal transport containers and left to roam in the searing sun and kicked and beaten by their jailers.
- A recruit at Dakawa camp in Tanzania - home to 12,000 refugees and some 5,000 guerrillas who reported in the house newspaper News and Views that ANC president Oliver Tambo had suffered a stroke was arrested and accused of being an "enemy agent". He was assualted daily while an interrogator tugged on a cord tied around his genitals.
- The two top military chiefs, Joe Modise and Chris Hani, were less interested in guerrilla warfare than in lining their own pockets. They "grew fat off our sweat smuggling diamonds from Angola and cars from South Africa", said one of the rebels, Jackie Molafe.
- The litany of charges against the ANC prompted Mr Mandela to deplore the use of torture before he flew to London for a star-studded rock concert in his honour. Mr Mandela said the culprits had been punished and that further torture had been banned.
- But the exiles in Nairobi insist that 120 dissidents are still in detention. They say Modise and Hani and other top commanders are "untouchable and unaccountable" and that Mr Mandela appears to be the target for a major cover-up.
- The dissidents, who arrived in Kenya in January after illegally crossing the border from Tanzania, are still anxiously awaiting word on their fate from Kenyan officials and the UN High Commission for Refugees. They hope to use refugee status to qualify for UN assistance in returning home.
- And then? "We're afraid we might be necklaced," said one.

The ordeal by the ex-guerrillas began after they finished military training in East Germany and the Soviet Union in the early 80s and were sent to Africa.

After the mutiny, in which hundreds of guerrillas rebelled against their commanders, they were held at punishment camps called Pango and Quatro.

After more than four years in detention they were transferred to Tanzania, where they witnessed further abuses and became more vocal in their criticism of the military leadership.

A visit to Dakawa camp by Hani on December 3 was the final straw. Hani, escorted by armed Tanzanian soldiers, ordered the dissidents to cease all ANC activities.

Amos Mazongo recalled: "Hani mentioned the 1984 mutiny, so that was our chance to explain what happened to the people because the mutiny had always remained a secret. "We told Hani: You are a murderer. There are a lot of shallow graves in Angola because you guys have murdered people."

After that, the rebels quit the ANC military wing. Three tried to escape to South Africa through Malawi, but were turned back by immigration officials.

Appeals for help to the UNCHR went unheeded. The dissidents are convinced that key UNCHR officials in Kenya and Tanzania are sympathetic to the ANC and don't want to see its leadership tainted by scandal.

When the ANC's Walter Sisulu visited Tanzania after Hani, the rebels were detained by police. But they went on a hunger strike and were freed after six days.

That's when they took to the bush and trekked to Nairobi's YMCA hostel.

Here they've been busy talking to foreign correspondents, lobbying human rights groups, such as London-based Amnesty International, and firing off letters to ANC officials.

In a four-page handwritten letter mailed to Mr Mandela this week, they implicitly blamed Mr Tambo for ignoring appeals by dissidents to intervene and prevent the 1984 mutiny.

The ex-dissidents called on Mr Mandela to mount a commission of inquiry into the allegations of atrocities.
Horror of 'torture camps'

Dissidents tell of firing squads and murders

By MARK STANSFIELD

More groups of NC dissidents — including an Umhonto we Sizwe cadre — have made horrifying claims of torture and murder committed in NC camps.

One of the groups plans to form a political organisation in opposition to the NC.

The leader of the group that was detained and tortured in the notorious Quatro Camp in Angola and on their return to South Africa to conduct an investigation of the NC camps said that they had been executed by firing squads.

Mr Twala said in a letter to friends in South Africa: "We feel that they should know what happened to their sons and daughters and where they are buried."

The first group of dissidents to speak out is awaiting repatriation to Kenya, where they sought refuge.

The two groups of disenchanted ANC soldiers were hiding out in an African country, the name of which is known to the Sunday Times.

Sources close to the groups have asked that the name of the country not be revealed because "hundreds" of other former members who have fled the organisation hope to reach this "safe" country, from where they hope to contact the United Nations for help.

Help

A third group, consisting of four men, a woman and two small children, was "posted" through Jan Smuts Airport on Friday without fanfare and under the watchful eye of a contingent of security policemen. They have been allowed to return to their families without being detained.

At least two of the men brought home on Friday were horribly emaciated. One limped very badly.

The Sunday Times was refusing permission to speak to or photograph the group at the airport.

The second group consists of six ANC soldiers, two mothers and their children. This group is due to return later this week.

In handwritten letters, the two women — who fled with the six ANC soldiers from the new Dakawa Camp, located near Arusha in Tanzania — alleged that most young women who fled South Africa to join the ANC fell pregnant against their wishes within months of arriving at ANC camps.

They were then sent to Tanzania and forced to look after the children while their "husbands" remained at the front.

One of the women was a former guard at the notorious Quatro Camp, which has since been moved to Tanzania.

The group was based in Tanzania and forced, many against their will, to fight against Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement.

Mr. Twala fled South Africa and joined the ANC in 1975. He described the living and working conditions of ANC soldiers — especially those under detention — as "horrible."

"The MK soldiers in my cadre decided to mutiny because we were not fighting the South African regime — the thing we had joined the ANC for — but our fellow suffers.

"After our arrest and detention in Quatro Camp, the commander, Andrew Maseko, would often use us up and shoot at us to psychologically break us down.

"We were beaten and tortured simply because we were disenchanted with the ANC. We were not allowed to leave freely," he said.

The group managed to flee from Angola late last year and were detained in an African country, where they were placed in safe custody.

They emerged from hiding last week.

A police spokesman said the returning dissidents would be checked for criminal records on their arrival.

"They will be placed in a safe house by the South African authorities because we fear for their safety, but they will be free to come and go as they please after that."
Teens flee to Lusaka

By RYAN CRESSWELL

ABOUT 210 young people have fled Natal fearing for their lives and have sought refuge at the ANC's Lusaka headquarters.

About 150 had trickled into the organisation's Zambian headquarters by Tuesday and another 60 teenagers arrived on Friday. More are believed to be en route to Lusaka.

Said ANC spokesman Tom Sebina: "There is a steady stream of kids aged between 10 and 23 fleeing to Swaziland and asking to be sent to our Lusaka headquarters."

"Most of those I have spoken to say they left Natal because of general insecurity. They claim to have been attacked in their classrooms and in the streets by Inkatha, vigilante or kitskomstabels."

"The ANC had nothing to do with their departure."

"I have talked to a number of students in the group, including three who were at Durban Technikon, and they wish to continue studying."

Mr Sebina said provision would be made for refugee students to continue their studies in other African countries.
NATAL YOUTHS FLEE TO ANC

Violence forces youngsters to seek refuge in Lusaka

Escalating violence in Natal has forced about 150 youths into exile in Zambia, where they have taken refuge at ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

ANC spokesman Tom Selhina told a news conference in Lusaka - where the 150 were paraded - that the number of South African refugees fleeing from Natal to Swaziland had increased during the past few weeks, and many were finding their way to Lusaka.

About 10 youths a day were crossing to Swaziland before being moved on to Lusaka, Selhina said.

Four-year-old Neoza Gaba and his sister Lindwe, 10, who had been caught up in the violence between ANC and Inkatha supporters, were among the refugees, he added.

Sources in Swaziland said there were about 70 youths in the country who had fled what they described as the "killing fields" of Natal. Some of the youths were being housed at Malinduzi refugee reception centre near Manzini. Others were at prison remand centres around the country.

The first group of 17 arrived in Swaziland at the beginning of March.

One youth told reporters: "The violence is being instigated by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu."
About 10 youths a day were crossing to Swaziland before being moved on to Lusaka, Sebina said.

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One youth told reporters: "The violence is being perpetrated by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in connivance with police and with the blessing of (Law and Order Minister Adrian) Vlok.

"It was terrifying. We could have been hacked to death at any time. We had no alternative but to flee."

Refugee Sibusiso Mdluli, 27, told reporters none of those in his group had been kidnapped by the ANC, as alleged in media reports. They had fled the country because they feared they would be killed in the wave of violence, he said.

About 3 000 people have been killed and thousands left homeless during the past 18 months in violent clashes between the two factions.

Sebina said the ANC had not yet formally sought refugee status for the exiles through the UN High Commission for Refugees, but might seek assistance if the influx continued.

Five other refugees from Natal were reported to have flown to Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania from Swaziland.

Meanwhile yesterday, 40 South African clerics began a two-day meeting with ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the return of South African exiles. The delegation included representatives from the SA Council of Churches, the Catholic Bishops' Conference, and Moslem, Hindu and Jewish communities.

Medical experts and social workers from South Africa are joining in the discussions.

Head of ANC religious affairs Rev John Lamola said long-term exiles were expected to encounter difficulties finding homes and jobs when they returned.

They were likely also to face emotional stress when readjusting to life.

About 20 000 South Africans are estimated to be living in exile. Many of them have spent up to 25 years abroad.

Most ANC exiles are expected to return in time for the organisation's national convention, scheduled for December in Bloemfontein. - Sapa, AP, ANO.
Cheers and tears at Mandela show

By ATHENA PETERSEN

ON Monday night, April 16, 72,000 people left London’s Wembley stadium with a warm glow of satisfaction despite the miserable weather. They had gone to Wembley to see Nelson Mandela – a legend and a symbol of inspiration to millions of people.

When Mandela stepped on to the stage a thunderous roar erupted and lasted seven minutes. Their hero had arrived to be greeted by 72,000 people giving the clenched fist salute of solidarity and black power.

And then the crowd burst spontaneously into the football anthem You’ll Never Walk Alone.

Afterwards, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, introduced by actor Denzel Washington – who played Steve Biko in the film Cry Freedom – calmed the crowd to allow Mandela to speak.

Mandela addressed the elated crowd for 25 minutes with ease – as if he had been doing it all his life. His first words were to thank the people for their support.

“Thank you that you chose to care because you could have decided otherwise.”

“Thank you that you elected not to forget, because you took a humane decision that you could not ignore the inhumanity represented by the apartheid system.”

The crowd once again erupted into cheers and applause.

Many people burst into tears.

The concert started with British Lenny Henry telling the crowd: “If anyone thinks he had trouble getting here because of the traffic, just think it took one guy 27 years to get here.” The audience responded with a roar of approval.

Top British and American stars who performed included Patti La Belle, Tracy Chapman, The Neville Brothers, Terence Trent D’Arby, An Evening with Natalie Cole, Peter Gabriel, Deep and Simple Minds.

Exiled South African musicians, under the baton of trombonist Jonas Gwangwa, bashed out a rousing freedom number for the crowds.

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They lived, they cried... and they were thanked because...
A fish-eye view of the jam-packed Wembley Stadium, where 72,000 people braved miserable weather to see Mandela.

Winnie Mandela warms up with Jim Kerr of Simple Minds, left, and Peter Gabriel, right, during the concert.

- Elton John
- Simple Minds
- Peter Gabriel
- A Flock of Seagulls
- Terence Trent D'Arby
- Anita Baker
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They lived, they cried... and they.

Tracey Chapman gets talking about revolution for Mandela.
The tiger has fallen

By CONNIE MOLUSI

POLICE have launched an investigation into the death of PAC founder member Japtha Masomola, who was killed in a car crash this week.

Masomola, released last year with seven ANC leaders, was on his way to Garsfont hospital for a medical check when his Volkswagen Beetle collided with a truck at the Brits-Roslyn junction. He was taken to hospital with multiple injuries.

Acting chief superintendent at Garsfont hospital, Dr Louis van Herden, said Masomola was admitted to the trauma unit with multiple injuries and died minutes later.

Masomola’s colleague Mark Shinners claimed the ambulance called to take the injured man to hospital arrived only an hour after the accident.

He said Masomola’s life could have been saved if the ambulance had arrived promptly.

However, Akasia Town Council fire chief Sukkie Venter said his ambulance team acted promptly and professionally, responding to the distress call within a minute.

“We got the call at 12.38am and an ambulance in Pretoria North was instructed to go straight to the accident scene, more than 21km away,” said Venter.

Shinners told a Press conference the PAC “deeply mourned their leader and the impact of his loss would be evident as they had lost a man of enormous calibre and talent”.

Masomola, dubbed “The Tiger of Azania”, was the first political prisoner to be sentenced to life imprisonment.

He was released on October 15 last year after serving 26 years of the sentence with six ANC leaders including Walter Sisulu.

A teacher by profession, he was arrested in March 1963 and sentenced to life imprisonment on July 7 that year.

Born in Ben-Accord, Pretoria on December 12, 1931, he was the youngest of 11 children born to Sekgomoareni and Evelyn Masomola.

When just over a year old he lost both his parents and was looked after by one of his sisters in Marabastad location outside Pretoria.

His political career began while teaching at Bereeng Primary School in Atteridgeville. Impressed by the political views of Isaac Ramopo, principal of the school at the time, he joined the ANC Youth League in 1958.

A committed African nationalist, Masomola was a founder member of the PAC and served on the executive of the Pretoria region until the organisation’s banning in 1960.

He was said to have been instrumental in forming and developing PAC underground structures. He also served in the armed struggle by helping form the PAC’s armed wing, Pogo, in the 1960s.

He was arrested on March 21, 1963, after attending a meeting of PAC underground structures in Rustenburg.

At his release, Masomola said: “Our release from prison is intended to soften world pressure on the racist regime.”

He was critical of negotiations with the government, but said he would not stand in the way of those who considered negotiations a solution.

“We cannot negotiate with the usurpers of our land. Our primary task, as stated over and over again, is to repose our country – Azania,” he said.

At the time of his death Masomola had received an invitation from the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid to address the 14th anniversary of June 16 in New York.

Masomola was active in the revival of the PAC’s internal structures since its unbanning on February 2 this year.

UDF general secretary Popo Molefe said the death of Masomola was a “loss to all the people of South Africa and the entire liberation movement”.

AZAPO general secretary Pandelani Nefolobohlo said Masomola’s death was a great loss to the liberation struggle.

“The struggling people of our country have lost one of their important leaders and we in Azapo are sending our condolences to his family and organisation.”

Police launch investigation into Masomola’s fatal crash

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"Boer" army threat
Right-wing mobilise

Staff Reporter
AS right-wing elements formed a countrywide "Boer army" which was said to be ready to embark on an "armed struggle", the ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that Dr Andries Treurnicht and other "backward elements" belonged to the past.

Mr Mandela said that in a future South Africa there would not be place for people who advocated racial war and racism.

Speaking at a rally in Umtata, Mr Mandela said it was unfortunate at this delicate stage of the country's history that backward elements were still trying to gather support for their racist views by exploiting the unfounded fears of a section of the population.

He called on white South Africans to reject "these evil attempts" to polarise South Africans and invited whites to join the ANC.

Mr Mandela said he also condemned the desecration of a cemetery and the actions of those responsible.

WELCOME HOME... Mr Nelson Mandela addresses a crowd at Transkei's Matanzima Airport.

Tambo may not recover

UMFATA. - ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo might never recover fully from the illness which has confined him to a clinic in Stockholm, Sweden, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said here at the weekend.

Mr Mandela told a function in the presidential palace in Umtata that on his recent visit to Sweden, Mr Tambo had told him he wished it to be conveyed to people in SA that he might not recover completely from the stroke he suffered about two years ago.

Mr Mandela paid tribute to Mr Tambo. He said that as leader of the ANC he had held it together for 30 years, despite its exile from SA during that time. - Sapa
the Jewish community in Pretoria and gave the assurance that the ANC was not responsible.

"The policies of the ANC are fundamentally anti-racist and are opposed to anti-Semitism."

Meanwhile, it was claimed yesterday that a "Boerweermag" (Boer army) has been mobilised countrywide by an alliance consisting of the AWB and the Boerestaat Party.

Boerestaat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said the "army" was based on the commando system of the old Boer republics, according to an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport.

Mr Van Tonder said the right wing would protect Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolf, his deputy leader, who is alleged to be involved in the theft of R130 000 worth of modern weapons from the SADF - but denied that the stolen weapons had been intended for the arsenals of the "Boer army", said Rapport.

He claimed that "every white in the country was already armed" and that most of the recruits of the "army" had done military service.

Mr Rudolf is still on the run following the theft - the biggest from the SADF yet.

And in another development, a fugitive from Namibian justice, AWB member Mr Leonard Veenendaal, is reported as saying that the AWB would not allow the ANC to come to power and if AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche called the right wing to arms "we will do so".

● Saps reports that two more men have been arrested in connection with the theft of weapons from SA Air Force headquarters near Pretoria.

The chief of the Pretoria murder and robbery unit, Lt-Col Suiker Britz, said a policeman and a 46-year-old man would appear in Pretoria Regional Court today in connection with the thefts.
Thatcher to hear ANC sanctions views

UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela will raise the question of sanctions with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher when he meets her on July 8 this year.

Mandela, addressing a rally of about 50,000 people in Umtata yesterday, said the ANC was upset that Thatcher had unilaterally decided to ease sanctions.

The armed struggle would continue until the minimum demands of the Harare Declaration had been met by government, he said.

The ANC had been called upon to abandon the armed struggle, but it would not discard any of its methods or strategies until the right climate for negotiation had been created.

The government had to control the security forces before there could be any talk about the ANC abandoning its strategy.

He told the rally Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and other right-wingers belonged to the past and in the future SA there would be no room for advocates of racism and racial war.

On Saturday Mandela told a function at the presidential palace in Umtata ANC president Oliver Tambo had told him he might never recover fully from the stroke he suffered about two years ago and which has confined him to a clinic in Stockholm.

Military Council chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, addressing the Umtata rally, said there were fears among blacks that government's plans for power-sharing were nothing but a ruse to entrench political privilege for the ruling party.

The only way a democracy could be brought about in SA was for the majority party in an election to become the government. — Sapa.
ANC rebels to return

A GROUP of ANC dissidents - participants in the brutally repressed "Mkata Shinga" mutiny in Angola in 1984 - with a tale of ANC murder and torture are expected to arrive in South Africa this week.

The group is believed to be the vanguard of what could become a flood of ANC dissidents waiting to return from various parts of the world.

It consists of two children, two women and four men.

They are planning to start a political organisation opposed to the ANC and will mobilise parents and relatives of exiles tortured or killed by the ANC.

The group is now believed to be in a southern African country.

It is one of four known groups of ANC dissidents. Three of them are now in Africa - one in Kenya - and the other is in Sweden, where seven exiles were recently given residence permits after denouncing the ANC.
Socialism has not had chance in Africa

By AUJ MPHAKI

Socialism has not been given a chance in Africa, an African Students Movement (Azam) seminar held at the Medium University, heads at the weekend.

Addressed by about 200 members and observers, the seminar was told that while socialism was being represented, the failure of capitalism in both Africa and the West were swept under the carpet.

Addressed by several exponents of the Hexek Consciousness Movement (BC), including former presidents of Azapo, Mphato Melala and Lybon Mhleka, delegates heard that capitalism was in direct opposition to socialism, therefore the answer to the problem lay in socialism.

Capitalism has not done anything for the working class. And we have reason to suspect that rationalization without worker control is not going to benefit the working class," a speaker, Mr. Colin Nkonyena said.

Speaking on the role of the students in the liberation struggle, Azam publicity secretary, Mr. Siphelele Masoko, said unity among students was imperative but it should not be unity for the sake of unity, "but unity in principle."

Masoko warned about white liberals joining the struggle adding that "just because a white has read 100 pages of Karl Marx then he thinks he can identify with us."

"We need to discourage this parochial, misinformed thinking from the broader liberation struggle," he said.

Dr. Candesse Mokwa, Transvaal vice president of Azapo, said in some quarters you could only be called progressive if you were progressing towards a white person.

Mokwa also criticised Namibia for not adopting socialism, adding that it was ironic that Swapo still maintained its name while the country had changed its name to Namibia.
ANC rebels to tell of murder, torture

From CRAIG KOTZE
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. - A group of ANC dissidents — participants in the brutally repressed "Mkata Shinga" mutiny in Angola in 1984 — are expected to arrive in South Africa this week with accounts of ANC murder and torture.

The group is expected at Jan Smuts early this week, the Johannesburg Star, sister newspaper of The Argus, has learnt, and is believed to be the vanguard of what could become a flood of ANC dissidents waiting to return from various parts of the globe.

The group consists of two children, two women and four men.

They are planning to start a political organisation opposed to the ANC and will mobilise the parents and relatives of exiles tortured or killed by the ANC, which has admitted using torture and says it is "necessary".

The group is hiding in a southern African country, the name of which is known to the Star.

It is one of four known groups of ANC dissidents. Three are now in Africa — one in Kenya — and the other is in Sweden, where seven exiles were recently given residence permits after denouncing the ANC.

Crushed

One of the groups is in South Africa, arriving at Jan Smuts Airport on Friday.

Also expected this week is former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK, the armed wing of the ANC), commander, Mr Mwezi Twala, one of the leaders of the 1984 mutiny. About 50 MK members had joined the protest at bad conditions and being used to fight against UNITA instead of being deployed in South Africa.

Mr Twala fled the Dakuwa internment camp in Tanzania this year.

The mutiny was brutally crushed, its leaders were allegedly executed by firing squad and others are being held in ANC camps in Tanzania in violation of international law.

The mutiny is widely known within the ANC as the "Mkata Shinga mutiny", which means "those who are tired of carrying guns on their shoulders" and a reference to the "ANC yoke".
 STATE President FW de Klerk has welcomed the ANC's reaction to his initiatives as a "positive step" and as being in line with an attitude which allowed for the search for peaceful solutions.

De Klerk issued a statement on Saturday afternoon welcoming the ANC decision to send a delegation to meet him, saying he believed that direct contact was the best method of achieving peaceful solutions.

"Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will get us nowhere," he said.

The full text of De Klerk's statement reads:

"I welcome the decision of the National Executive Committee of the ANC to send a delegation to meet with me.

Talks

"This commitment to talks with the South African Government on ways and means of getting negotiations off the ground is a positive step and appears to be consistent with an attitude to search for solutions through peaceful means. I sincerely believe that direct communication is the best way to attain this. Foreign agencies and foreign intervention will bring us nowhere.

"Obviously, legal uncertainties which members of the National Executive Committee may have in regard to visits to South Africa will have to be addressed beforehand. These and other particulars concerning arrangements for the proposed meeting are receiving immediate attention.

"It is disappointing, however, that the ANC leadership meanwhile continues to set preconditions despite the new climate created by the recent decisions of the Government.

"This attitude is in stark contrast to the enthusiasm, if not impatience, on the part of all other leaders in South Africa to get negotiations going.

Peace

"It is also disappointing that the ANC leadership continues to talk about an armed struggle and hostilities at a time when most South Africans, supported by the rest of the world, want peace. The South African Government is committed to a new dispensation which offers peace and justice for all. An armed struggle and hostilities do not fit into this pattern."

"The Government will continue to act firmly against violence from whichever source and against any effort to destabilise our country. We have the will and the ability to do just that. Besides a commitment to peaceful solutions, the maintenance of stability and good order is of crucial importance to the right climate for successful negotiation."
Mandela to meet with British PM

UMTATA. — Deputy ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he would meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London on July 6 despite her government’s decision to lift some economic sanctions against South Africa.

Addressing more than 50,000 supporters at a rally in Umtata, he said the ANC was upset that Mrs Thatcher had unilaterally decided to ease sanctions on South Africa and he would raise the matter with her at their meeting.

Against the backdrop of a mounting right-wing backlash over Mr F W de Klerk’s reformist policies, Mr Mandela lashed out at the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, accusing the former minister of stirring white hysteria.

“In the South Africa that we envisage and are busy building, there will be no place for racist practices,” Mr Mandela said, speaking alternatively in English and Xhosa from a platform overlooking a hillside packed with cheering supporters.

“We make a special call to our white fellow South Africans to reject these evil attempts to further polarise us as South Africans... there are still backward elements who openly advocate racism and racial war,” he said.

He said the armed struggle would continue until the minimum demands of the Harare Declaration had been met by the government.

‘Refuse to be intimidated’

There could be no talk of peace while the SA Police continued to massacre people such as they had in Sebokeng, Viljoenskroon and in Natal.

The government had to control the security forces before there could be any talk about the ANC abandoning its strategy.

“We refuse to be intimidated by police violence. The armed struggle must be intensified but in a disciplined way to ensure that the government does not backtrack from the path of negotiation.”

He said he intended to raise “continued war talk” when an 11-member delegation of the ANC meets the SA government for three days of talks starting on May 2 on obstacles standing in the way of formal power-sharing negotiations.

“Only successful negotiations can convince us to ban the armed struggle,” Mr Mandela said. “Peace will come as a result of negotiation. It is not negotiations which must come as a result of peace.

“Whilst we recognise the changes Mr De Klerk has implemented and those that he is still promising as
POOR WAGES FOR DOING MOST DANGEROUS WORK

JOHANNESBURG. — Poor wages for dangerous work and humiliation at the hands of mine authorities are just some of the problems faced by South African mineworkers despite a lifting of statutory discrimination by management, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said on Saturday.

Speaking at a National Union of Mineworkers national committee meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela noted that whites were not subjected to strip hygiene checks as blacks were. Mine lift decks were segregated and blacks still received poor wages despite doing the most dangerous work.

Now that the ANC was unbanned it would do all it could to aid the NUM in its fight for miners' rights.

Mr Mandela was presented with a framed NUM honorary life membership card depicting his own metamorphosis from humble mine policeman to deputy president of the African National Congress.

Mr Mandela, in a jovial mood, thanked the union and did a sedate toyi-toyi on the stage as the audience of about 200 cheered and sang.

Also on the stage were law lecturer and ex-detainee Mr Raymond Suttner, who is now a spokesman for the ANC, NUM general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, NUM president Mr James Molotetsi and Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi.

Mr Mandela left the meeting straight for Jan Smuts Airport, from where he was to fly to Transkei — there to speak to various ministers and to visit Qunu village where he was born.

It will be his first return to the place of his birth, and it felt "tremendous", he told reporters. — Sapa
ANC to continue armed struggle - Mandela

THE ANC would continue the armed struggle as long as the South African Government continued to conduct a war against unarmed and defenceless black civilians.

This was said by ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela at a rally in Umshlanga yesterday. He said the main reason that compelled the ANC to form its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, had been the use of brutal force against people which was still a reality today.

If an atmosphere of peace was to be created then the government had to control its security forces.

"We refuse to be intimidated into inactivity by this phenomenon of police violence.

"We must continue to intensify our mass struggle in a disciplined way to ensure that the gains we have made so far are not reversed and the government does not backtrack from the unfolding process of negotiation."

Massacre

Mandela said there could be no talk of lasting peace while government agents continued to massacre people as had happened at Sebokeng, Viljoenskroon and in Natal.

Meanwhile Mandela proposes to meet Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher here. On July 5, the Observer reported yesterday.
Black businessmen are urged to forge links

SOUTH African black business people have been urged to engage in an economic debate with their Zimbabwean counterparts, the ANC and trade union movements.

This plea was made at a dinner held in Johannesburg at the weekend in honour of about 140 business people who are to tour Zimbabwe by the chairman of the Argus group, Mr M B Hofmeyer.

Hoffmeyer said the task of business was to demonstrate that the private enterprise system was the most efficient way of ensuring growth needed to provide basic necessities, including employment for a fast growing population.

By Joshua Raboroko

"Black business is in a unique position to participate in this fundamental debate. "I believe we will come to realise increasingly in the days ahead that, contrary to the general conception that business both black and white are poles apart from the forces of democracy including the trade union movement, there is in fact a remarkably strong interdependence."

Goodwill

"Just as business will not prosper if it does not enjoy the confidence and goodwill of the new democratic forces that will make an important part of a new South African Government, so to the new democratic South Africa will not prosper unless it can secure adequate local and foreign investment and this will depend very much on the confidence of South African business in the political and economic systems of the new South Africa", he said.

Mr Hofmeyer said: "I very much hope that you will have the opportunity and the inclination to engage both your business counterparts in Zimbabwe and also the ANC in a forthright manner on issues of economic policy and practice."
ANC/SACP supporters in SADF

adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether persons who support the principles and policies of the ANC and the South African Communist Party may join the South African Defence Force; if so, (a) how many such persons have already joined and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, it is not correct that exactly a week ago in an interpolation debate, in which I have participated, he admitted that members who support and are favourable disposed towards the ANC and the SA Communist Party may become voluntary members of the Commandos or the Permanent Force.

It is also not true that in that session for replies he said that members of the ANC and the SA Communist Party should also do compulsory military service. I ask the hon the Deputy Minister to correct that directly.

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, to a certain extent the hon member for Pietersburg is twisting my reply of last week completely.

Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: Is it permissible to say that the hon member for Pietersburg intentionally twisted the hon the Minister's words? [Interjections]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! I have allowed five supplementary questions on this point. I am not going to allow any more supplementary questions.

Umkhonto we Sizwe members in SADF

Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether, he intends including members of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the South African Defence Force as a part of the so-called new South Africa; if so, when?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: The hon member has no argument, then they come with this kind of rubbish. [Interjections]

Naturally, further to my replies during the interpellation, those arguments must also go through this procedure which I just spelled out to hon members. Hon members should know that according to the Defence Act there is a different dispensation for national servicemen. That Act says that everyone who is a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party may join the South African Defence Force, and the hon member should ask his question in that context. [Interjections]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is really futile to reply to the hon member's question as a result of his complete lack of any ability to understand. [Interjections]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is not correct that exactly a week ago in an interpolation debate, as reported in Hansard, the hon the Deputy Minister admitted that members who support and are favourable disposed towards the ANC and the SA Communist Party may become voluntary members of the Commandos or the Permanent Force. I ask the hon the Deputy Minister to correct that directly.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, can I have a word, chief whip?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is not correct that exactly a week ago in an interpolation debate, as reported in Hansard, the hon the Deputy Minister admitted that members who support and are favourable disposed towards the ANC and the SA Communist Party may become voluntary members of the Commandos or the Permanent Force. I ask the hon the Deputy Minister to correct that directly.

Mr P G SOUL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does this mean that if Mr Vorster and Mr Blesser had said that they supported the aims and principles of the ANC, they would not have been sent to jail for six years each? [Interjections]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that has no relevance to the debate. [Interjections]

They were national servicemen who failed or refused to do service in terms of the Defence Act.

Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I should like to know from him whether in the view of the hon the Deputy Minister, if the ANC is a legal organisation, he discriminates between members of the ANC— for example the family members of Mandela, who want to join the SA Defence Force, and Blacks who are not members of the ANC and who want to join the SA Defence Force?

Mr B VELJES: Mr Chairman, I am of the opinion that questions form part of the proceedings of this Parliament and that it is the duty of an hon Minister to reply to questions on matters of public interest. I suggest that the hon the Deputy Minister has no right to evade his responsibilities as he is doing now and in the way in which he is running away from the question which he has put to the hon member for Bethal. He is compelled to reply to the questions.

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! My ruling is that, just as the hon the Deputy Minister may refuse afterwards to reply to a supplementary question, he may refuse beforehand to do so.

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: He is a "papbrok"!

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon member for Overvaal must withdraw the word "papbrok".

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw the word "papbrok" and say that he is a coward.

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! The hon member must withdraw his remarks.
unconditionally; he must therefore, also withdraw the word “coward.”

Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw it, but I will get him in Kroonstad. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! Hansard 24/4/90

Adv S C JACOBS: Mr Chairman, on a point of order; With regard to the question of whether an hon Minister or Deputy Minister may refuse to reply to a supplementary question, I wish to refer you to the ruling of the Rules Committee that five supplementary questions are admissible. [Interjections.] I wish to submit that in this case no supplementary questions have been allowed and that the five supplementary questions may still be put.

The CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES: Order! Supplementary questions have not been refused. The hon the Deputy Minister himself indicated that he would not reply to supplementary questions. [Interjections.]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180(3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament.

Certain book recommended by SADF

3. Mr P C CRONJE asked the Minister of Defence: Hansard 24/4/90

(1) Whether the South African Defence Force sent out a circular in which it recommended a certain book, particulars of which have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister’s reply; if so, (a) under whose signature was the circular sent out, (b) to whom it was directed, (c) what are the particulars of the book in question and (d) what was the cost of sending out this circular?

(2) whether the publishing company concerned refunded the South African Defence Force for the cost of the circular; if not, why not?

B742E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) The duties of the Commissioner for Inland Revenue are not limited to the collection of taxes; he must also ensure that there is compliance with the tax laws.

Johannesburg city councillor: investigation

4. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether officials of the Department of Inland Revenue were requested by officials of the Johannesburg City Council to investigate the tax affairs of a Johannesburg city councillor; if so, what was the response of the Department of Inland Revenue?

(2) whether he will furnish information on the persons involved in this matter; if not, why not; if so, what are the names of the city council officials who made the request and (b) is the name of the city councillor concerned?

B746E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No.

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) The duties of the Commissioner for Inland Revenue are not limited to the collection of taxes; he must also ensure that there is compliance with the tax laws.

He will accordingly take notice of information in regard to tax matters that come to his notice from any source whatsoever, and act thereon in terms of the powers not granted to him by law. In the light of the secrecy provisions contained in section 4 of the Income Tax Act, details of his actions and findings may, however, not be furnished to any person other than the taxpayer or his legislative representative.

Kaftan electrified fence: exclusion of areas

5. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether the farms (a) Greenvale, (b) Den Staat, (c) Samaria and (d) Krutjotten are to be excluded from the Kaftan electrified fence west of Messina; if so, (i) for what reasons, (ii) at whose request and (iii) what will be the cost of such exclusion?

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes, only suspended.

(a) King's Town Prison

(b) Fort Beaufort Prison

(c) Port Elizabeth Prison

(d) Port Elizabeth Prison

(e) Port Elizabeth Prison

(f) Port Elizabeth Prison

(g) Port Elizabeth Prison

(h) Port Elizabeth Prison

(i) Port Elizabeth Prison

(j) Port Elizabeth Prison

(k) Port Elizabeth Prison

(l) Port Elizabeth Prison

(m) Port Elizabeth Prison

(n) Port Elizabeth Prison

(o) Port Elizabeth Prison

(p) Port Elizabeth Prison

(q) Port Elizabeth Prison

(r) Port Elizabeth Prison

(s) Port Elizabeth Prison

(t) Port Elizabeth Prison

(u) Port Elizabeth Prison

(2) No.

Prison warders dismissed/suspended

6. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether, subsequent to his reply in the House of Representatives to Question No 1 on 27 March 1990, any prison warders have been dismissed or suspended; if so, (a) how many, (b) for what reasons and (c) at which prisons were they stationed at the time of their dismissal or suspension?

(2) whether these warders raised any grievances with the authorities; if so, (a) what grievances and (b) what action was or is being taken by his Department to address such grievances?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes, only suspended.

(a) : King's Town Prison

(b) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(c) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(d) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(e) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(f) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(g) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(h) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(i) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(j) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(k) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(l) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(m) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(n) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(o) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(p) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(q) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(r) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(s) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(t) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(u) : Port Elizabeth Prison

(2) No.

(b) For the same reasons mentioned in my reply to Question No 1 on 27 March 1990 in the House of Rep-
Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night accused State President F W de Klerk of deliberately misrepresenting the facts to Parliament about an intelligence document on African National Congress plans to assassinate right-wingers.

At a public meeting in Vereeniging, Dr Treurnicht launched a scathing attack on Mr de Klerk's handling of the document which had been leaked to the CP and subsequently made public by the CP leader.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's challenge to reveal the source of the document, Dr Treurnicht said: "Even if you throw the entire CP into jail, the CP will not reveal our source."

He said it was "truly regrettable" that the State President, in his eagerness to get at the CP, had handled the CP's revelations so haphazardly.

"The State President owes me and the country an apology because he has sent an untruth about me and the CP into the world."

Mr de Klerk had deliberately misrepresented the facts by saying in Parliament that:
- The document revealed to the CP had differed from the one given by National Intelligence to the State President;
- Dr Treurnicht and the CP's chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, differed on the source of the document;
- Mr Beyers had told the SA Police he did not know where the document had come from, that the CP had destroyed the envelope in which the document had been posted and that copies had been made to ensure that it would be impossible to identify the original document.
- The police said they had never questioned Mr Beyers about the source of the document. Mr Beyers had in fact told the police that he did not know where the envelope was. And he had told police that the document had been copied, not with the aim to make identification of the document impossible, but that identification had been impossible as a result of the copying.

Dr Treurnicht said the investigating officer, a Brigadier Lambrechts, had confirmed Mr Beyers's account. Mr de Klerk's statement to Parliament had thus been incorrect.

He added that the intelligence source had passed on the information to the CP because he "has information" that the Government would not give any attention to the document because it would have embarrassed the ANC and thus jeopardised negotiations.

"I have reason to believe that the person acted in good faith and out of concern over human life by warning us about attacks by the ANC. The Government's fury about the revelation of the document is probably based on the fact that it (the document) had embarrassed the NP's negotiation partner, the ANC."

He said the Government's opinion that the CP had contributed to a violence psychosis was unfounded. This was so because much of the content of the document - for example action against Inkatha, homeland governments and security officials - had already come true. The only new revelation had been intended action against right-wing leaders.

He challenged Mr de Klerk to say why he had "ordered the CP's persecution" and why he had launched an inquiry into police action in Sebokeng instead of prosecuting the ANC which was preaching violence and sanctions and which was contravening the Internal Security Act.

Reacting to Mr de Klerk's "cynical" remark that he received numerous death threats, Dr Treurnicht said the position of the State President and that of the leader of the Opposition were not comparable. The State President enjoyed full and intensive security protection.
Govt playing into hands of ANC—CP

The Government had directly played into the hands of the revolutionary forces, the Conservative Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said yesterday.

Speaking during the Law and Order budget vote, he also said the Government was suffering from a delayed reaction about police pay.

The Government knew that they were being "scandalously underpaid", yet only now that thousands had left the force, did it offer them better pay.

The Government was breaking down the image of the SAP — while complaints were received by SAP members about the transgression of laws, the police could do nothing about it because of decisions by higher-up politicians that these laws were no longer being applied.

The ANC's Radio Freedom had called on black members of the security forces to turn their backs on the white members. It was therefore an alarming phenomenon that the ANC leadership was being allowed into South Africa. — Sapa.
Mandela says supporters opposed talks

UMTATA — Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday that ANC supporters had prevented him from meeting Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on his recent visit to Natal.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs and paramount chiefs in Umtata yesterday he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal but the fighting had continued.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Chief Buthelezi and accompany him to the worst hit areas to call for peace. "But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me."

They did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them. Within days of his visit, two ANC supporters had been killed.

The ANC alleged that Inkatha and "the police" were responsible for the deaths. — Sapa.
NELSON MANDELA returned to his roots on Sunday night and fought back tears as he saw the little mud hut at Qunu where he was born.

It was his first visit to the tiny poverty-stricken village among eroded hills and fields in Transkei in more than 30 years - 27 of them spent in jail.

Mandela, deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC) and South Africa’s most celebrated black leader, was visibly moved when he arrived unexpectedly at sunset on Sunday. He is scheduled to return on Thursday.

His voice broke several times and his words slowed as he embraced half-naked children and gazed at the small brown rondavel, a circular hut with mud walls and thatched roof, where he spent his childhood.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers who had gathered to greet him, ululating and chanting his clan name, akh-dalihuntu.

Chief’s son

Mandela was born on July 18 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region’s two major tribes. He was groomed as a youth to become a traditional chief, but chose the path of radical politics.

"It is the greatest pleasure to be back here with you at home and the home of our ancestors," he said haltingly.

"Through the decades of my absence I have always had fond memories of this part of our beloved country.

"After the decades of separation imposed on us by the criminal policy of apartheid, through which I and my comrades were sent to prison and exiled, we cannot but be proud and rejoice at the victories we have achieved so far."

Mandela next week leads an ANC delegation into talks with President F W de Klerk to discuss the possibility of blacks sharing real political power with whites for the first time in South Africa’s history.

ANC vice-president Mr Nelson Mandela received a welcoming skin shawl and spear when he arrived at Transkei’s K D Matanzima airport on Saturday.

Mandela’s home lies about 30km from Umtata, the capital of Transkei, a nominally independent tribal homeland created by the South African Government a decade ago in line with its policy of keeping black ‘nations’ separate so they would not overwhelm whites. Neither the ANC nor the outside world recognises the homelands, which are economically and politically dependent on the Pretoria Government.

The poor but pretty village is floodlit orange at sunset. The colour is everywhere - over the hills and fields of corn and scattered cattle, in the traditional clothes of the peasants and on the painted faces of the women.

Most of the villagers have heard word of Mandela but few have seen him or read about him. There is no television or newspapers and most people are illiterate.

 Freed

While much of the world watched entranced as Mandela was freed from prison last February, his home was tuned out.

Most people live on remittances from relatives working in the rich gold mines and factories of Johannesburg. But they, like millions of blacks throughout South Africa, believe their lives will improve because Mandela has come back.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the uplifting of this village," said nephew Nomzimle Mandela who lives across from an overgrown plot of land which will be presented formally to his uncle on Thursday amid much rejoicing and festive slaughtering of cows and goats. - Sapa-Reuters.
Mandela forced to snub Buthelezi

UMTATA. — ANC supporters prevented Mr Nelson Mandela from meeting the Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

Mr Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs and paramount chiefs in Umtata yesterday that he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal.

He had been willing to meet Chief Buthelezi. He had even been willing to accompany the Zulu leader to some of the worst-hit areas to make a call for peace.

‘Nearly throttled’

“But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me.”

They had told Mr Mandela that they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them.

Nine people were reported killed in the Umazi district, south of Durban at the weekend.
Mandela’s return rooted in tears

Qunu — Mr Nelson Mandela returned to his roots on Sunday and fought back tears as he saw the mud hut where he was born.

Mr Mandela was visibly moved when he arrived unexpectedly at sunset. His official return is scheduled for Thursday.

His voice broke several times and his words slowed as he embraced children and gazed at the traditional circular hut with mud walls and thatched roof where he spent his childhood.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers who had gathered to greet him.

Mr Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region's two major tribes. He was groomed as a youth to become a traditional chief, but chose the path of radical politics.

"It is the greatest pleasure to be back here with you at home and the home of our ancestors," he said haltingly.

"Throughout the decades of my absence I have always had fond memories of this part of our beloved country."

Mr Mandela next week leads an ANC delegation into talks with President FW de Klerk.

His home lies about 30km from Umtata, the capital of Transkei. Most of the villagers have heard of him but few have seen him or read about him. There are no newspapers or television sets and most people are illiterate.

Most live on remittances from relatives working in the gold mines and factories of Johannesburg. But they, like blacks throughout South Africa, believe their lives will improve because Mr Mandela has come back.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the uplifting of this village," said nephew Nompili, Mandela.

— Sapa-Reuters
Tribal chiefs welcome in the ANC says Mandela

UMTATA — ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on the chiefs and paramount chiefs in Transkei to support the ANC because they had always been part of the liberation struggle.

Addressing them at a meeting called by the ANC here, he said there had been a misunderstanding in the past that chiefs were not welcome in the ANC. This impression had been created by the youth during the years when the ANC had been banned.

Earlier Mandela met Transkei officials at the presidential palace. After the meeting, he and the Military Council chairman Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa described the talks as fruitful.

And on Sunday night Mandela returned to his roots and fought back tears as he saw the mud hut where he was born.

It was his first visit to Qunu, the tiny village among eroded hills and fields in Transkei, in more than 30 years.

"It was here where I ground grain on a stone, where I hunted antelopes and other animals," he told dozens of relatives and other villagers.

Mandela was born on July 18 1918, the son of the chief councillor of the paramount chief of the Thembu, one of the region's two major tribes.

In his address to the chiefs yesterday, Mandela said ANC supporters had prevented him from meeting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Buthelezi and accompany him to some of the worst hit areas. "But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me."

They had told Mandela they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them.

However, he was still willing to work for peace in the region, he said. — Sapa.
ANC walk free in SA embassy

LONDON. — Members of the ANC walked freely into the South African embassy here yesterday — probably for the first time ever.

They were there to witness the first day of the sitting of the Harms Commission and, quipped one, expected one day to be moving into South Africa House permanently.

The ANC is accompanying former SA police hit-squad member Mrn David “Spyker” Tshikalange.

Another key witness — former death-squad commander Mr Dirk Coetzee — is expected to give evidence from tomorrow.

Ex-gardener tells of Mxenge’s murder — Page 5

Rosholt quits

JOHANNESBURG. — Mike Rosholt is to retire as chairman of Barlow Rand in January next year. Warren Clewlow, vice-chairman, will succeed him. — Sapa
I was barred, says Mandela

ANC followers did not favour meeting with Buthelezi

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress prevented Mr. Nelson Mandela from meeting Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his recent visit to Natal's troubled townships.

Mandela, deputy president of the ANC, told a gathering of chiefs in the Bhanga building in Umthata yesterday that he had tried to solve the conflict in Natal but the fighting had continued.

He had called on people to stop fighting and had been willing to meet Buthelezi. He had even been willing to accompany Buthelezi to some of the worst-hit areas to make a call for peace.

"But when I told my people about this, they nearly throttled me," Mandela said.

They had told him they did not want him to be seen with the man who headed the organisation they alleged was killing them. Within days of his visit to Natal two ANC supporters were killed.

The ANC alleged that Inkatha, working in conjunction with "the police" were responsible for the deaths.

However, he was still willing to work for peace in the region, Mandela said.

Meanwhile, Mandela yesterday called on chiefs and paramount chiefs in Transkei to support the ANC because they had always been part of the liberation struggle.

He said there had been a misunderstanding in the past that chiefs were not welcome in the ANC. This impression had been created by the youth during the years when the ANC was banned.

Not only had they believed that chiefs were not part of the ANC, but in some cases had seen them as collaborators with the system. The liberation struggle should go hand-in-hand with traditional beliefs.

"We cannot be united if we reject any group," Mandela said.

Earlier yesterday he met Transkei officials at the presidential palace in Umthata.

After the meeting he and chairman of the Transkei military council Major-General Bantu Holomisa described the talks as fruitful. - Sapa.
Pull out of talks, PAC call to ANC

THE PAC and Azapo yesterday called on the ANC to pull out of negotiations with the Government following State President Mr FW De Klerk’s Sunday British television interview in which he dismissed majority rule as a simplistic model.

In an interview on ITV, screened on SABC-TV1, De Klerk said majority rule would be suicide for South Africa’s whites.

He said he was committed to negotiating a peaceful future for South Africa but would not give in to ANC demands for black majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo, who have rejected negotiations with De Klerk, said he had already preempted the talks-about-talks scheduled for May 2 on negotiations for a new constitution.

An ANC spokesman said yesterday the organisation would issue a statement when ready.

ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela heads the delegation which would meet De Klerk next week.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said: “The view still expressed is that De Klerk vindicates the PAC’s stance that he is not ready for any meaningful talks and anybody who negotiates with the Government now is a sellout.

“The PAC wants to warn the masses that the smell of appeasement is thick in the air,” Alexander said.

Azapo president Dr Jerry Mosala said De Klerk’s statement confirmed the organisation’s suspicions that no real negotiations were intended by De Klerk.

DE KLERK

“We call on the ANC to get out of negotiations and, as a major liberation movement, engage in negotiations with other liberation forces. The ANC should not commit suicide,” Mosala said.
Military rivals behind ANC's delay on talks

Mr Modise protested that as army head, he should have precedence over Mr Hani.

Umkhonto said Mr Modise pressed his case at the time of the Sebokeng shootings, when Mr Nelson Mandela advised the exiled leadership to suspend talks with Pretoria.

The result was that Mr Modise, who had been involved in a long-running power struggle with the articulate Mr Hani, came out on top with both Mr Hani and Mr Tshwete excluded from the final composition of delegates.
Way must be found for decent majority to write its destiny

SIMON BARBER

April 5, Mandela rejected the suggestion that Buthelezi be part of the tour. In his, or his organization’s, view, SA’s Yalta should be attended only by Stalin and Roosevelt.

Inkatha is not the only thorn in the ANC’s flesh. Attacks on PAC/AZAPO/Black Consciousness (B) also continue, though not at the pace of the late ’70s and early ’80s when the ANC set out to drive BC from the face of the eastern Cape. Somehow, this grisly episode has slipped from people’s minds, too.

Mandela has promised a prompt investigation into the torture claims by ANC dissidents. This neatly glosses over the fact that these allegations are merely the tip of a long-ignored iceberg. Scores of BC followers who fled the country after 1976 were placed in detention camps in Angola and Tanzania with the active co-operation of the UN High Commission on Refugees representative in Lusaka. She happened to be the wife of a senior ANC official. Their fates are largely unknown, but several survivors told a US Senate investigator two years ago of how she had been raped and tortured by captors in Quatro, an infamous gulag in Angola.

Merely to highlight such events is not enough. The intimidation is everywhere. Among other results, it has led to a national silence over free speech in the townships amounting to censorship as severe as anything ever imposed by the white government.

The Institute for Race Relations recently held a round table discussion with four black journalists. One, Thembu Molefe of the Sowetan, recounted how he had had a tyre placed round his neck in Tzaneen simply because his newspaper was suspected of BC tendencies. The Star’s Kaiser Nyatsamba complained it was impossible to question black leaders from “below”. “If you do this now,” he said, “they’ll give you a call.” The effect is that nearly all news emerging from the black community has a heavy ANC slant.

My fear is that the white establishment is sliding into functional caucuses with the ANC and its totalitarian project because the establishment lacks either the guts or the basic humanity to do otherwise. It wants order internally. It craves an end to harassment by outside powers who see the situation through the ANC’s eyes and look on Inkatha and the Africans, and anyone else, for that matter — with sneering contempt.

Why this should be a mystery is a mystery in itself. The ANC has made its objectives entirely plain by its “peace” proposal — namely that President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela should do a joint tour through Natal, thus having the government effectively bless the ANC’s assertion that it is the sole representative of the local black population.

At his meeting with de Klerk on
What urban blacks expect of the future

By CHRIS MOERDYK in Johannesburg

THE Rubicon Project — a research exercise on current political reform conducted in Soweto recently — has indicated a considerable degree of political understanding by blacks in the township but has also shown two widely divergent points of view.

Conducted by McCann, a Johannesburg advertising agency, the qualitative research project revealed an optimistic, accommodating viewpoint in which inter-racial reconciliation would play an important part. But it also indicated a view in which powerful racist overtones prevailed, with black resentment and bitterness seeking a vengeful reckoning with the white man whose future in a black South Africa was questionable.

However, Project Rubicon did reveal the existence of a considerable degree of goodwill for President De Klerk and his reform efforts. But this goodwill was tempered by the fear that the reform would either not continue or would prove to be merely window-dressing. The President, said respondents, would have to maintain momentum to retain credibility and support.

Discussing the research project a spokesman for McCann said: "It always comes as a surprise to discover how strongly politicised the average black person tends to be even in normal circumstances and in unrelated and non-political discussions. These research discussions were therefore intelligent, fruitful and highly charged. We believe the respondents reacted well to the subject and participated in good spirit, making for successful groups."

He said Nelson Mandela did in some instances assume god-like proportions and he was considered a unifying element for all the black ideologies, political and tribal. "The recent horrific events on the Reef with the taxi wars and the apparent intervention by the Zulus, however, do not support this attitude and one wonders whether this has changed or at least been tempered somewhat."

Perhaps Nelson Mandela does not after all have the control and influence he was attributed with soon after his release."

Respondents discussed the difference in ideology between the PAC and ANC and there was evidence to strongly suggest that in future the ANC could have credibility problems posed by their very willingness to negotiate with the government.

The ANC would probably do well to distance itself somewhat from the existing government, or the government could appoint a negotiating committee drawn from all political parties. It did not seem improbable, according to the research data, that given free elections, the people would vote for PAC or another non-government favoured party as happened in Zimbabwe when the well-publicised and favoured Bishop Able Muzorewa lost to Robert Mugabe.

Although the groups of blacks participating in the research project showed reason for optimism given the continued reform effort there were two disturbing elements: Firstly, the apparent willingness to "go to war" and the easy way in which "civil war" was talked about as a solution to current events. Given the present climate of violence in the townships it would probably not take a great deal to call to arms the average man in the street. An emotive and charismatic orator could do this with relative ease.

Secondly, while there was on balance more goodwill expressed than not, the young students in the group were very negative and exhibited a strong cynicism for the status quo and expected change.

The spokesman for McCann commented: "It must be noted here that the vast majority of the black population is below the age of 24 (more than 60 percent) so we are talking about a demographic segment of considerable proportions and influence. The government must take this impatient and cynical segment into account with their reform programme and address it directly."

"In the final analysis white South Africans will have to adapt rapidly to prevailing and ever-changing currents. Nothing less than a black government was apparently acceptable and at least a certain amount of rationalisation inevitable as the 'rights' of the nation are accommodated," he said.
PAC exile was one of six killed in shooting

JOHANNESBURG. — The man who was gunned down with his family in Botswana and whose home was destroyed in a bomb blast was an exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Botswana police confirmed the death of Mr Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, his sons Redwan, 26, Amin, 23, and Imran, 17. A nightwatchman, whose name is not known, and a dog also died.

The president of the PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, today condemned the killings and warned that such attacks only served "to escalate the struggle."

Mr Mothopeng said, although he did not have all the facts, he believed the killings may have been carried out by agents of the South African government.

SHOCK

"I mean, who else does this sort of thing in neighbouring countries?" Mr Mothopeng asked.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim last night expressed shock at the killings.

He blamed "agents of apartheid for this cowardly and Satanic act."

"Why kill innocent children? Why don't they take on our combatants who have been giving them hell on the ground?"

"We have always said there has been no change in the country and apartheid continues."

Botswana police were tight-lipped about the attack.

It is understood police did not arrive until long after the shooting even though the house is not far from their post between Botswana and South Africa."
Police debriefing ANC dissidents, says Sisulu

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The 10 dissident African National Congress members detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport were probably to be “debriefed” by the security police, the ANC’s internal leader, Mr Walter Sisulu, has said.

Mr Sisulu — who returned from Umtata yesterday where ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela was on a visit — said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents, who claim they had been tortured in ANC camps in Angola.

The dissidents, who returned to form a rival political group, were detained yesterday under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Protection

Their detention was criticised by the Azanian People’s Organisation as another government attempt to stifle political debate.

But Mr Sisulu said he believed the dissidents were arrested for their own protection from other hostile groups. He believed there was an agreement between the State and the dissidents and their arrest was a form of protection.

A range of political and human rights organisations — including the United Democratic Front, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Detainees Aid Centre — refused to comment.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said the detention of the dissidents under the Internal Security Act proved the government would continue to exert its powers to stifle political debate.

Asked whether it was possible the dissidents had been detained to protect them from ANC retaliation, or to obtain information on the ANC from them, Mr Moodley said: “The possibility exists. But then, the Internal Security Act is not designed as a protective measure, but as a method to extract information with a view to prosecution.”

♦ Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports from parliament that a spokesman for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok confirmed the group was still being held, merely for questioning.

It is understood police are keen to hear first hand the group’s allegations of torture at the hands of the ANC.
ANC security beef-up after rightist threats

By MARIUS BOSCH

SECURITY around ANC leaders is sure to be tightened following right-wing threats against the organisation, an ANC spokesman said yesterday.

Speaking from Lusaka, ANC publicity secretary Mr Tom Sebina also warned that if President F W de Klerk did not control the right wing it would be a "recipe for chaos" in the country.

It is believed that Mr Nelson Mandela and other high-profile leaders are being protected by specially trained Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres.

Mr Sebina said that following reports of a "Boer army" being mobilised and threats made against the ANC, the organisation was taking the threats from the right wing seriously.

Self-styled right-wing extremist Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph has claimed responsibility for the theft of weapons from the SADF and vowed "to go for the throat" of the ANC.

"What was regarded as (right-wing) rhetoric up to now has been translated into deeds," Mr Sebina said.

He said the organisation hoped the government would take "very strong" action against militant right-wingers, adding: "I don't know what we will do with them in the new South Africa."
ANC plan to end Natal violence

DURBAN. — The African National Congress yesterday announced its convening committee for Southern Natal and plans to build formal ANC structures throughout the area — a move which it hopes will help end the violence in the province.

Mr Patrick “Terror” Lekota, ANC convener for Southern Natal, said public meetings to discuss the formation of an ANC branch would be called in each area.

“The ANC is committed to a multiparty democracy, a policy of co-existence of organisations or parties which hold opposing policies, without resorting to armed confrontation,” Mr Lekota said.

“The ANC does not adopt a belligerent position towards Inkatha or any other opposing political party.

“A special word of welcome is addressed to the white, coloured and Indian minority groups.”
PRETORIA. — Sixty out of 692 black councillors have resigned following "unrest and intimidation" over the past few months, the Transvaal MEC in charge of local government, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said here yesterday.
Indemnity for exiles?

Political Staff

WITH the first talks with the ANC a week away, the government yesterday tabled a bill which will grant temporary immunity or permanent indemnity against arrest and prosecution to exiles.

The preamble of the Indemnity Bill of 1990 says that for the sake of reconciliation and the pursuit of peaceful solutions it has become necessary to grant immunity or indemnity to people who might have been guilty of certain criminal offences in the past.

Once passed by Parliament, the Act will empower the State President, if he deems it necessary for the promotion of peaceful constitutional solutions or the unimpeded and efficient administration of justice, to grant either conditional or unconditional immunity to those exiles who participate in negotiations.

The bill stipulates that no proceedings, either civil or criminal, will be instituted or continued against any person granted such immunity for actions carried out by him prior to being granted immunity. Such immunity will apply for certain short periods.
ANC rebels held

Johannesburg. — A group of ANC dissidents who flew into South Africa from Malawi were detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

A police spokesman said the group of 13—six men, two women and two children—were being held for questioning under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

The refugees arrived on board an Air Malawi aircraft after fleeing from Tanzania amid claims that they were tortured by the ANC.

Last week another group of five dissidents—who recently gave details of alleged torture against them in ANC camps to British newspapers—flew into SA but were not detained.

Embarrassment

They told British newspapers of plastic being molded on to a prisoner's skin, of rocks being thrown at faces and of guerillas jumping on the heads of ANC members who had criticized the military leadership.

The deputy president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, admitted two weeks ago that members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), had been tortured. But he added that those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.

"Unfortunately it is true that some of these people who were complaining were in fact tortured," Mr Mandela said.

Political observers believe the arrival of the dissidents has been an embarrassment to the ANC. It has also been speculated that the dissidents would start an anti-apartheid movement in SA opposed to the ANC.

The detentions took place as a draft law allowing President F W de Klerk to delay international sanctions on South Africa was due to be tabled in the House of Representatives today.

He had said these sanctions would be implemented in the interest of the country. He was preparing the way for talks on the release of political prisoners.

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ANC MEMBERSHIP CARDS ... New membership cards are now being distributed to all members of the ANC. Card-carrying members (from left) Tyrone Parks, Errol April and Claude Mullins, all of Mitchells Plain, were among the first in Cape Town to receive theirs, at a function at the Peninsula Technikon on Saturday night. The ANC membership fee is R12 a year.

Picture: BENNY GOOL
ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are introduced to the Cuban youth delegation that attended Sayco's congress in the Eastern Transvaal

PIC: GILL DE VLEIG

Militant youth attack Gatsha

From MONO BADELA
LEKAZI (Eastern Transvaal).— Inkatha chief Gatsha Buthelezi was strongly attacked at a significant congress of the militant South African Youth Congress (Sayco) held here last weekend.

Sayco president Peter Mokaba called the KwaZulu leader an "enemy of the people".

"There's no way we can win Buthelezi back - he is lost cause," he said.

He urged the youth to join the ANC's armed wing.

He made the call because the government continued to draft white youths into the SADF's training camps, he said in his address to more than 1500 delegates from 700 youth congresses and rep-

resenting some 1.5 million members.

Mokaba said it was now legal to join the ANC's armed wing.

It was "muddled thinking to say MK should be dismantled before negotiations," Mokaba said.

The ANC's deputy president Nelson Mandela opened the congress to rousing applause and heaped praise on KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza for his role in aligning his people with the views of the ANC.

Mabuza himself attended the conference held in a jam-packed cinema in Ezinyamalane.

A delegation of the ANC Youth section expected to attend the conference from Lusaka failed to arrive due to lack of clarity on the issue of indemnity for returning exiles.

Foreign delegates as guests or observers to the congress included two Cubans from the Union of Young Communists.

Other guests included students from the predominantly Afrikaans "Youth for the SA - Aufrage".
Political education needed in Natal - DP

He said the political situation was aggravated by the appalling socio-economic conditions in Natal's black townships, and the Department of Development Aid should embark on their upliftment programmes without delay.

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Mr Gavin Woods, agreed that socio-economic conditions had played an immense role in fuelling the violence.

According to research done by the Institute, around 90 percent of all violence in the province is perpetuated by youth.

A youth sub-culture of violence has definitely come into being, a sub-culture where human life has very little value. The youth find their lives in a frightening limbo with harsh and unstable circumstances all around them. They, more than anything, are the tragic product of the apartheid environment," said Woods.

Approaches

"They have heightened expectations that things are going to change, that many good things will come their way ... the reality of their deprivation is frightening, and no direction is left to them to follow other than the political."

Woods suggested three possible approaches to ending the violence.

One was the adoption of the Government's recently announced two-part plan, which included a mass injection of security forces into war-torn areas to quell the fighting, combined with an intensive socio-economic upliftment programme.

Another was KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's adoption of a sustained "hearts and minds" campaign of national proportions to try and cultivate extreme disgust at the violence throughout society.

However, Woods himself believes the most effective approach would be to combine both of the above, and then launch a joint campaign of the national leaders, where they would address joint public rallies and meetings in each of the problem areas.

"These would have to include the message that the violence must stop immediately, and that all past grievances must be buried and forgotten.

"Political education is also necessary - people are going to have to realise that it is necessary to move into conventional politics, and expressing allegiance to a political organisation must be done only through conventional activities."

Structures

This was echoed by the national public secretary for the UDF and ANC convenor in southern Natal, Mr Terror Lekota, who said the ANC was in the process of setting up conventional political structures - which it had been unable to do before February 2 this year - and it was hoped that this would channel the energy and frustration of the people constructively.

He agreed that a sub-culture of violence and lack of discipline had set in to certain communities, and said some sectors had lost touch with the militant direction of the ANC, or had joined without really understanding what the organisation was all about.

This was largely due to the fact that the ANC, being banned, had not been in a position to operate normally. Lekota said they were doing all they could to build up the organisation as quickly as possible.

He said the ANC was committed to a multi-party democracy and intended to emphasise this through political education programmes.

"Where Inkatha has support, it must be allowed to continue. If we can't co-exist with Inkatha, then we can't co-exist with any other political parties," he said.

Regarding the ongoing two-on-two peace talks between members of Inkatha and members of the Cosatu/UDF alliance's Joint Working Committee (JWC), he said although the talks had been productive, "we have the distinct impression that hardly anything can come of them now."

"Quite frankly, at the moment we don't foresee a speedy meeting between ourselves and the Inkatha leadership."

Peace talks

"We have the impression that the Inkatha representatives involved are themselves no longer as confident as they were about the productivity of these talks."

"We believe now that peace will not be found so much between us and Inkatha as between us and the Government - we think now that the emphasis should be placed on the meeting between the ANC and the State President in May," said Lekota.

Both Lekota and Inkatha's secretary-general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said they were optimistic about the future, as they believed the majority of people in Natal supported the message of peace.

However, Dhlomo - a kiafin in the ongoing talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu/UDF alliance - said he believed the ongoing talks with the JWC had been productive, and it was "the resurgence of very unhelpful virulai aimed at Inkatha, especially from certain UDF ranks", which had delayed the fragile peace process.
AN exiled member of the Pan Africanist Congress and his family of four, their nightwatchman and a dog were gunned down in Botswana before a powerful bomb blasted their house.

Botswana police yesterday confirmed the death of Mr Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, his sons Redwan (26), Amina (23) and Imran (17). The identity of the nightwatchman is not yet known.

The police were, however, tight-lipped about the attack and would not name, that she had seen the attackers approaching the house about 2am and had escaped through the back window.

She heard repeated gunshots before the building was blown up.

A relative of the family, who asked not to be named, said yesterday the attackers first shot the three sons before shooting the parents.

It is understood the police did not arrive until long after the shooting even though the house is not far from the border post between Botswana and South Africa, where police are based.

Police said six bodies, including that of the nightwatchman, were recovered from the remains of the devastated house.
ANC exiles return to SA

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

A HANDFUL of ANC dissidents arrived at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday and were whisked away by police for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Colonel Steve van Rooyen yesterday confirmed that the six men, two women and two children would be detained until they had been debriefed.

No special arrangements have been made for the children nor have their ages been disclosed.

“At this stage they are being kept with their parents,” Van Rooyen said.

The group arrived about noon from Lilongwe, Malawi, and were arrested as they stepped out of the aircraft.

They are originally from Tanzania, Van Rooyen said.

Journalists, who had been waiting in the international arrivals hall, were delightedly surprised when ANC leader Mr Walter Sisulu and his wife, Albertina, walked through the arrivals gate.

The couple arrived on a Transkei Airlines flight from Umtata, minutes before the Malawi aircraft landed.

They and Mr Nelson Mandela had visited their ancestral and family homes in Transkei.

They were just as surprised to see the journalists.

Commenting on the arrests, Sisulu suggested they were merely a cover-up for the State’s obligation to protect the dissidents who were allegedly tortured by Umkhonto we Sizwe as South African Government spies who had infiltrated the ANC.

“There is really nothing to the arrests.

“For sure they will be assisted by the State to set up a political opposition against the ANC,” he said.

Sisulu was in good spirits about his visit to Transkei and said the place was “absolutely fantastic”.

He said the leaders and chiefs in the area said they would “take over” from the youth and rally support for the ANC themselves.
ANC dissidents held for police questioning

A GROUP of ANC dissidents who flew into South Africa were detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport from Malawi yesterday.

A police spokesman said the group of 10 — six men, two women and two children — were being held for questioning under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Asked how the new Indemnity Bill — which was published soon after the dissidents' arrival — would affect their cases, he said there would be no automatic indemnity for the people.

President F W de Klerk would look at individual cases on their merits, he added.

The refugees arrived aboard an Air Malawi aircraft, after fleeing from Tanzania amid claims that they were tortured by the ANC.

An ANC spokesman said the organization had no comment to make on the arrival or detention of the 10.

A spokesman for Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said reports were sketchy, but it was unclear whether the group included any of the people Tutu saw in Nairobi last month.

"The archbishop would condemn any detention without trial," Tutu said.

Tutu had asked the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) to help a group of five former members of ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe to return from Nairobi to SA, the spokesman said.

Tutu said in Cape Town earlier this month he had been approached by the group while he was in Nairobi last month. The refugees were accusing the ANC of brutal treatment.

"While they said they had been ill-treated by the ANC, they did not go into details and I was unable to make any judgment on their account," Tutu said.

He had referred the matter to the refugee desk of the AACC, "which has considerable expertise in dealing with the problems of refugees throughout Africa."

SAPA reports police could not say how long the group would be detained.

Access

A police spokesman said that if they were not seen to be a threat, arrangements would probably be made for their permanent residence in SA.

"Being a member of the ANC is no longer illegal, but knowing nothing about them, it would be silly to allow them free access into the country," he said.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela admitted two weeks ago that Umkhonto we Sizwe members had been tortured. But he added that those responsible had been disciplined and expelled from the movement.
PAC calls for calm at funeral
Own Correspondent

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has appealed for calm and discipline at the funeral of its founder member, Mr Japhta (Jeff) Masemola, in Atteridgeville this weekend.

The funeral, originally set for Sunday, will take place on Saturday, it was announced.

"We are laying to rest a respectable national leader and we want his funeral to be treated with the respect it deserves," Mr Benny Ntoele, the PAC's publicity secretary, said at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday.

The organisation stated that only PAC banners and flags would be displayed during the funeral service, to take place at the Super Stadium in Atteridgeville from 9:30 am.

Mr Masemola (60), who died in a car accident on April 17, will be buried at the old Atteridgeville cemetery at 1:30 pm. He will lie at the local community hall from 7 am to 9 am.

Mr Masemola, who was jailed in 1963, was released from Robben Island in October last year. He served 26 years of a life sentence for PAC activities.

Mr Ntoele said a vigil would be held at the Mase- mola family home at 26 Makgatho Street, Atteridgeville, on Friday from 8 pm.

Memorial services will be held at various venues countrywide today, including the Atteridgeville Meth- odist Church near Rankie's shop, Mamelodi Community Centre and the Roman Catholic Church in Klerksdorp. All start at 8 pm.
10 dissidents held for ‘own protection’

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The 10 dissident African National Congress members who had been detained on arrival at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday would probably be “debriefed” by the security police, said ANC internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu.

Mr Sisulu, who had returned from Umtata, where Mr Nelson Mandela was on a visit, said the ANC was not worried about the return of the dissidents, who claimed they were tortured at ANC camps in Angola.

The dissidents, who returned to form a rival political group, were detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Sisulu said he believed the dissidents were held for their own protection from other hostile groups. He believed there had been an agreement between the State and the dissidents.

While a range of organisations, including the United Democratic Front, the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Detainees’ Aid Centre, refused to comment, some observers expressed concern that the detentions could jeopardise negotiations on a new constitution. The detentions were criticised by the Azanian People’s Organisation.
Mystery over Chand bombing

MYSTERY still surrounds the bombing of the Pan Africanist Congress family of five in Botswana as the country’s government and police remain tight-lipped over the incident yesterday.

A source told Sowetan yesterday the “matter will be addressed by President Quett Masire when he returns from his trip outside the country”.

The source said all government departments had their “hands full” after a person was shot dead outside State House in Gaborone yesterday.

The Botswana police said the bombing of Mr Sam Chand, his wife, three sons and their night-watchman was being investigated.

They would not say whether the attackers of the Chand home in Sikwane Village in the Kgateng district on Monday morning were from outside Botswana or if it was politically motivated.

South African Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday said police had nothing to do with the attack.

Our correspondent reports that an SAP spokesman in Pretoria said that if the PAC had any information to substantiate its claim that the attack was the work of South African agents it was welcome to present its evidence which would be looked into.
I WANT to commend Soweto for giving environmental awareness a place on the agenda of the workers’ struggle.

I must also commend them for ignoring the view held by those who say we are simplistic or that we trivialise the struggle by linking environmental issues to it.

When you introduce environmental awareness to the agenda of the struggle, you are taking a holistic approach to the struggle, which is what Nation Building is all about.

**Approach**

This is an approach through which we should concern ourselves, not only with the achievement of political freedom, but also freedom from hunger, disease and ignorance which are among the most serious problems facing former colonies of Africa, Asia and South America.

Because its holistic approach to the struggle, Nation Building can be defined in many ways, one of them defining it as a process of socio-political and economic reconstruction, through which we can draw a number of conclusions that can lead us to the ending of apartheid.

The concept is about the empowerment of the masses to help them know how to face challenges of a post-apartheid society.

**Concept**

Through this concept, we preach a revolution that will not only bring about a change of political leadership as the liberation struggle has done in most former colonies, but a revolution that will change the nation’s mentality, perceptions, values and norms.

There is a clear distinction between apartheid as a philosophy of tribal discrimination and laws that enforce the economic exploitation and political oppression of the black or African people.

Our struggle should not be a one-sided affair, where we only attack the oppressor. We must also attack the system, the laws that enforce the apartheid of the black or African people.

Our struggle should be aimed at doing away with both. But I wonder if political activists who seem to have assumed the monopoly of the struggle are aware of these differences as most of us seem to think the removal of apartheid laws alone will lead to our liberation.

The removal of apartheid laws is just one and comparatively the least crucial aspect of our struggle.

At a stroke of a pen, we could rid of all apartheid laws in the statute books. But unless we also attack the system, the laws that enforce the apartheid of the black or African people, the struggle will remain incomplete.

**Victims**

This is the apartheid that has become so entrenched in our mental make-up that even in the post-apartheid era, we will continue acting as if the way victims of apartheid are supposed to act.

As a system of interpreting social reality, Nation Building takes cognisance of the fact that the revelation of social reality is the first step towards changing society.

Since nationhood comes about because of the character of its people, you cannot build a nation without first developing people who constitute a nation’s components.

A complete development of people means building among other things spiritual, moral, cultural, economic, political, technological and academic character of the individual.

**Attitudes**

To do this successfully, you have to also address the environment in which we live. This is because the environment determines many things about the people’s cultural values, attitudes, norms and lifestyles.

It determines their relationship with their fellow men and with the Almighty God.

The environment also determines the health and wealth of a nation.

Living conditions in places like Mchongville where the streets are not tarred, and where garbage is left lying in the open for many weeks, gives people tuberculosis and a variety of other diseases related to overcrowded and unhealthy living conditions.

**Problems**

In trying to disguise the effects of the environment on the make-up of our socio-political personalities, our education system has been designed in such a way that doctors and nurses are trained to provide medical solutions to problems caused by environmental conditions under which their patients live.

A nation that does not own the land on which it lives cannot be wealthy and a nation without wealth is no nation at all.

It is because we do not own the land that the Government of this country encouraged us to commit the crime of destroying our environment.

In townships of Soweto blacks were forbidden to plant trees as it was argued that trees would lead to the collapse of their houses. But the houses would collapse because they were of very inferior quality.

In white suburbs trees have become part of the white man’s culture. It is a breach of council by-laws for anybody to remove a tree even from his own yard without getting permission from the local authorities.

The environment in which we live is being destroyed deliberately through the apartheid state.

**Resist**

To resist this unjust law, let us as a community of workers educate the nation about the environment.

By doing so, you will not only be removing the tangle of chains that bind the people’s hands and feet, but you’ll be removing the psychological blinkers that would otherwise make us continue to be our own oppressors even after the collapse of apartheid.

By interpreting and telling the people the truth about their environment, you will be freeing the people’s minds.

**Struggle**

There are many nations of this world that have perished or are about to perish today, because they failed to make environmental issues part of their struggle against colonialism.

If you plant a tree, you will be taking an insurance policy that will save our nation from ruin.

One Afrikaner friend jokingly told me the day that they blacks were so fond of blaming colonialism or the white man for things that go wrong in Africa that sooner or later, the white man would be blamed for the drought that is hitting Northern African countries like Chad, Ethiopia and Sudan.

It was until I visited Ethiopia two years ago that I stopped seeing any humour in the remarks passed by my Afrikaner friends.

I started realising that colonialism was indeed to blame for part of our lack of respect for the environment and consequently, we have had the so-called ‘natural’ catastrophes that have ruined a number of countries of Africa.

**Desert**

It is the absence of trees that is turning a greater part of Africa into desert.

Fertile soil is being eroded when it rains in the mountains of Lesotho.

If we planted trees, we would increase the amount of oxygen that people scramble for in the overcrowded townships of Soweto.

If we had trees in Ethiopia, there would be no drought there because trees provide the humidity that causes rain.

If we had trees, our roofs would not be blown away by wind because trees serve as effective windbreakers.

**Environment**

Before you leave this meeting, I want you to commit yourselves to doing something from today, to ensure that we live in a decent environment.

Commit yourselves to planting a tree to mark the significance of May Day, June 16, Heroes Day and all other dates that bear significance to our struggle.

For instance like Arbor Day, which comes in August, we could request our employers to give us half a day off from work in order to go and plant trees.

If you plant a tree, you will be saving a nation.

I wish all of you a very green and pollution-free day.

Thank you and God bless the Nation.
Sayco leaders to hold joint peace rally in bid to end violence

BUSHBUCKRIDGE — Youth leaders at Bushbuckridge have called for a joint peace rally to halt violence in the Eastern Transvaal area.

A spokesman for the SA Youth Congress said the rally would take place at Acornhoek's Mapulaneng Technicon on Saturday.

A letter has been written to Lebowa leader Mr Nelson Ramohle, asking for his co-operation.

The Sayco spokesman added that the Lebowa Minister of Works, Mr L M Mokoena, and Bushbuckridge Principals Council members had agreed to meet youth representatives at separate meetings tomorrow.

Assaulted by police

The Bushbuckridge Sayco affiliates made the rally decision at a meeting on Sunday, where they also resolved that students should return to school “despite all problems”.

The spokesman claimed youths on their way to school in Marleti on Tuesday had been assaulted by Lebowa police and “the notorious Mankweng Riot Squad”, and that 1,500 pupils were allegedly arrested.

Lebowa Police Commissioner Colonel J J de Swardt said there were not sufficient facilities to detain that amount of people in the homeland.

Although information about such a raid had not been passed on to him, similar allegations had proved unfounded in the past.

The officer in charge of operations was not available to comment on the allegations. — Sapa.
Barney Desai, Western Cape PAC coordinator, left, at the memorial service at St George’s Cathedral on Wednesday for Jeff Masemola, who died in a road accident last week.
Apartheid laid to rest

From CHRISTINA SCOTT

DURBAN. — Verwoerd must have rolled over in his grave at the news — cemetery apartheid here has been laid to rest.

Grave-faced councillors won the motion by a majority of one after conservatives tossed out the issue three times.

The tussle was complicated by the absence of any racially restricting by-laws.

Apartheid in Durban, it seems, was so habitual that laws were not needed to enforce a status quo.

But the rightwingers have vowed not to let the matter die.

"A political move," sneered former Royal Air Force pilot and rightwing Civic Action League chairman Arthur Morris, who argued that whites were "uncomfortable with black habits of large funerals."

This will not be the end of the matter," blustered his colleague, Athol Bowles. "People will take action."
ANC's first recruits

HUNDREDS of Western Cape residents are carrying their coveted black, green and gold African National Congress membership cards following the start of the organisation's recruitment drive.

The ANC will be establishing branches soon, stretching from Namaqualand to Plettenberg Bay. The Western Cape is the largest ANC region in the country.

The Western Cape Interim Committee of the ANC has been broadened since the announcement of a five-person team.

The committee now consists of Reggie September, Trevor Manuel, Amos Lingisi, Christmas Tinto, Johnny Issel, Mzonke Jacobs, Mountain Qumbela, Cheryl Carolus, Neville van der Rheede and Amy Thornton.

At a meeting last Saturday, the ANC (Western Cape) discussed methods of initiating the process of establishing the organisation legally in the region.

People from as far as Namaqualand and Oudtshoorn attended the meeting.

Namaqualand

The Interim Committee has divided the Cape region into zones, which will consist of at least three branches. Each branch must have at least 100 paid-up members. Membership fees are R1.2 a year.

Zones are to be established in Cape Town as well as Namaqualand, Cedarberg, West Coast, Boland, Karoo, South Western Cape and Northern Cape.

ANC structures inside and outside the country are being consolidated and people have been elected or co-opted to serve on them.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) is the highest decision-making body.

Inside the country, the Internal Leadership Core (ILC) operates under the chairmanship of Walter Sisulu with Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and regional convenors.

The ILC will grow as NEC members return from exile. Serving on the ILC is Wilton Mkwayi (organising department), Ahmed Kathrada (information and publicity), Raymond Suttner (political education) and the UDP's Archie Gumede and Popo Molefe.

ANC Western Cape Interim Committee member Mzonke Jacobs signs up Retreat resident Adam Jaffer at the ANC's meeting at the Peninsula Technikon last Saturday.

PAC, Azapo slam ANC on talks

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) this week called on the African National Congress to pull out of negotiations with the Government.

Their call follows an interview on British television with state president FW de Klerk in which he dismissed majority rule as a simplistic model.

The PAC and Azapo spokespersons said De Klerk had already permitted the talks-about-talks scheduled for May 2.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said: "The view still expressed is that De Klerk vindicates the PAC's stance that he is not ready for any meaningful talks and anybody who negotiates with the Government now is a sellout."

"The PAC wants to warn the masses that the smell of appeasement is thick in the air," Alexander said.

Azapo's president Jerry Moshal said De Klerk's statement confirmed the organisation's suspicions that no real negotiations were intended by the government.

"The ANC should not commit suicide," he said.

Meanwhile the ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela told 6 000 people at the University of Transkei this week that he would shortly be meeting PAC president Zeph Mothopeng.

He said the ANC intended to work for total unity among blacks, adding that he had also recently met officials of Azapo and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).
Diversity a strength

Indications are that the ANC '11' to represent the movement at next week's historic meeting with the government have been selected to produce results.

A mixed bag of young and old, Robben Island stalwarts and Young Turks based in Lusaka and inside the country, make up a formidable team.

MONO BADELA looks at the men and women the Nats will face:

ANC's army, is expected to provide the main response to the government's insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

Ruth Mompati is a senior member of the ANC's NEC and a noted strategist on the Political and Military Council. She is a veteran of the 1952 defiance campaign.

She has been out of the country since 1962.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela greets the nation

Mandela

Siulu

Nzo

Gumede

Mompati

Kathrada

Mbeki
Unions: quiet force

The labor movement will be the ‘quiet force’ when the May 2 talks get under way.

CHIARA CAR-TER, examines some of the debates on the shop-floor.

Jay Naidoo

The labor movement is a terrain of struggle they cannot substi-tute for mass struggle which, it argues, is the path to power.

Last week, Cosatu's largest affiliate, the Na-tional Union of Metal-workers of South Africa (Numal), adopted a reso-lution similar to that of the ANC on the question of negotia-tions and prepara-tions for meeting with the government.

In an interview with the Labour Bulletin following the Cosatu congress, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the fed-eration saw negotiations as a “multi-faceted strat-egy”.

Emphasis

Naidoo emphasized the importance of mass struggle in determining what would happen at the negotiating table.

“We are absolutely clear that it is the struggle of the masses which will basically determine the shape and content of post-apartheid society.

“Negotiations must express the content of mass struggles. The balance of forces of each party at the negotiating table will be determined by their strength on the ground,” Naidoo said.

Numsa general secre-tary Moses Mayekiso has also stressed the import-ance of building mass structures in order to be in a position to “control” negotiations.

Mayekiso said it was vitally important for far-reaching discussion about the constitution, a work- ing class state, the economy, the workers char-acter and the South African movement to take place in the MDM.

The SAPC has also ar-gued that white negotia-tions are a terrain of struggle they cannot substi-tute for mass struggle which, it argues, is the path to power.

Within its own ranks Cosatu has embarked on a programme of discussion about the constitutional guidelines.

Of major significance is the federation’s campaign for a worker's charter.

A question which covers worker rights within the factory and beyond has been widely distributed as a prelude to the drawing up of such a charter.

Still to be determined is whether the charter is to be a document which is specific to the labour movement, part of a new constitution or written into labour law.

Also of far reaching importance is how Cosatu has implemented its con-gress resolution to exam-ine the South African economy.

Impact

Cosatu's economic trends project is already achieving considerable impact on the labour movement's approach to restructuring the economy.

The Hazare meeting between the federation and the SAPC resolved in consultation with the ANC to draw up a programme for economic reconstruc-tion in South Africa.

This will clearly be part of the labour movement’s agenda for negotiations.

Undefined

Still undefined is how the labour movement is to be involved in the actual negotiating process.

The absence of a labour movement representative from the team to meet with the government on May 2 has been the cause of some raised eyebrows.

It is unclear how Cosatu’s independence will affect the federation’s inclusion in an ANCYL team and to what extent the SAPC will represent organi-zed labour’s interests.

Also to be determined is how the federation will ensure that participation in negotiations is on the basis of mandates from mem-bers.

Numsa is currently engaged in an ambitious factory-level consultation with its members about negotiations.
ANC 'umbrella' denied

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The African National Congress has never demanded that all black organisations in South Africa should fall under its umbrella, according to Mr Patrick Lekota, ANC convenor in southern Natal and the UDP's national publicity secretary.

He was responding to statements made yesterday by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said the ANC had asked all blacks to come under their umbrella before negotiations with the government, and that they were belligerent towards Inkatha.

'This is not, in my view, in keeping with the concept of multiparty democracy. It is aimed more at establishing a one-party state,' Chief Buthelezi said.

However, Mr Lekota said 'at no stage' had the ANC demanded that all organisations fall under its umbrella.

'What the ANC supports and puts forward is that blacks should move towards a common position and speak to the government as one united voice.'
Slovo will speak but Press will have to pay

By ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

THE general secretary of the South African Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, will speak in this country for the first time since the early '60s at an African National Congress rally in Mitchell's Plain on Sunday.

On the platform with him will be other members of the ANC delegation who will hold talks with the government on May 2, including the deputy-president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela. Five members of the ANC's external delegation are due to leave Lusaka for Cape Town on tomorrow.

A decision by the ANC to charge the media for places at the historic rally has caused an outcry among journalists.

The announcement that journalists would be expected to pay for the use of a special platform was made at the first Press conference of the Western Cape regional ANC interim committee in Cape Town yesterday.

Similar arrangements were made for the recent Mandela-pop concert at Wembley, London, where journalists were asked to pay £100 (more than R400) for information kits, refreshments and a marquee.

NOT MAKING MONEY

ANC regional committee member, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said it was hoped the media would pay for the stand, which would cost an estimated R30 000 to erect.

"I can assure you we are not making money out of you. We would like to, but we are not," she added.

The committee, said there would be ordinary accreditation for journalists on the ground and special colour-coded accreditation for a paid-up position on the scaffolding.

Places on the scaffolding could cost between R200 and R300, she said.

It is understood photographers will not be able to take pictures without a place on the scaffolding. Those wishing to bring their own structures have been told the city council will not allow them to do so.

A freelance cameraman pointed out at the Press conference that the ANC had relied on freelancers to cover similar events in the past and asked what kind of provision would be made for them if they could not afford to pay.

FULL DELEGATION

Meanwhile, Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyasumba of The Argus Political Staff reported that the high-powered delegation from Lusaka will arrive in the country tomorrow, four days before next Wednesday's talks.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki said: "I have also been informed that they will fly to Cape Town and not Johannesburg."

Besides Mr Slovo, the Lusaka delegation will include ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, foreign affairs director and "crown prince" Mr Thabo Mbeki, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise, and national executive committee member Ms Ruth Mompati. They will join South African-based ANC delegates, led by Mr Mandela, for the three-day talks with the government.

Police yesterday told the organisers of the Mitchell's Plain meeting that it would be illegal if magisterial permission were not given — but the organisers said they would not seek permission.

Ms Carolus said rally organisers had "learnt a lot of lessons since the Grand Parade" — where congestion caused problems when Mr Mandela spoke on February 11.

She said 2 000 marshalls had been trained in crowd control during the past three weeks.
Gangster shot dead, 4 wounded

Crime Reporter

A GANGSTER was killed and four others wounded when two men opened fire on them near a block of flats in Haslemere.

Mr. Clive Atkinson, 23, of 23 Haslemere Road, Harrow, died instantly after he was shot at by 10 pm yesterday and Mr. Reginald Phillips, 21, of 21 Haslemere Road, Harrow, was also shot dead.

The police said three men were injured. One was taken to St. Mary's Hospital and the other two were treated at the scene.

Woman's death leap off bridge—lands on car

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — Two women have died by suicide in the Eastern Cape.

One of the women, aged about 40, had jumped off the bridge and young man was killed by the car as he crossed the bridge.

Wm. R. McQuaid, the manager of the bridge, said he was not sure how many people had jumped off the bridge.

The car was described as a black car and the man was said to be a black man.

Policeman executed, stabbed, killed 45 times

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A police officer was stabbed and killed by a man who said he was a member of the police force.

The murderer, who was described as about 6 ft. 4 in. tall and aged about 30, was armed with a knife and was seen to stab the policeman in the stomach.

Woman on walk attacked, robbed

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — Some women have been robbed and attacked while walking in London.

One woman was attacked in the West End and another in the East End. The women were said to be carrying money and jewelry when they were attacked.

Keep your dog tied

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Police are on the lookout for a dog that has escaped from its owner.

When the dog escaped, it was seen running through the streets of Pretoria.

Police said the dog was last seen running in the direction of the railway station.

Mike Tyson goes for booze and women

FROM RAMSAY MAINE

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — Mike Tyson, the boxer, has been spotted in New York.

Tyson, who is known for his aggressive style, has been seen drinking at bars and restaurants in the city.

The boxer, who is known for his temper, has been arrested several times in the past.

Bill蔡斯, Tyson's estranged manager, has been quoted as saying that Tyson's present love of the bottle and spending money on women is due to his past bad habits.

The boxer said he had been drinking heavily to ease the pain of his marital problems and his estranged wife Robin Givens had filed for divorce in October 1986.

But Tyson said he had stopped drinking after his disappointing performance in February that year against Britain's Frank Bruno.

Few believed him then and have since repeated her claims.

First came word that he was being investigated for his 47-year-old wife, Beverly, who had been charged with cocaine possession.

But Tyson said he was not sure what had happened to the money.

Tyson said: "I think Tyson has lost his interest." Tyson then said: "I don't think he can take the pressure anymore. He either tries to fight or try to fight to fight.

Tyson's former manager, Robin Givens, was quoted as saying that Tyson had been drinking heavily before his fight against James ("Sugar"") Duncan.

Cloudy and cold

(Details — page 9)
ANC gets set

20 branches for W Cape; thousands waiting to join — claim

By Andrea Weiss
Staff Reporter

The African National Congress is planning 20 sub-regions in the Western Cape, the organisation's regional interim committee has disclosed.

At a meeting in Cape Town yesterday the committee said that the decision to form 20 sub-regions was taken last weekend at a closed meeting to which about 500 activists had been invited.

The ANC's constitution stipulated that each branch should have no less than 100 members. The level of interest would determine the number of branches.

Thousands of people are waiting to sign up with the ANC, the interim committee claimed.

"Foot soldiers"

In one street in Guguletu 112 people had gathered to wish to join, making a branch on their own. In Athlone an estimated 2,000 people wanted to join.

Ten people in the elite Bellville suburb of Welgelegen have expressed an interest in joining the ANC after attending an informal discussion group at a private house in the area.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr of the UDF executive said the meeting in Welgelegen was not an ANC recruitment meeting but a discussion group. Ten residents have not yet signed up.

"Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC spokesman in the Western Cape, said the ANC was thinking of branches and recruitment of members to be a priority.

Top policeman ordered killing of Mxenge, says Coetzee

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Former hit squad boss Dirk Coetzee has told the Harris Commission here that the regional commander of security police in Port Natal, Brigadier J van der Hooven, ordered the killing of human rights lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge.

Among the chilling and detailed allegations made by Mr Coetzee, whose claims about alleged hit squad activities are pivoting on the commission's inquiry, the exiled anti-apartheid leader's chief described how:

Brigadier Van der Hooven issued orders to kill Mxenge, and then debriefed Mr Coetzee at home in his pyjamas after the killing.

He witnessed the poisoning and shooting of African National Congress member Mr Bheki Kondlele, and was present at the violent interrogation of kidnapped ANC man Mr Joe Pillay.

He also said instructions were issued by Brigadier Van der Hooven to "get rid of him" (Mxenge) — and that can only mean one thing — take him out, kill him. We have a language (in the security police) where a few words mean a lot. Taking him out does not mean taking him out of the room, and that the victim was not to be shot.

He (Coetzee) selected the hit squad, amongst them Almond Nofemela, David Tshikalange, Joe Mamasela and Brian Nkulule.

"Knock-out drops" Coetzee obtained from General Lotisile Nthethwane, head of the police forensic laboratories, were used to kill a victim.

"Poor drops are enough for an average man. They are colourless and tasteless..."
By CHIARA CARTER and REHANA ROSSOUW
THE African National Congress is planning a major show of strength on the eve of its historic talks with the South African government next week.

Feverish preparations are underway for a massive ANC rally scheduled to take place at the Lentegeur sportsground in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town, on Sunday.

For the first time in more than 30 years, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, and South African Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Joe Slovo, will address a gathering inside the country.

ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, will also speak at the historic rally, which precedes the talks between the ANC and the government on May 2.

ANC national executive committee members Mr Aziz Pahad and chief of security Mr Joe Nhlanhla were the first to arrive in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Security

The two were spotted at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg by journalists on Wednesday night but arrived in Cape Town under a veil of security.

An airport official at DF Malan airport said they had been whisked off the tarmac by officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

ANC intelligence chief, Mr Jacob Zuma, flew to South Africa earlier this week to make security arrangements for the ANC team due to arrive in Cape Town on Friday.

The main programme at the Lentegeur rally will begin at 3pm.

From noon, there will be cultural events and speakers from the MDM.

The ANC interim committee (W Cape) says it wants to prevent a repeat of the events which occurred at the Grand Parade rally on the release of Mandela.

Lessons

Interim committee member, Ms Cheryl Carolus said the ANC had "learnt a lot of lessons from the Grand Parade" and were anticipating a large crowd.

"One cannot underestimate the popularity of the ANC," Carolus said.

Members of the Western Cape interim committee met the Cape Town City Council and other local authorities this week to make arrangements for the meeting.

Toilet facilities, water points, first aid and traffic control have been guaranteed by the rally organisers.

By Wednesday, City Council employees had already cleared bush surrounding the sportsgrounds and scaffolding was about to be erected.

The ANC said there would be more than 2,000 trained marshalls present to control the crowds.

According to sources, additional security will be provided by members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, who will guard the ANC speakers.

● First recruits Page 5
The most striking thing about the government's negotiating team for May 2 with the ANC is how under-represented the Cape is and how prominent the Transvaal is.

Or viewed differently, how the University of Stellenbosch does not shape up to the University of Potchefstroom.

It demolishes one popularly held view — namely that the Cape is more liberal from the Transvaal because the two men represent the strongly 'righter' element in the Cabinet, with Law and Order Minister Adesan Vlok probably being closer to the centre of the National Party.

The other eight are FW de Klerk (State President), Gerrit Viljoen (Constitutional Development), Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Stoffel van der Merwe (Education and Development), Berend du Plessis (Finance), Davel de Villiers (Minister of Environment, Public Enterprise, and Housing) and Adriaan Viljoen (Postmaster General).

Roelf Meyer (Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development) who will also provide the "secretariat".

Stellenbosch

Of these only Davel de Villiers went to Stellenbosch and is also the only Constitution Minister — a fact from the days when it was accepted that Malan provided the leaders of the National Party.

The University of Potchefstroom provides two and a half members — FW himself plus Barren du Plessis and Stoffel van der Merwe who started out at Potchefstroom but finished his degree at the University of Pretoria.

The University of Stellenbosch has three and a half representatives — Pik Botha, Gerrit Viljoen and also Stoffel van der Merwe, The Free State University in Bloemfontein has two students — Koos Coetzer and Koos Botha.

While the geographic element is interesting, more important is the influence of Potchefstroom, intellectual heart of the Government of the Republic, smallest of the three Dutch Reformed Churches. It is the most conservative and of these churches in its social view but has always been strongly pro-governmentally.

Increasingly the National Party leadership is saying that what it wants to do in South Africa is create a just society — a view and an approach which has Potchefstroom stamped all over it and one which is too frequently ignored when evaluating the De Klerk National Party.

Nair, too, the that two men who carry most weight in the NP's caucus and is the party of the IFP and FW de Klerk and Berend du Plessis, both born in Johannesburg, schooled on the Right and are Potch Old Boys.

With the exception of Vlok, all ministers also sit on the special Cabinet committee on negotiation. They, too, have just taken the place of Provincial Affairs Minister Herman Kriel — not an indicator that Kriel is too conservative but that the issue of law and order will be high on the agenda on May 2.

Exclusion

Most noticeable is the exclusion of senior minister Magnus Malan, whose department is playing a much smaller role under De Klerk than under Botha.

The composition of the government team underlines the need for basic issues to be discussed both political and not security-related.

In the past few weeks De Klerk has convinced his government to the scrapping of the remaining apartheid measures while several of the negotiating team have started the need for negotiations to get the groundbreaker rather than later.

Of course, the main

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State President FW de Klerk
UNITY is expected to be high on the agenda when more than 250 delegates attend a civic conference in Atlantis from April 27 to 29.

ANC internal leader, Mr Wilton Mkwaiyi, will deliver the keynote address. An interim committee to launch a united civic structure will be elected at the end of the deliberations.

Delegates from as far as Namaqualand, Karoo towns and Knysna in the Southern Cape will attend. They will represent more than 100 civic organisations.

The theme of the conference is "Unity Through Civic Action".

Conference organiser, Ms Zobra Ebrahim, said the consequences of government policy were felt mostly at local government level.

"People involved in civic organisations are thus best placed to make an impact on the way of life in a future South Africa," Ebrahim said.

"We can decide on the way we want to be governed and future policy on land and housing."

Ebrahim said the conference was being held to give people an opportunity to meet and work through the problems they faced in civic structures in both the urban and rural areas.

At present, most policy decisions were taken in urban areas, rural issues were often ignored, she said. 30.11.94 - 25/4/95

"There has been a resurgence in civic activities since the beginning of the year — as witnessed through the hundreds of marches that were held, taking people's demands to the local municipalities," Ebrahim said.

"This indicates the necessity for the conference, so that we can forge unity to take up civic issues throughout the country."

A recent UDF workshop resolved to work towards such a structure. A full-time coordinator would be appointed soon.

"Another important focus of the conference is to discuss the role of civics, particularly after the unbanning of the ANC, and the creation of more space in which to organise," Ebrahim said.

"We now have an alternative leadership in the ANC and we can speak directly to the future government about our problems, knowing that we will be heard," she said.
MOST people believe each side comes to the negotiations table with insistent, if not extreme demands.

The demands are gradually softened by confrontations, threats and pleading.

If the two parties do not trust each other, negotiations cannot succeed.

The positions of each party should be determined and a compromise found between the two extremes.

Concern exists about enforcing the compromise, and representatives often face the daunting task of trying to convince their constituency to support the agreement with the argument, "It's the best we could get, given the circumstances".

Future

If this is the kind of negotiations South Africans have in mind when they anticipate the future, the process will be long and arduous.

The situation in South Africa, however, is unique and — while lessons can be learnt from other countries — they cannot be imposed in our negotiations.

The South African government and the ANC are not bargaining petty issues. They will debate the transfer of power from the National Party to the majority of people.

Their negotiations will determine not only a new constitution for the country, but — many hope — a new way of life.

People's expectations of negotiations are high. They expect it to deliver jobs, housing, education, land and health for all.

It is in each party's long-term interest to "provide space" for internal bargaining to be successful on the opponent's side.

This was accomplished recently when the government unbanned the ANC and 30 other organisations, freeing them to meet, consult and plan for negotiations.

Secondly, ensuring that representatives of all influential constituencies are part of negotiations is crucial to their success.

The popular myth of the government and the ANC sitting down at a table and negotiating the future of the nation is unrealistic.

The two key actors may well be able to agree on next steps for a negotiation process which will quickly bring in broader actors.

Getting to the table, or pre-negotiation, is often the hardest part of the job. "Bargaining about bargaining" is thus a key stage in negotiation.

Numerous issues must be resolved before negotiations can take place. These include:

- Location — where talks are held often hold enormous emotional symbolism for parties.

- Time frame — how to meet, how often and for how long.

- Participants — who will be at the bargaining table?

- Procedures and ground rules — format of discussion, behaviour at the table, how to deal with the media.

Challenge

The real challenge in South Africa will not be how to devise processes capable of bringing the right people to the right place at the right time. Rather, the question is whether the key actors are prepared to learn from the hard-won lessons of similar situations elsewhere.

(Adapted from an article by Ron Kaybill, an authority on conflict mediation established at the UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, published in the January 1990 edition of Leadership.)
The South African business community has blown hot and cold — if the indices on the JSE are used as a guage — since the release of Nelson Mandela and the February 2 speech of FW de Klerk.

Hopes of world markets opening and great economic prosperity have been tempered by the nationalisation "bogey".

But special contributor RONNIE BETHLEHEM detects a sense of optimism now that the ANC government talks are back on the rails:

The Western Province Council of Churches welcomes the National Executive delegation of the ANC into Cape Town.

We note the significance and urgency of your meeting with De Klerk and his government.

We wish you well in this difficult task and pray for God's blessing and guidance over you.

WESTERN CAPE TRADERS' ASSOCIATION

We express our solidarity with the ANC delegation in its historic talks with the government on May 2.

It is our prayer it will be the beginning of a process that will eventually bring peace and justice to our country.

Ronnie Bethlehem
**Business view**

The South African business community has blown hot and cold — if the indices on the JSE are used as a guage — since the release of Nelson Mandela and the February 2 speech of FW de Klerk.

Hopes of world markets opening and great economic prosperity have been tempered by the nationalisation "boogie". But special contributor RONNIE BETHLEHEM detects a sense of optimism now that the ANC/government talks are back on the rails:

Ronnie Bethlehem

The popular view of February 2, 1990 was that it was solely an initiative of de Klerk. While nothing should be said to diminish the vision, courage or wisdom of the State President, this is too one-sided an interpretation.

The initiative would never have been taken if there had not been a placid De Klerk and his senior government colleagues not found in Mandela a leader whose own integrity, courage and authority they felt they could trust.

Cynicism, had Mandela not come to be independent judgement that the moment now was ripe for a change. De Klerk's initiative and never have been taken.

All the evidence suggests that the understanding achieved between de Klerk and Mandela is still in place despite the strain that has been placed upon it during the past months.

Not only has the increase in violence, especially in Natal, tested that understanding, but attempts have also been made by extremists of both the left and right to subvert it by increasing fear and confusion within the constraints of both men.

Also important has been their realisation that time is running out for both their parties. For the NP, time is of the essence because it fails to deliver on a constitution negotiated with credible black leaders, it will forfeit control of Parliament to the CP.

**Domination**

In other words, in opting for democracy and abandoning white domination, it has abandoned any possibility of a second chance being given it by an exclusively white electorate.

For the ANC, time is of the essence too because if it fails, the initiative black politics must shift towards the PAC to whose unprecedented black nationalism the younger generations of radical township youth must logically relate.

The ANC's commitment to non-racialism needs to be seen by whites, and the business community especially, despite the organisation's reaffirmation of nationalisation, in this harsh perspective.

While in present circumstances the ANC holds the major force in black politics nationally and would probably achieve between 50 and 80 percent of the vote in an exclusively black election, it's following among those eight to 10 percent group may be modelled on the UDF. More than 60 percent of the black population is in the age group of 18 to 20.

The policy gap between the NP and the ANC has been dramatically narrowed and could possibly be bridged by compromise in eventual constitutional negotiations. The likelihood here has greatly increased of an NP-ANC cooperation in the government of National Unity (GNU) for which we would be in favour of such negotiation.

**Embrace**

Once talks-about-talks starts, a GNU will be necessary to attend to the economic administration of the country.

It would logically include all parties able to embrace the idea of democracy. It could evolve, conceivably, include the CP, but it shouldn't be a question of some kind of territorial underpinning of Afrikaner political identity or national sovereignty to be placed on the negotiations agenda.

In the context of a GNU, the issue of nationalisation, too, would be more readily dealt with as it has to be considered in the broader perspective of a restructuring of the economy which all are agreed is necessary.

Given a GNU, prospects for the economy change dramatically, for the better.

**Mineral**

With a rich mineralogical base, an excellent infra-structure, an already established market system, a not insubstantial skilled labour force and a business community which has been a part of the world in the world, South Africa has a lot going for it econometrically.

It also has a degree of underdevelopment that offers the prospect of considerable growth from a low base given the right external circumstances and internal policies.

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that if the difficult road to a new constitution can be negotiated, South Africa is poised to be one of the economic success stories of the first quarter of the 21st century.

The salvation of the whole of southern Africa lies in the context of a restructuring of the global economy, and that depends on the support and the backing of the rest of the world.

(De Bethlehem is group economic consultant at Johannesburg Consol-Aid Investments)
FROM Diepkloof prison to death row, all eyes will be fixed on next week's talks where the ANC will try to win the release of hundreds of political prisoners.

"We cannot tolerate a situation where some of the activists will be denied participation in shaping the future of our country because they are still in prison where they should not have been in the first place," said general secretary Alfred Nzo, who leaves Lusaka this week for Cape Town.

He said the government had "not fully satisfied" the ANC's demands for the creation of a climate conducive for the commencement of negotiations.

Nzo said the process of negotiations could not start while the state of emergency "continued to hang over the head of our democratic movement like the sword of Damocles".

"Also, some of the most vicious security legislation is still in place ready to be used against the democratic movement and its allies.

"There is therefore no guarantee that there will be no similar reaction when the masses begin to intensify their legitimate mass struggle.

"The ending of the State of Emergency and the release of all our comrades from apartheid prisons will be of tremendous advantage to our democratic movement," Nzo said.

Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, said that the ANC would not surrender the issue of political prisoners to "some closed meeting at Tuynhuys".

**Mobilise**

"We have a continuing responsibility to mobilise the masses of the people into action and not to be paralysed into thinking that everything is being discussed very nicely around a cup of tea somewhere;"

he said.

He said that the government was "bound to play tricks and do all sorts of things", but it was essential to remember that "it is because of our strength that they have moved in the direction in which we wanted them to move".

"It is therefore important that we sustain that struggle otherwise the tricks of the regime will succeed."

He said that the ANC's national executive committee had taken a decision to carry out a process of consultation on as wide a basis as was possible in the country before the May 2 talks.

**Obstacles**

It had also appointed working committees to look at every aspect of the talks with the government.

He said that if at the meeting with De Klerk all obstacles were removed, the next stage visualised in the Harare declaration was a mutual cessation of hostilities.

"It will mean that we will have to sit down with the regime and say; what do we do with MK on this side and SADF on that side:"
Bantustans in from the cold

Fear of ending up on the wrong side of the negotiations table has brought crashing down South Africa's socalled constellation of independent and non-independent states.

FRANZ KRUGER examines the ructions in the Bantustans in recent months:

Kwazulu Chief Minster Gatsha Buthela

Kwazulu Chief Minster Gatsha Buthelezi

ANC has made it clear this does not guarantee even sympathetic homeland administrations an equal place in any ANC-led negotiation alliance.

Intensified

There have been calls for the struggle in the homelands to be intensified. The ANC argues that it is important to maintain pressure on the leaders, in their absence, to continue to act in the interests of popular organisations. Whether this will include immediate incorporation is not yet clear. It remains a long-term goal.

There are clear advantages in this extra autonomy from Pretoria, and in the fact that the homeland administrations will allow popular mobilisation.

This does not mean they are likely to become liberation zones, as this would entail the popular groups taking over outright control.

UDF leader Mohammad Veli said recently: "While we have reached an advanced stage in the struggle, we must still decide whether it is in our interest to call on the homeland leaders to re-sign at this moment."

Elite

In the end, a new generation of homeland leaders has emerged out of a political tradition, who have an interest in the survival of state bureaucracies.

This may not be much of a problem in an area such as Transkei, which has had some kind of separatist identity and administration since the last century. The ANC, too, has recognized this and dealt with Transkei as one of its regions.

But the Ciskei, and most other homelands, have no such geographic and historical logic. In the long run, the bureaucratic structures built in these areas will have to be dismantled.

This will be no small task and it is not at all clear where the homeland leaders will stand once this issue moves onto the immediate agenda.

Constellation of independent and self-governing states:

1. Ciskei
2. Transkei
3. Bophuthatswana
4. Venda

Self-governing:
5. Griqualand West
6. Kwazulu
7. Quapedza
8. Balagwane
9. Lebowa
10. KwaNdebele
AS the negotiating process takes shape, the African National Congress is likely to experience increasing pressure from the Frontline States to make compromises in the search for a negotiated settlement.

The Frontline States — Zimbabwe, Zambia, Angola, Botswana and Mozambique — will continue to be staunch public allies of the ANC and will not be party to any sell-out.

But the framework in which gradual and stable pressure will be exercised is not as firmly established.

The process will gain momentum once President F.W. de Klerk demonstrates that the era of destabilisation of the ANC has come to an end.

The Frontline States have already played a central role in nudging the ANC towards negotiations.

Since Mozambique's Frelimo government, signed the Nkomati Non-Aggression pact with Pretoria in 1984, the ANC's infiltration routes from the north have been systematically blocked.

The turning-point in the waning fortunes of the ANC's armed struggle came in August 1988, when in terms of the Geneva Protocol — Angola tacitly agreed to close the ANC's military camps in Angola in return for Pretoria cutting aid to Unita.

While the ANC publicly agreed to this request — in the name of assisting the process leading to Namibian independence — leaders of Unita made it clear that they were not ready to end the armed struggle.

The relocation of the ANC's military camps from Angola to Uganda and Tanzania involved a massive logistical operation which met enormous demands on the ANC's resources, especially suspended military planning and recruitment, and did nothing for the morale of its cadres.

Pressure

Further pressure has been exerted on the ANC by its ally, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has played a crucial role in hosting ANC representatives in Lusaka for a past decadel.

Shortly after ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Lusaka last month, Kaunda broke ranks with other frontline leaders by calling on the ANC to suspend its armed struggle.

He has not pursued the issue since then but it is clear that the ANC is not immune to the pressure from the Frontline States.

Angola's Dos Santos

Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe

Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda

Pressure on ANC

The realities of the Southern African sub-region have resulted in growing pressure on the African National Congress from its staunchest allies in the Frontline States. Developments in the region over the past year have changed perceptions of the South African government from Maputo to Luanda.

The ANC's recent insistence on a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the constitution is intended to compensate for the loss of the guarantee implicit in the "interim government".

But it is not as far from the Harare Declaration process — and manipulating both the armed struggle and sanctions — the ANC will have few levers.

Options

It is at this point that the Frontline States could join with the international community in closing the ANC's legal options.

Solomon Rabinovitch is the Southern Africa correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor.

The Congress of South African Writers, recognising negotiations as a step of struggle, supports the initiative of the ANC to engage the regime.

We hope that the demands of the Harare Declaration will be met to bring about a conducive environment for talks.

We extend our revolutionary greetings and support to the delegation in the ensuing talks to bring about peace in this strife-ridden region.
Diversity a strength

Indications are that the ANC "11" to represent the movement at next week's historic meeting with the government have been selected to produce results.

A mixed bag of young and old, Robben Island stalwarts and Young Turks based in Lusaka and inside the country, make up a formidable team.

MONO BADELA looks at the men and women the Nats will face:

ANC’s army, is expected to provide the main response to the government’s insistence that the ANC suspend its armed struggle.

Ruth Mompati is a senior member of the ANC’s NEC and a noted strategist on the Political and Military Council. She is a veteran of the 1952 defiance campaign.

She has been out of the country since 1962.

ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela greets the nation

The West Coast Council of Churches support the talks about talks between the ANC and the NP Government. These talks are crucial for peace in South Africa.

We believe that these talks are the fruit of decades of struggle, both internally and externally.

We see this as the beginning of the process of negotiations, that will ultimately ensure a just and democratic settlement for all in South Africa.

We pray that the talks will lead to a commitment by both parties to remove the stumbling blocks for the negotiations and ensure PEACE IN OUR LIFETIME!
Armed struggle will continue

The South African government and the African National Congress will not be able to hammer out a peace settlement without seriously considering a cessation of hostilities. REHANA ROSSOUW reports:

Chris Hani.

"MK is not merely there because the ANC is a banned organisation. It is an answer to the violence of the regime."

A ceasefire agreement between the government and ANC's armies would have to be binding on both sides, with monitoring procedures set into place.

The cessation of hostilities implies that troops on both sides would be committed to their bases.

Indications are that Umkhonto's cadre is underground in South Africa will remain in place until the climax of the negotiation process.

Since the unbanning of the ANC, several armed actions have taken place, particularly in the homelands. There have been no civilian casualties.

At some stage, the ANC and the SADF would have to discuss the role of the army in a democratic South Africa where both the SADF and MK are integrated.

This process will start in Lusaka next month at a three-day conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

Integrated

About 40 top Umkhonto we Sizwe members will be attending the talks which will explore the creation of an integrated post-apartheid army.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has already initiated a programme to train selected officers for a future South African army.

Some guerrillas' skills will be upgraded to enable them to perform regular army duties.

"We will not be happy with a situation where leading officers of a future South African army are from the SADF," said Hani.

Hani said a future army in South Africa would have to defend democracy.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has been instrumental in building the ANC into the force it is today, its commanders say.

"If there is a breakdown in the talks and we see the government is not serious and is resorting to its old ways of violence against us, then those units will be given instructions to fight back and continue the armed struggle," Hani vowed.

Youths at Mandela's rally in Umtata show support for Umkhonto we Sizwe
Villagers want Mandela to return

QUNU. — While Nelson Mandela strides centre-stage in South African politics, his home village wants him to give it all up and come back to his roots.

Villagers have set aside a bare, windswept plot, one of the biggest in Qunu, for their distinguished son in the hope that he will one day relinquish his position in the national struggle for black rights and live among them.

Today, Mandela will visit Qunu for a traditional feast with the community. Each tribal chief in the region is expected to slaughter a cow, goat or sheep for the occasion.

Visit graves
Mandela will visit his parents' and relatives' graves. His mother died in 1968, four years after he was sentenced to life imprisonment.

No one yet knows what Mr Mandela will do with the plot, but village elders want him to build a homestead and settle. Others believe the site could be used to build a clinic or a school.

Qunu, a tiny poverty-stricken village among eroded hills and fields, lies 30km from Umtata, the capital of Transkei.

Next week, Mandela leads an ANC delegation at talks with the white government of President F W de Klerk to discuss the possibility of blacks sharing real political power with whites for the first time in South African history.

But in Qunu’s eyes, these momentous events pale into insignificance compared with Mandela's unexpected visit on Sunday to the poor but pretty village surrounded by fields of maize and scattered cattle.

"His coming home will contribute very much to the upliftment of this village," said nephew Nompilisi Mandela, who lives across from the overgrown plot of land which was presented to Mandela.

Residents say Qunu has deteriorated in the decades since Mandela left for Johannesburg to work in the mines and then to pursue a career in radical politics.

The poor soil has eroded and the yield is low, so villagers depend largely on pensions and remittances from relatives working in South African mines.

The village needs dams, schools and agricultural equipment, and residents believe their lives would improve if Mandela could return.

Growing up
"Maybe his return will help contribute to better living conditions," Mandela's half-sister Nothanda Butaehluthi said.

Transkei's president, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndadaye, remembers growing up with Mandela.

"He was one of the cleverest boys in the village, very articulate and bright at school. We all looked up to him for advice on village issues," — Sapa-Reuter.
PAC man ‘dedicated life to fight’

Staff Reporter

PAN AFRICANIST

CONGRESS stalwart Mr Geoffrey "Japhta" Mase-
mola dedicated his life to fighting for the return
of the land to the indigenous people of Africa,
an executive member of the PAC said at a com-
memoration service for him at St George's Cathed-
dral last night.

About 300 people at-
tended the service con-
ducted by three Angli-
can priests. Mr Mas-
mola was mysteri-
ously killed in a car acci-
dent last week.

Mr Mase-
mola, a
founder member of the
PAC, was the longest
serving prisoner on Rob-
ben Island.

The service was at-
tended by many local ac-
tivists such as PAC mem-
ber Mr Barney Desai, Mr
Frank van der Horst,
vice-president of the newly-formed Workers' Organi-
isation of Socialist Action, former Robben Islander Mr Trevor
Wentzel and many others.
UK wants S African July meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — The British government is in the process of arranging a meeting between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela for the first week of July, a British embassy spokesman said yesterday.

Precise dates and arrangements were being discussed with the ANC, a spokesman said.

That long-awaited meeting was left hanging after she angered the ANC by partially lifting sanctions against South Africa. It is now definitely on, however.

The Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee in London has invited Mr Mandela to address the House of Commons on sanctions.

— Sapa
Mandela is tops with British teenagers

Own Correspondent
LONDON. — Mr Nelson Mandela is top of the British teenager's international political hit parade.

According to a recent poll, one in three youngsters named the ANC leader as the political figure they most admire — with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev trailing in a weak second place.

The Daily Express survey, published yesterday, also found the overwhelming majority of heroes of Britain's teenagers are black.

Over 1,120 young people aged between 13 and 18 were asked to name their favourite politician, pop star, film idol, sportsman and TV personality.

Mr Mandela was a runaway winner of the political section, pulling an overall total of 34%.

Mr Gorbachev — second with 29% of the total vote — appealed more strongly to boys (23%) than girls (16%).

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher was in third place (over all 10%), just sneaking in ahead of Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock (eight percent).

Four of the top five sportsmen were black. First choice was heavyweight boxer Frank Bruno (34%), followed by Olympic decathlon champion Daley Thompson (18%), footballer John Barnes (eight percent), Grand Prix ace Nigel Mansell (seven percent) and Olympic sprint star Linford Christie (five percent).

"Beverely Hills Cop" star Eddie Murphy toppled the film idols list with 21%, with Tom Cruise (10%) in second place.
Business leaders to meet with ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — High-level discussions between the business community and the ANC on options for the country's future political economy are to be held here on May 23.

The gathering, organised by the Consultative Business Movement (CBM), will include 400 of the country's top businessmen and 25 ANC leaders based both inside and outside South Africa.

Keynote addresses at the first conference will be by Anglo American's roving ambassador Mr Gavin Rell and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The CBM described the meeting as a landmark one. It expected the discussions, to be held behind closed doors, to be "exploratory and form part of an on-going process."

Spokesman Mr Colin Coleman said the CBM hoped the meeting would be just the beginning of talks between the ANC and the business community over the shape of a future economy.

The CBM describes itself as "a voluntary grouping of senior business leaders who, from a business perspective, acknowledge and support the need for constructive transformation of South Africa's political economy."

"Its mission is to participate and initiate processes geared towards bridging the polarization in South Africa as the means to restore economic strength, by consulting across the broadest spectrum of interest groups to help create a prosperous, non-racial democratic South Africa."

The CBM began the process in 1987 with in-depth discussions between businessmen and representatives of Cosatu and the UDF.

It has held a series of regional discussions between local business, union and political leaders in recent months.

Businessmen active in the CBM include Southern Life chief executive Mr Neal Chapman, Mr Leon Cohen of PG Bison, JCI director Mr Ken Maxwell, AECI managing director Mr Mike Sander, Volkswagen's Mr Peter Searle, Gencor director Mr Naus Steenkamp and Sentracem managing director Mr Johan van der Walt.
Members of ANC talks team due to jet in tomorrow

THE external delegation of the African National Congress, which is to meet the Government next week on the launching of talks for a new constitutional initiative, is due to arrive in South Africa tomorrow, reports SABC radio news.

This was said yester by the Western Cape regional interim committee at a media briefing on preparations for the delegates' reception.

"A member of the ANC's 11-member team, Ms Cheryl Carolus, said members of the delegation would outline the movement's negotiating position at a rally in Mitchell's Plain this Sunday.

The speakers will include ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, its acting president Mr Alfred Nzo, as well as South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo. - Sapa.
UK offers Mandela a platform to give views

LONDON - A British Parliamentary select committee as offered its platform to ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to convey his views to the public on sanctions against South Africa an independent alternative to a direct meeting with premier Margaret Thatcher.

The Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, which recently confirmed plans for an October visit to Southern Africa as part of an inquiry into British policy on South Africa, has offered its public platform to Mandela regardless of whether or not he takes up Thatcher's standing invitation to meet for talks.

According to reports in London yesterday, MPs on the Conservative Party dominated Committee were waiting for a response from the ANC, with indications being Mandela might well take up the invitation when he visits Britain in July.

An unconfirmed date given for a Mandela/Thatcher meeting is July 6.

Thatcher issued her invitation to Mandela even before he was released from jail in February, but a meeting was left hanging in the air after she angered the ANC by lifting some sanctions measures against South Africa.

Mandela has, however, stated a number of times he regards a meeting with Thatcher as important, and that he looks forward to it.

He has agreed in principle to address the opposition Labour Party conference in October, and offered to make a similar appearance at the Conservative Party conference in the same month. - Sapa
Mxenge had ANC funds, says witness

Sowetan Foreign News Service

LONDON - Human rights lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge was murdered "because he was working with the ANC", according to a former policeman who says he was part of the alleged hit squad which killed him.

Mr David Tshikalange (35), on his third day in the witness box at the Harms Commission in London, said when the four alleged killers received their instructions they were told that a large amount of funds from the ANC were going into Mxenge's account.

He has testified that apart from taking part in the 1981 murder, he sometimes "went around" with the Askaris - disaffected ANC members who worked with the police looking for current ANC members, who were then killed or kidnapped and interrogated.

He had also helped to burn cars belonging to trade unionists, he said.

Tshikalange claimed he was part of a special unit at the alleged hit squad base at Vlakplaas, where he was employed in 1981.

"We were working against people who were against the Government," he said.

When told by other commanders that certain people were terrorists, he said, "we believed them".

Tshikalange said even the Askaris were not safe from reprisals if they made mistakes. "...they just disappeared."
Middle ground must act

ANC, Nats both have ability to compromise

JOYCE HARRIS of the Transvaal region of the Black Sash argues the need for the middle ground in South African politics to be strengthened to achieve a just society as soon as possible.

There are many straws in the wind these days and they are all blowing in different directions. The political scene is so confused that it is difficult indeed to discern trends, options, directions. Yet it is vital to do so in order to be able to take constructive action.

Contrary to all expectations, it seems that we now have the extraordinary phenomenon of the Government and the ANC occupying the middle ground. They do this not because they share common beliefs or ideologies, but because they are willing to negotiate an acceptable future and are showing surprising flexibility, tolerance and willingness to compromise.

When Mr Mandela was released, one nursed the irrational hope that his history, his ability and his undoubted stature would somehow make it possible for him to overcome all obstacles, contain his constituency, and be permitted to rise above it in order to achieve the miracle of peace, negotiation and an end to violence. Obviously this was asking too much of any one man, but he has certainly tried.

So has Mr de Klerk, from where he stands. Both leaders have taken enormous risks with their constituencies, the results of which are demonstrated by the osmosis of the middle ground towards the peripheries. The PAC appears to be consolidating. Violence in Natal is escalating and spreading to other areas.

The hideous necklace has surfaced once again. The security forces sometimes appear to be out of control. The right wing is stealing arms from the Air Force and threatening to go for the throat of the ANC and the National Party is bleeding. The creation of the middle ground has not been without risks.

spread and permeate the middle ground, the result can only be anarchy, bloodshed and disaster.

The middle ground will need to do more than woo its supporters to prevent the leak. It will have to deal firmly with all the chaos being created on the periphery. It will have to find a way of handling the violence in Natal and elsewhere, a violence which is becoming increasingly mindless and which feeds upon itself. Somehow this will have to be defused and the perpetrators courted with attractive alternatives.

The existence of a strong middle ground of co-operating constituencies will help, by offering positive, visible alternatives and hope for an eventual solution of all the problems. But it will have to act urgently and with firmness and strength, intervening physically to put a stop to the horrors that are being perpetrated and to exercise control.

None of this is easy. But the alternatives are "too ghastly to contemplate".

The middle ground must win. The periphery must be controlled and absorbed, so the contribution to the middle ground becomes increasingly broad.

Everyone has a part to play to strengthen the middle ground, and all of its constituencies must co-operate so that negotiations can proceed with the least possible delay and positive steps can be taken to stop the rot, quell the appetite for violence and get on course towards a future acceptable to all of the people.

All these constituencies comprising the middle ground, actually or potentially, should stop their politicking and go for the achievement of a just society for all as peacefully as possible. Only then can their various agendas be brought into play, to be argued and not fought over. The future of the country demands this.
Theories of alliances may be a little glib

GRAHAM LINS COTT examines current theories on possible alliances the National Party may consider with major block political groups.

An alliance between the Nats and Inkatha? Just a year ago such a thing would have been as unthinkable as the unification of East and West Germany or a McDonald's hamburger joint in Moscow.

But are people not perhaps being just a little glib and superficial about such an alliance? What is meant by it anyway?

A popular bar-room theory holds that the Afrikaners and the Zulus, the largest ethnic groups in white and black South Africa respectively, will reach an historic compromise. They will share power and rule the country between them.

Fine. Except that (assuming every Afrikaner supports the Nats and every Zulu supports Inkatha, which is untrue of either) Afrikaners plus Zulus do not amount to a majority within greater South Africa.

Even if the TBVC states are excluded it is doubtful. Huge and densely populated regions such as the Eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand would not be properly represented in the alliance. Nor would the powerful trade union movement.

Rule by such an alliance would be a recipe for polarisation and a paralysis of industry.

The bar-room theory needs some rethinking. It seems unlikely that Inkatha would want a straight alliance with the Nats anyway. Dr Oscar Dihomo, secretary-general, has already cried "Whoa" to the speculation.

Surely the last thing Inkatha needs to be branded with is Muzorewa politics?

And surely, if the Nats believe Inkatha has a contribution to make, the last thing they need is a Muzorewa-ist ally who would shed huge support to the ANC?

A broad consensus or grand alliance containing the Democrats and other groupings would be a different matter.

But could it be that our bar-room theorists are actually in the wrong thought mode altogether? That they are thinking Westminster (simple majority, winner takes all) when in fact we have moved on from that?

President de Klerk has been using a lot of Indaba-speak lately: power-sharing, equally weighted votes, the possibility of two chambers — one majoritarian, the other representing groups. This is straight from the proposals of the kwazulu/Natal Indaba.

And if Indaba thinking is in vogue, that would imply a drawing in of the ANC as well. Power-sharing would be incomplete without it.

Nobody should bluff himself that the ANC would easily accept such a power-sharing model. At the moment it is busy gathering to itself as much support as it can, in the homelands and elsewhere. It seeks power as representative of the overwhelming majority.

But the emergence of a strong moderate alliance — including the Nats, Inkatha, the DP and others — could create uncertainties. In time — possibly quite a long time — power-sharing just might become more attractive.

Which brings us to bar-room theory No 2, usually expounded over martinis in the more upmarket establishments and in the accents of foreign correspondents.

This holds that far from doing a deal with Inkatha, the Nats will do a deal with the ANC because this would create stability over most of South Africa, leaving Inkatha-dominated kwazulu just a troublesome factor — a containable Siyabni factor.

I have no doubts. And are we not weary of theories?

Perhaps the most instructive thing about these two is that they show how, in spite of our unitary political structure, South Africa still is a country of distinct regions that have been locked together.

How much more appropriate federation would have been in 1910.
CP won't revolt — Dr No

The Conservative Party would fight at the ballot box and did not speculate about revolution or counter-revolution but supported the rights of the public to defend themselves when they came under threat, the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in a statement yesterday.

He asked whether the Government was aiming to disarm CP supporters while the ANC and the PAC were receiving weapons to carry on an armed struggle.

However, he said he had warned his supporters against talk of a coup d'etat and shooting as they pleased. But the Government had allowed the unrest to get out of hand leading to a feeling of insecurity among many people.

"People are arming themselves and they have the right to defend themselves. We support them. They are keeping their weapons ready and some are even threatening to start shooting." — Sapa.
DP will consult ANC, Aetstop on open Jo'burg

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Democratic Party plans to involve political groups such as the African National Congress and the anti-eviction organisation Aetstop in negotiations on a non-racial city.

DP city councillor Mr Sias Reyneke yesterday said this was in line with the new DP-led management committee's policy of involving residents in council affairs.

"We want a desegregated Johannesburg as soon as possible. By involving as many organisations — for example, political and business groups — as possible, we want to ensure that the change will be well-managed."

"We do not want the transition to an open city to be seen as a well-polished form of apartheid, but as a bonafide desegregation of Johannesburg."

The decision to establish a committee to investigate the opening up of the city had been taken by the DP caucus, he said.

However, DP management committee member Mr Paul Asherson denied such moves, saying there was no need to involve organisations outside the council in the DP's plans for an open city.

"We have said we will not rest until we see the city open. The issue is non-negotiable."

Aetstop spokesman Mr Cas Coovadia said many organisations rooted in the community could contribute towards moves for an open city.

"The history of the Nationalist government was a 'top-down' one. They took decisions and forced them down people's throats. We welcome the DP's attitude. In fact, we insist that organisations be consulted because we know our constituencies. All interested parties should work together in ridding the city of apartheid."

The Save the Pageview Association (SPA), which has been involved in a protracted legal tussle over the group areas status of the Johannesburg suburb, has come out in support of the management committee's plan for an open city.

This follows the city council's rejection on Tuesday of the declaration of parts of Mayfair and Pageview as free settlement areas.

SPA secretary Mr Ebrahim Kharsany yesterday said earlier moves to have parts of Pageview declared a free settlement area had been a tactical decision.

"It was merely a question of survival, a strategy to prevent further evictions. We are in regular contact with the new DP-led management committee and fully support moves to have the entire city opened up.
FW, Mandela expected to visit US soon

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are expected to take up President Bush's invitation to visit the United States within the next two months.

Mr Mandela is expected to visit Washington first, but the African National Congress has been urged to wait until after the high profile summit meeting between Mr Bush and President Gorbachev, scheduled to take place in May.

ANC sympathisers are recommending early June as a good time, after the publicity surrounding the superpower summit has subsided and the media can concentrate on Mr Mandela.

According to Washington commentators, the ANC will use Mr Bush's invitation to visit the White House as a stepping stone to reach the American public.

The ANC deputy president is expected to address a joint session of both Houses of Congress, an honour normally given to visiting heads of state.

He may also make one or two other high profile public appearances elsewhere in the US, including New York and the West Coast.

By appealing directly to the American public for support, commentators predict Mr Mandela will keep up the pressure on both Congress and the Bush administration to maintain sanctions against South Africa.

Mr de Klerk's visit to the US is likely to be a more low profile affair. Some observers believe his visit will be announced only a day or two before, and that the South African president may be in Washington only a few hours.

Speculation in Washington is that Mr de Klerk will make a snap visit to Mr Bush either immediately before or after his coming tour of European capitals.
Police died 'in trap for ANC'

By Celeste Louw 25/14/80

A Johannesburg Inquest Court, investigating the deaths of two special policemen and another man allegedly shot dead by members of the SADF, was told yesterday that police in the area were warned to stay clear of a Soweto house as the SADF had planned an operation there.

Members of the SADF opened fire on four policemen and an informer, because it was believed that they were members of the ANC who had committed a robbery, the court heard.

Lieutenant David Mildren told the court that he was doing a military camp on December 14 1983 in Soweto when he received information about members of the ANC who had carried out an armed robbery.

He said he and three other members of the SADF took up position in a house in Jabavu.

Lieutenant Mildren said he was in radio contact with his superiors. Police were asked to stay away from the area, he said.

When four men cocked their rifles and proceeded towards the house, they were sure their lives were in danger, Lieutenant Mildren said.

He heard gun fire shortly after requesting back-up forces.

Bombardier Johannes van Rooyen told the court that he had been inside the house with the three other SADF members when he saw four men approaching the house.

Bombardier van Rooyen said he opened the door with the barrel of his gun after the four banged on the door.

"An armed man stood in the doorway and lifted up his rifle. I pulled the trigger of my rifle," he said.

He said he ran outside and shot three more men, one of them in the legs.

He approached the man he had shot in the legs and then realised that they had shot at members of the police force when the man told him not to shoot, because they were police.

The hearing continues.
NP, ANC will rule together – De Beer

CAPE TOWN — Leaders of the National Party and the ANC would sit together in one government in the near future, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

Addressing a DP meeting in Cape Town, he said this might sound improbable, but he believed it would prove essential, and that the country would one day see it happen.

He said South Africa would need a broadly-based coalition government in the future.

In 1933, after the Great Depression and before people of colour were participating in politics as they were now, it was necessary for the South African Party and the NP to merge to form the United Party. "In the near future we will need something similar."

He said it was necessary to have a government which would enjoy legitimacy.

"Now I am sure there are people who believe that a government composed of black people only could meet these criteria. In the short run, anyhow, I do not believe it."

"The economy of South Africa is in deep trouble, and whilst it is true that this is mainly the result of apartheid, simply scrapping apartheid will not be a panacea."

"We shall also need skills, business experience, international relationships and all the factors which make the private sector work. And these, for the time being, are chiefly provided by white people. Hence the need for a wider political base."

Referring to rumours of an alliance between the NP and Inkatha, he said Inkatha policy did not differ materially from the DP. The NP had now moved close enough to these ideas to make it possible for it to share benches with Inkatha.

"However an exclusive partnership between those organisations would be a dangerous move and I agree with my co-leader, Denis Worrall, who has already said publicly that he does not think that it would be in Inkatha's interest. — Sapa."
Out rolls a shiny Madibamobile

WHAT kind of Mercedes Benz rolls off the assembly line wrapped in cellophane paper and plastered with stickers proclaiming the virtues of the South African Communist Party?
Answer: a bright red top-of-the-range Mercedes Benz 500 SE, certified "made by worker hands only", and dubbed the Madibamobile.

"Yes! Our gift to Comrade Nelson Mandela was completed on Monday," proclaimed a shop steward at the Mercedes Benz factory near East London.

"It has just been sent off for a carphone to be fitted. When it comes back, we will ask Mandela to come and collect it."
The workforce celebrated the completion of the R250 000 super-luxury sedan with an impromptu work stoppage at the plant on Monday.

Exuberant members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa sang and toyi-toyi as they pushed the car — clad in a plastic wrapper and covered in photographs of Mandela, African National Congress slogans and South African Communist Party stickers — from the assembly line to the depot where it will wait for its owner.

"Everything is finished. The car passed its road test with flying colours. Now we are discussing if Mandela should collect it from the factory or if we must hold a rally for him to receive it," the shop steward said.

The workforce presented management with a lesson in productivity by assembling the super-luxury R250 000 sedan — complete with automatic transmission, air conditioning, soft leather upholstery, power steering, central locking, electric window winders, adjustable steering column, state-of-the art sound system, eight speakers, electrically adjustable seats with computerised memory, outside temperature indicator, electric sunroof and burglar alarm — in the equivalent of just four days of labour.
The average 500 SE takes 26 days to manufacture.

"Workers made this car with their own hands," the shop steward said.
"We did not want junior management to touch the car because they have a bad attitude to our cause. So we said the car would be checked by our own professional inspectors. It is a 100 percent worker car."

To press home the point about the sedan's proletarian purity, shop stewards have put an embargo on union officials talking about the car and gave workers the right only to make statements to the press.

Nunsa members made the car by each doing an hour of free labour every day since March 26. They will pay the company for parts and components by each working in four-and-a-half hours of overtime for free.
ANC lays plans to send 15 000 back

By THANDEKA GQUBULE
and MBULELO LINDA

Men's Christian Association, the
Muslim Judicial Council and other
extra-parliamentary organisations.

At a press conference held at the
end of the conference, the ANC said
it would appeal to Frontline states and
international aid organisations for fi-
nancial assistance to help bring the
exiles home.
The South African government will
not be approached for assistance al-
though money will be raised from
supporters inside the country.

One of the issues over which ex-
ils, particularly those whose homes
are in Natal, are anxious is the war in
the province.

The meeting requested that the
ANC delegation due to meet State
President FW de Klerk on May 2
raise the war as a matter of urgency.

Members of the ANC and the
churches inside the country will look
at the provision of legal services and
a monitoring group will be set up to
check on the orderly return and settle-
ment of detainees.

Special arrangements will be made
for the aged, single parents, the ill,
the disabled and children among the
refugees.
Mandela really home at last, but lost for words

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

He later told the villagers that he could see many changes and "some of the millet fields that could be seen now had been villages then."

"The road from Umtata to Port Elizabeth is a modern road and it is one of the signs of progress, but as I travel into the countryside my heart becomes very sore indeed."

He said the poverty he saw when he last visited the place in 1956 was still present and "staring him in the face."

In honour of Mandela, the people of the village prepared a customary feast.

IT is not often that a politician is at a loss for words, but then it is not often that a politician is prevented from returning to the village of his youth for 27 years.

When African National Congress deputy president Nelson Mandela visited Qunu yesterday he was unable to put into words how he felt, but his facial expression gave him away.

As he walked through the millet fields towards the grave of his mother his face continuously "lit up" as he saw places that he remembered and he kept showing his wife Winnie places which brought back memories to him.

After the customary throwing of sand on the graves and the washing of the hands, he walked back to the plot on which he hut had stood in which he had grown up.

The whole village had come to welcome him as he walked around the fields on which he had played, he recognised many faces of people he had known then.
Still a believer

Chris Hani — chief of staff, political commissar and deputy commander of the ANC’s military arm, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — has his doubts and suspicions about negotiating with the Pretoria regime.

The bright, energetic, charismatic Hani — said to be Winnie Mandela’s blue-eyed boy and a highly popular figure among the cadres — is the most influential ANC figure to articulate this view. It is a view, however, which has not (yet) manifested itself as an open split within the ANC.

He warned recently: “We must not get caught in a mood of euphoria . . . We know that De Klerk has his own agenda. He is not about to surrender power to us . . . We need the underground . . .” Thus he cautions against “demobilising” the masses and the struggle in the run-up to negotiations.

Hani (48) was elected to the ANC national executive committee in 1974. Though regarded by some as Thabo Mbeki’s main rival for the top post in the ANC, failure of the armed struggle, security lapses in MK and ANC acceptance of negotiations, appear to have stymied his chances.

Hani was born at Cofimvaba in Transkei and joined the ANC Youth League aged 13. He and Mbeki were classmates, both matriculating at Lovedale. Thabo’s father Govan influenced Hani’s thinking.

In 1959, Hani registered as a BA student at Fort Hare, where, after involvement in student politics, he was suspended.

He completed his degree at Rhodes in 1962, majoring in English and Latin, and started articles with a Cape Town law firm, Schaeffer & Schaeffer. At the same time, he joined MK’s western Cape branch and was detained in 1962 and sentenced under the Suppression of Communism Act. While on bail, Hani went underground and, escorted by Joe Modise (now commander of MK), slipped out of SA in May 1963 on the ANC’s instructions. He was among the first to undergo military training in the Soviet Union.

In 1967, Hani fought alongside Zipra in its first battle against the Rhodesian army at Wankie. He was arrested for illegal possession of arms in Botswana. He was jailed for two years and then deported to Zambia.

In 1973, Hani covertly entered SA to establish a political infrastructure but “conditions for survival were not ideal.” He slipped back into Lesotho, set up an MK base and units in the Free State, Transkei and Cape. SA demanded his expulsion from Lesotho and, after at least one hit-squad attempt on his life, he returned to SA effectively to direct insurgency against SA.
ANC will push FW to the limits

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would push President F.W. de Klerk to the limits to win irreversible political reforms at next week's talks, senior ANC strategist Trevor Manuel said yesterday.

"We cannot afford to lose the moment... the only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before," he said.

He said the ANC, led by deputy president Nelson Mandela, would try to lock De Klerk into political reforms without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility.

"You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be," Manuel said.

"The transfer of power is at hand... we cannot back down because of the right-wing threat from the whites who are arming themselves on such a scale..."

Then De Klerk would be compelled to retreat into the lager, to abdicate to the right wing and we would have to relive the times of repression all over again," he said.

Manuel said if the ANC and De Klerk responded to their obligations, negotiations, SA could have a "new, non-racial constitution by 1990.

Five Luanka-based members of the ANC delegation that will meet de Klerk for talks on May 2 are due to arrive in Cape Town this afternoon. They are Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, Thabo Mbeki, Ruth Moppati and Joe Slovo.

Meanwhile, the Home Affairs Department in Pretoria yesterday refused to divulge whether it was aware of the arrival of eight — now detained — ANC dissidents this week.

The department did not identify people who entered the country, and thus did not want to comment on whether a particular person or persons had entered, department spokesman Charles Theron said.

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commando Mwezi Twala is believed to be one of those detained.

The group has charged the ANC with torturing and killing exiled members in southern African camps and reportedly intends organizing internal opposition to the ANC — Sapa-Reuters.
The strange sight of the ANC and PAC agreeing

compartimentalised and ambiguity and contradiction are avoided. Now he told the panel "a gun must fire in one direction. The heart has to fire in every direction."

Ndebele took the debate a step forward by proposing a return to the start. "We ought to retain that commitment, but direct it towards more constructive ends. We must attend now to the business of living, rather than the business of opposing and destroying."

Consensus was easily reached on the importance of celebrating South Africa's cultural diversity; says Sachs: "There is one good thing about apartheid, only one, and that is it has forced people to come together, to learn to respect each other, without having to give up what each has."

"It has laid the foundation, not just for an anti-apartheid culture, but for a pro-South African culture."

At this point in the debate Ngecobo turned to Sachs in agreement: "We are not going to wake up one blessed day after independence and say, now we have a common culture. What I want to see is the validation of every one of our cultures in South Africa."

"I want to be able to go into a church without challenging anybody, or wear a sari if I wish," said Sachs: "We must learn to recapture the joy and love of our country, its space, its sounds, its light ... and the fact that we have all three continents in one with a strong African base."

He was referring specifically to white South Africans, and their need to unlearn "their capacity for domination and hatred."

"As whites we were nursed by African wom- en. We were held to the bosom of Africa, so to speak, learning, sometimes even more than from our own mothers ... its music, song, physical movement. But then we tried to suppress it, push it out."

The debate moved elsewhere, to a consideration of language, the association of language with specific groups, and the "myth", according to Willemsen, of Afrikaners as "illegitimate", as the language of the oppressor. He articulated it as something to be re-appropriated by black Afrikaans writing.

It touched on the division between urban and rural culture; Ngecobo - men who left the rural areas often forget their traditional cultural roots; Sachs - some of the most glorious features of South African culture lie in the vibrant culture of working people in the cities.

Sachs distinguished between music and literature: "Music captures the sound of South Africa in every respect. We have not reached that in our literature. Our writing is gloomy, weighed down. We don't write about ourselves; our literature is dominated by the enemy. It is like the police are stalking every page."

He referred back to what he wrote in his ANC seminar paper: "Can it be that once we join the ANC we do not make love anymore, that when the comrades go to bed they discuss the role of the white working class?"

"It's worse than I thought," he told the panel. "People came to me after the seminar and said, 'Comrade Albie, it's true ... that is what we discuss in bed.'"
Cosatu, Azapo May Day rallies

TRADE unions and community organisations will hold services countrywide on May 1, marking the International Workers’ Day. Among organisations holding services as part of worldwide celebrations are the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the Azanian People’s Organisation (Azapo).

Cosatu’s May Day rallies will be held at:
- Dukashe Stadium or Gomo Hall (10am);
- Dan Qepe Stadium in Port Elizabeth (10am);
- Queenstown’s Border Agricultural Showgrounds (9am);
- Grahamstown Lavender Valley (10am);
- Uitenhage Jabavu Stadium (10am);
- Melodi Stadium (10am);
- Phokeng Hall in Rustenburg (10am);
- Warmbaths Stadium (10am);
- Phalaborwa Stadium (10am);
- George Thabe Stadium, Sharpeville (9am);
- Rocklands Stadium, Bloemfontein (9am);
- Harrismith Stadium (9am);
- Thabong Stadium, Weikom (9am);
- Huhudi Stadium, Vryburg (9am);
- Embalselele Stadium, Secunda (10am);
- Ackerville Stadium, Witbank (10am);
- Likazi Stadium, Nelspruit (10am);
- Ratanda Stadium, Heidelberg (11am);
- Volosaurus Stadium, Athlone Stadium, Cape Town (10am);
- Durban’s Curries Fountain (9am).

Azapo will hold services at:
- Leesfontein Hall (9am);
- Tweefontein in Kwantu (1pm);
- Lebowakgomo Showgrounds (9am);
- Bekkersdal Stadium (10am);
- Mohlangeng Stadium (1pm);
- David Landau Community Centre, Durban North West (10am);
- Garankuwa Stadium (10am) and Rio Cinema in New Brighton (12pm).

Bamcwa said its services would be held at:
- Daniel Skull Hall in the Northern Cape (10am);
- Uitoo Hall (10am);
- Seshen in Kuruman at 12pm.

Azapo and Bamcwa said other services would be announced later in the week.

The theme of Azapo’s meetings is “Negotiations and the Working Class”.

Rallies jointly organised by Cosatu and Naciu will take place at George Thabe Stadium, Sharpeville (10am) and Orient Theatre in East London (10am).
Breakthrough for LP

Political Correspondent

BOYCOTTING legislation in parliament has earned the Labour Party a significant breakthrough, with the government agreeing for the first time to include farmworkers in certain labour legislation.

The Labour Party agreed today to suspend its boycott of all manpower and agricultural legislation, a move which has effectively prevented debate on these Bills in parliament so far this session, after reaching an agreement with the Minister of Manpower, Mr Eli Louw.

The LP demand was that the country's scores of unprotected farmworkers be covered by existing labour legislation.
ANC delegates arrive from Lusaka today

A SENIOR African National Congress delegation from Lusaka will arrive in South Africa today for talks with the Government next week, a senior ANC leader has confirmed.

ANC stalwart and former Rivonia treason trialist Mr Govan Mbeki yesterday confirmed that the ANC's interim Western Cape committee announced in Cape Town that the high-powered delegation from Lusaka will arrive in the country four days before the commencement of the talks next Wednesday.

"I have also been informed that they will be arriving in Cape Town and not in Johannesburg," said Mbeki.

Consult

Asked if the ANC leaders will be travelling in the country to consult with the organisation's Internal Leadership Corps, Mbeki said the delegation will have come with a specific mission of holding talks with the Government. He confirmed however, that the delegation will attend a rally at Mitchell's Plain in the Peninsula on Sunday. South African Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo and ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela are scheduled to address the rally.

"At that stage, the talks have yet to begin. They will be held in the Eastern Cape."

Carulous said the external delegation will hold a press conference at a time and venue still to be announced tomorrow.

Police yesterday told the organisers of the Mitchell's Plain meeting that it would be illegal if magisterial permission was not given - but the organisers said they would not seek permission.

The names of people elected by the ANC national executive to the committee were announced.

The chairman is Mr Reginald September. Others are Mr Amy Thorston, Ms Cheryl Carolus, the UDF's Western Cape president, Mr Chrisman Tinto, Mr Neville van der Rheede, Mr Amos Lengesi, Mr Whitey Jacobs, Mr Mountain Khumela, and Mr Johnny Issel.
PAC call to businessmen

NTHATO MOTLANA — leading a group of businessmen visiting Zimbabwe.

HARARE — Leaders of the exiled ANC and PAC shared the platform in Harare yesterday when they spoke on the crucial role black business could play in bringing about economic liberation in South Africa.

At a dinner in a local hotel the leaders called on South African businessmen visiting Zimbabwe to support liberation movements in fighting for the political, economic and social emancipation of blacks in the region.

However, during a stormy question and answer session, the ANC and PAC leaders were challenged by the businessmen to forget their political and ideological differences.

They were told to unite and fight for a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The leader of the visiting group, Dr Nthato Motlana, said black business was under siege from people who treated them with suspicion about their operations, especially during uprisings.

He cited recent attacks on black business people in Mmantsane and wanted to know about the relationship between liberation movements and business in the future.

PAC economist Mr Sipho Shabalala said the organisation recognised that business formed an integral part of the liberation struggle.

Business' role in the emancipation of Africans from oppression and exploitation was important. He condemned the burning of black business premises and said this could only be attributed to other elements and not to political activists.

Shabalala said the PAC stood for an economy that would represent the economic and political interests of all Africans.

He said there should be no exploitation in the production and distribution of resources.

"No individual, group, or section of the society should subject other individual, group or section of the society to economic exploitation and political oppression."

"The resources of the country, by democratic right, belong to born and unborn members of the freed society," he said.

ANC representative in Harare, Mr Maxwell Minyeni, said the movement believed that black business needed to demonstrate and generate wealth. The attack on black business was unacceptable.

He said the ANC was still working on an economic guideline which would also consider nationalisation.
From a 'Kei' jail to the side of Mandela

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE

THERE has been much speculation about the identities of the men who stand, arms folded and with visible bulges under their coat pockets, next to Nelson Mandela.

During the African National Congress deputy president’s Transkei trip there is, however, no need for such speculation, as most of them are Umkhonto weSizwe cadres recently released from prison.

One of the bodyguards looking after Mandela in the Transkei is former Western Cape commander of the military wing, Mzwandile Vena.

Vena, who was arrested in Cape Town in late 1987, and extradited to the Transkei a few months later, is still facing charges resulting from an attack on the Umtata fuel depot.

He was released on bail following recent developments in the territory and in South Africa and is scheduled to appear in court again next month. While there has been widespread speculation that charges against him will be dropped, they have not yet been formally withdrawn.

Bodyguards Mfamalo Matsiya and Pumani Kubukeli were part of a group of five MK cadres arrested by Bophuthatswana police as they were crossing the border back into Botswana. After being interrogated by Bophuthatswana security police, they were handed over to their South African counterparts.

It was decided to split the group into two and charge Matsiya and Kubukeli in the Transkei, while Lialile Nkeweni, Thanduxolo Nokele and Sakhawo Mehlto were charged in South Africa and are presently imprisoned on Robben Island.

Ironically, Matsiya and Kubukeli were the more senior members of the group, having been military instructors in the camps and as a result were sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, four of which were suspended.

And while they are now free, their comrades, who received lesser sentences, remain behind bars, even though they fall into the category of prisoners liable for release following State President FW de Klerk’s announcements.

One of the other bodyguards is Phumzile Mayapi, 31, who last year was sentenced to death for his part in the Wild Coast Sun bombing during which one person died.

After successfully appealing against the conviction of murder, his death sentence was set aside and he was jailed for 18 years. He was released earlier this year after being pardoned by the military council, just in time to be able to act as bodyguard.— ANA
A three-day look at culture controversies

ABOUT 90 delegates from all parts of the country are expected to attend a three-day cultural workers' meeting hosted by the National Interim Cultural Desk in Johannesburg next month.

The meeting, to begin on May 25, comes against a background of a number of controversial issues, including the role and structure of the cultural desk and the form and continuation of the cultural boycott.

Delegates will focus on the position of returning exiled artists and other political developments in the country.

Desk National Cultural Co-ordinator Mzwakhe Mbuli told the Weekly Mail this week that the return of exiles will be high on the agenda. There will be discussions on what their return will mean for the cultural boycott and how it would be monitored thereafter.

He said a distinction would have to be made between South African-born artists and other overseas artists whose presence here is still considered a violation of the isolation campaign against South Africa.

The meeting will also focus on the way the return of exiles can contribute towards the "creation of a progressive people's culture".

Mbuli said the meeting is likely to discuss the unity of all cultural workers — including those operating outside Mass Democratic Movement formations.

Such a discussion would be a significant development, according to Barbara Masiekela of the African National Congress Culture and Arts section in Lusaka. "In order to dismantle apartheid," she said, "we should be united and the ideal is to have as broad participation as possible."

She said last year's Conference for a Democratic Future, which brought together different anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, was an explicit effort towards that goal.

"Nelson Mandela's actions since his release have demonstrated that the ANC is for unity of all South African people and as cultural workers we need to follow along those lines."

She said, however, the ANC does not dictate what structures in the country should do. "The ANC really appreciates the work done so far by cultural organisations in the country and our coming back home will not mean taking away those responsibilities from people," she said.
THE ANC had not detailed how nationalisation of sectors of the economy would be implemented, but had only declared its intention to do so, and would do so only if nationalisation would strengthen the economy.

This was said in Umtata on Wednesday by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela, in an address to businessmen.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances occasioned by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with equitable housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts, and if their findings did not encourage nationalisation, the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

The approach of the ANC on the nationalisation issue was "let’s do this together" and the ANC intended to share South Africa’s wealth with "its white brothers and sisters".

Privatisation

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were already nationalised.

The Government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in government with a right to share in South Africa’s wealth, had chosen to privatisse the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move was made to impede blacks’ full realisation of their political rights, since the ANC did not have the financial muscle to buy substantial portions of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had plans to nationalise, but it became a “bourgeois” party and shelved the idea, he said.

Socialistic

Regarding the ANC’s position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said it was not anti-capitalism, and other sectors of the community would operate on a free enterprise basis.

He rejected the commonly-held belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialistic.

If this was so, the ANC would effectively have its membership which comprised those who advocated capitalism and those who went beyond socialism.

Mandela again said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

He said the ANC was currently involved in clarifying its policy on all matters with its members and he added that blame could not be squarely placed on their shoulders because they were victims of apartheid.

Many of the youth had been detained, some for long periods and forced to abandon their studies, so it was understandable that they were bitter.

Mandela said it had been pointed out to the youth that the business community were “our friends and deserved our support”.

He appealed to the meeting to let bygones be bygones, and allow the ANC to reach the youth and give it time to put it on the footing it held before its leadership was exiled or imprisoned.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was locked to to help the smooth return of exiles to decent houses and jobs so they could afford to educate their children.

Miners

“And I am talking of some 20 000 people,” he said.

Mandela said black miners were subjected to discriminating and humiliating work conditions, including an “acclimatisation process” which involved staying naked for hours in front of other people, a process to which white miners were not subjected.

Black miners were forced to queue to catch lifts from underground, and were banned from entering the deck reserved for white miners, even if it was empty.

“Why should we tolerate an industry which treats our people with such degradation?” he asked.

Mandela expressed disappointment at the handful of white businessmen who attended the meeting, organised by the Transkei Chamber of Commerce, and said he hoped it did not reflect the attitude of white businessmen in the region.—Sapa.
No turning back
now, says Pik

Political Staff
President de Klerk and his Cabinet have no guarantee that agreement will be reached on a new constitution for South Africa, but there is no turning back, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, told Parliament yesterday.

"Had we not started to walk towards the moral high ground our doom would have been sealed in the dark hole of apartheid," he said in the foreign affairs vote debate.

He said the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of critics were not just tactical moves or just to "gain time".
Youths take over settlements

MARITZBURG — Anarchy has broken out in areas on the lower Natal south coast where youths have usurped the authority of allegedly corrupt tribal authorities and taken control of peri-urban settlements at Port Shepstone.

"It's total anarchy," according to the principal of Sister Joan's High School, Mr John Harrison.

Community workers said an explosive situation was developing with massive ANC-aligned youth leagues having been formed without any structures or direction. "Criminal elements have taken control," one said.

A news team on Wednesday toured the Murchison and Bhobhoyi areas, where several people have been neck-laced recently. No resident was willing to talk of the killings; it was too dangerous to visit families who had become victims, residents added.

Many have been killed for alleged involvement in witchcraft. — Sapa.
ANC warned on nationalisation

By Michael Chester

The African National Congress was warned by an investment expert yesterday to expect a severe international backlash if it pressed ahead with nationalisation of South African gold mines in any political take-over.

The warning came from Mr Mike Brown, director of the Johannesburg stockbroker firm of Frankel Kruger and Vinderine and former chief economist of the SA Chamber of Mines.

He told a special seminar held in Sandton to examine the nationalisation issue, called by the Achievers Efforts management consultancy, that seizure of gold mine assets would be an automatic invitation to retaliation from abroad.

"Some 20 percent of South African gold shares are still in the hands of foreign investors," he said.

"Nationalising their assets would invite retaliation through seizure of South African assets abroad — and would terminate all chances of fresh foreign investment."

"Moreover, with the market capitalisation of gold shares standing at around R60 billion, South African taxpayers would need to shoulder enormous new burdens to foot the bill of compensation payments.

And the ANC would be in grave error if it reckoned on huge windfalls from the dividends paid out by the gold mines, which last year climbed no higher than R2.2 billion."

"Seizing current shareholder assets with out compensation seems scarcely worth it for such a small income stream," he said.

"Nor did nationalisation make sense when any new government had to weigh the high risk of the development of new mines, at a cost of between R1 billion and over R3 billion, with long waits of five to 10 years for profit returns."

"Its most urgent need would be for immediate finance to cope with social programmes aimed at better black housing, education, health services and community projects."

Struggling

Nationalisation would bring few benefits to the 400 000 unskilled workers employed on the gold mines, when current high production costs ruled out major wage advances without productivity improvements.

"Even now, more than half of the 46 major gold mines were struggling to meet break-even point because of soaring costs."

Mr Ronnie Bethlehem, chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee of the SA Chamber of Business, said it was naive to believe nationalisation would provide solutions to racial inequalities.

"There is a danger in thinking that a restructuring of the economy will alone solve all our problems," he said.

"There is no fairy godmother who can wave a magic wand and convert more than 20 million poor people into high-income professionals overnight. The processes of economic improvement have to be stretched out over a long period of time."

The objective of restructuring had to be a far higher economic growth rate to avoid an even worse unemployment crisis.

An annual increase in gross domestic product of only one percent would sweep the unemployment total to about 9 million inside the next 10 years. In contrast, a growth rate of 6.5 percent a year — within the capability of a sound formula, — would wipe out the problem.

"We need both market socialism and people's capitalism in a unique blend of political and economic democratisation," he said.

Mr Eugene Nyathi, director of the Centre for African Studies, pleaded for a radical change in white attitudes towards the vital steps to racial equality.

He found it curious that many whites regarded moves towards equality in Britain or West Germany or the United States as "democratic" when similar moves in Africa were branded as "anti-white Marxism."

He also urged the ANC to allow far more internal dialogue about shaping its policies — "taking care not to substitute the despots of the National Party with a new generation of autocratic black despots."
ANC defectors still detained

THE 10 ANC defectors were still in police custody, police public relations officer Lieutenant M. Erasmus confirmed yesterday.

They were being debriefed and "no information" was available.

The children in the group were also still in custody and were being taken care of, Erasmus said.

The 10 were arrested at Jan Smuts when they arrived from Tanzania via Lilongwe, Malawi.

It is believed they are part of a group that was allegedly tortured by the ANC for being South African Government agents.

The ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu was reported to have said that his movement was not overly concerned about the detention and that the dissidents were being protected for their own good.

Saturday burial for Masemola

By THEMBA MOLEFE

His funeral will not be on Sunday as announced previously.

A short service begins at 8am in the Methodist Church at Atteridgeville and then mourners will proceed to the Atteridgeville stadium for the main ceremony from 9am to 2pm.

Meanwhile, Black Consciousness Movement supporters in British Columbia, Canada, have sent a message of solidarity to Masemola's family and the PAC.

In a letter sent via Sowetan the four signatories said Masemola would not be forgotten. They are Sam Dishego, Phetole wa Manikgabe, Michael Moeti and Mziwe Mboe.

"It is often said that the death of a great teacher or prophet is the beginning of the rise of his ideas. So let it be with Comrade Masemola," the four said.

The PAC and its affiliates have announced more memorial services in various parts of the Reef.

Services were held last night at the Atteridgeville Methodist Church, the Mamelodi Community Centre and at the Katlehong African Christian Church.

Today there will be services at the Tembisa Mkhathini Multipurpose Centre at 6.30pm, Bokamoso Secondary School, Tembisa (2.30pm) and at the

JAPHTA MASEMOLA

Mohlabeng Lutheran Church (5.30pm).

A bus has been arranged to take mourners from the corner of Van Onselen Street and Vincent Road, Meadowlands, Soweto, at 7am on Saturday.

For further information people could contact Pauline Magdolo at telephone (011) 23-5601 during office hours and Alfred Ndaba at (011) 936-3338 after hours.
ANC exiles head for city

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN has been placed on a top security footing today for the arrival of five veteran ANC exiles from Lusaka for next week’s meeting with the government.

The pace and nature of the negotiation process hinges on this significant engagement. It will focus specifically on obstacles in the way of negotiations, from the government’s and the ANC’s point of view.

Senior government sources say they are confident that the meeting will produce positive results.

The ANC veterans, who are understood to be flying from Zambia in a private plane, are expected this afternoon.

They will form part of the 11-member delegation, led by the organisation’s deputy-president, Mr Nelson Mandela, which will meet a government team under President De Klerk on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday next week.

For some of them, today’s homing follows nearly a lifetime of exile. It is seen as a highlight in the rapprochement between the National Party government and the country’s black majority.

Indemnity

The way for their return has been cleared by special indemnity and immunity agreements introduced by the government this week to protect them from arrest, prosecution or civil legal action arising out of activities in the armed struggle.

The five are: ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, general-secretary of the affiliated South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo, guerrilla commander Mr Joe Modise and Ms Ruth Mompati of the ANC’s department of women’s affairs.

At least one other member of the delegation, Mr Archie Glumede, arrived this morning. The others are Mr Walter Sisulu, Mr Ahmed Kathrada, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Beyers Naude.

Most members of the team are expected to gather for their first joint meeting tonight. It is understood Mr Mandela will arrive tomorrow.

Tutu’s home

Although there has been no confirmation, some sources say Mr Mandela will be staying at Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s home, Bishop’s Court, and the other members will be staying at private houses.

Conscious of the ever-present threat of attack from extremists who would wish to see the negotiation derailed, police have mounted a special security operation for the duration of the delegation’s stay in the city.

Police spokesman Major Jan Cauitz confirmed the measures, but would not divulge details. Labelled “talks about talks about talks”, next week’s meeting will focus on stumbling blocks in the negotiation process.
South Africa has traditionally been, and to a large extent still is, a country which has relied heavily on labour. Wages for the black workers made this worthwhile, but as wages have increased under union pressure, so this advantage has been eroded, leaving South Africa in the position of needing to make each worker more productive.

One avenue towards increased productivity is training and motivating the workforce. However, another essential element needed to compete with the overseas producers is technology.

The problem is that the value of the rand has diminished against the major world currencies and most of the technology required to bring South African plants in line with their overseas competitors is imported.

Brickequip director Mr Bert Wijnbalt says: "Prices of machinery in West Germany, for example, have only increased between 5 and 10 percent during the past few years. However, the rand has fallen against the Deutschmark. Just five years ago R1 would buy 2,20DM, now R1 will buy only 0,65DM. This means that machinery bought in West Germany and imported into South Africa has increased in price by about 30 percent."

"There is some machinery produced locally but the high rate of inflation has pushed up prices — though the recession has helped to keep price hikes to the minimum."

Most of the sophisticated equipment used for making bricks is imported, though Mr Wijnbalt says every effort is being made to increase the local content of each installation in an effort to keep costs down.

"Manufacturers want the latest overseas technology because labour is no longer the cheap option it was some years ago. Labour is still cheaper in South Africa than overseas but the workforce is not as productive."

"Another problem is that a plant must run 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. A kiln cannot simply be shut down as the start up is very expensive. This means that during the day enough green bricks (undried and unfired bricks) must be produced to keep the kiln busy at night and over the weekends."

"With this in mind the manufacturers cannot afford strikes. A shut-down plant costs hundreds of thousands of rand each week. This has led to a tendency to cut out unreliable labour."

"A modern high technology plant can run with about 10 people because everything is computerised. There is no manual brick handling and the people needed tend to be high calibre staff, such as electricians for checking, controlling and maintaining machinery and equipment," says Mr Wijnbalt.

Johnson Tiles managing director Mr Keith Dixon says all the machinery required for tile making has to be imported, and under the influence of the low rand value, the prices have gone heavenwards. This has handicapped the local industry in its attempts to keep up with the latest technology.

"Another problem is the lack of local support for the equipment. This places us at a disadvantage when compared with countries such as Italy. We may have to fly in a technician if something goes wrong. Most of the better equipment is manufactured in Italy so they have support on their doorstep."

"With this in mind great care has to be taken when selecting equipment, to ensure it is reliable and not subject to frequent breakdowns," says Mr Dixon.

Continental China Holdings group managing director Mr Bill Paver estimates that the replacement cost of the company's production facilities is in excess of R100 million.

And, he says: "If a new plant were to be constructed today only about 30 percent could be provided locally."

The sum (of capital) table is a black pie chart.
IN sharp contrast to the Natal violence, peace has returned to the previously strife-torn Uitenhage area — through a combination of consultation, commitment and sheer hard work.

Despite differences between the two areas, local peacekeepers feel Natal can learn a lesson from the Eastern Cape initiative.

The calm which descended over Uitenhage's sprawling kwaNobuhle township when a peace accord was signed there two months ago, is holding.

The pact was signed in February between the Mass Democratic Movement and the Pan Afrikanist Movement (now incorporated in the Pan Afrikanist Congress) after two years of feuding between supporters of the UDF and Afrikanists.

Wongc Nkala, who signed the peace accord on behalf of the MDM, described how the peacemaking groups have had their work cut out.

Five-person committees from the MDM and the PAM, set up in terms of the agreement, meet frequently to discuss how the accord is holding, and to investigate alleged violations.

Whenever problems were raised, the two committees consult, and where necessary call in witnesses. Violators of the pact had the terms of the accord explained to them and were warned, Nkala said.

The strategy seems to have been effective. "We've never had a repeat case, even where the person involved hasn't been a member of either the MDM or PAC," he said.

Had perpetrators failed to respond to the warnings, they would have been taken before a "higher forum", comprising 20 members from each group and local church people.

There has, however, been no need to convene this body.

Educating people about the accord and what it meant was a full-time job.

"We had to realise it wouldn't have been an overnight task to restore a spirit of reconciliation between the two groupings," Nkala explained.

"There was a lot of suspicion and some misconceptions. When we met, we adopted an approach of accepting our ideological differences. We agreed that organisations with different positions should not fight, but co-exist peacefully."

It took some time before the realisation that an agreement had been reached filtered down, but the increasingly influential and well-organised street and area committees helped this process.

Peace was preached in shebeens, at rallies and at sports fixtures, while copies of the accord were printed and distributed throughout kwaNobuhle.

The schools were seen as crucial.

A strife-torn community in the Eastern Cape, where Charterists and Africanists feuded bitterly for years, has found peace ... and the way the truce was achieved holds some lessons for Natal, report PATRICK GOODENOUGH and JUSTICE SIGONYELA

Peace committee members and clergy toured every school in the area, reading out the document and explaining its implications.

"We have been called in by teachers when conflicts seem to be arising, and our visits have been very successful," Nkala said.

One source of potential strife was affiliation to student and sports bodies. Youth belonging to the Uitenhage Students' Congress supported the National Sport Congress, while the Pan-Afrikanist Students' Organisation followed the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) line.

Nkala said an agreement was reached between Usco and Paso, whose members agreed not to interfere in each others' organisations.

At one high school, Student Representative Council elections took place in a peaceful, democratic atmosphere, and representatives of both ideological tendencies were elected onto the SRC.

There have been visible indications that peace has come to kwaNobuhle. People who have fled to the Afrikanist stronghold at the height of the conflict have asked to return to their homes. After consultation with the relevant street and area committees, they have returned, and without incident.

"Last weekend, ama-Afrika (Eastern Cape vigilantes) group was drinking in our shebeens. There were no problems. The barriers are slowly breaking down," Nkala said.

Timothy Jantjie, who signed the accord on behalf of the PAM, also expressed his delight about both groups' adherence to the treaty. He felt co-operation at a leadership level served as an example to the community.

He believes co-operation at a leadership level served as an example to the community. Observers feel a similar commitment to responsible behaviour and rhetoric in Natal could be a small step towards peace there.

The police have been widely blamed for exacerbating the Natal conflict. In Uitenhage, too, they allegedly took sides in the feuding, and stirred up suspicions when the peace initiative began to gain momentum. - ema
Black hopes and white fears as cross-table nears

The ANC team flies in tomorrow as talks begin. But behind the tables, violence is escalating.

GAVIN EVANS PREVIEWS THE AGENDA

Two arms of the struggle: ANC military leader Chris Hani and diplomatic head Thabo Mbeki at Lusaka’s repatriation consultation

Picture: MEULELE LINDA

which could create difficulty is the need for an independent “court of appeal” to monitor developments, he said.

ANC Western Cape interiior coordinator Trevor Manuel said the ANC’s aim was to attempt to lock De Klerk into further reforms “without driving him beyond the limits of his flexibility”.

“We cannot afford to lose the moment... The only alternative to the present situation is violence on a scale this country has never seen before.

“You have to understand De Klerk, his motivation, what he can live with. You have to be able to yield and know what your next step is going to be.”

The ANC and the National Party can be expected to take a similar position on the continuing talks.

At the same time the Pan Africanist Congress, whose growth may be a factor in the talks in future, has already called for a moratorium on negotiations.

But on this question the ANC delegations might counter with allegations that the PAC is running scared of the ANC, which can point to its poor record of meeting promises and retaining power.

The ANC might also counter the PAC’s call for a moratorium on the talks by saying that it is a delaying tactic and that the PAC is in effect encouraging violence.

The PAC might counter this argument by saying that the ANC is in effect encouraging violence by continuing the talks.

Another argument the ANC might use in this regard is that the talks are the only way to resolve the political issues.

But this argument is countered by the PAC, which says that the talks are a delaying tactic and that the ANC is in effect encouraging violence.

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But this argument is countered by the ANC, which says that the talks are the only way to resolve the political issues.
ANC branches ‘will help end Natal’s war’

By CARMEL RICKARD

AFRICAN National Congress branches and membership in southern Natal will have a “positive impact” on ending violence there, say ANC officials.

Southern Natal convener Terror Lekota — who takes responsibility for setting up the ANC in one of the most violent areas — said this week he and his convening committee would begin immediately to establish branches and recruit members.

The area covered stretches inland to Mpumalanga, north to Stanger and south to the Transkei border.

Committee member Dliza Mji said he believed that setting up the ANC in the region “would go smoothly”. There had been a lot of pressure from people wanting to join, and he believed many would sign up.

Mji said he believed this could make a positive contribution to ending the violence in Natal.

“In the past we have witnessed a lack of political leadership in the area through repression, detentions and killings. We have also seen a lack of co-ordination among our supporters because of the federal structure of the United Democratic Front.

“But now, because of the legal establishment of the ANC, for the first time we have the possibility of a clear line of discipline, good co-ordination and a unitary organisation. It will clearly make a difference.”

Also on the convening committee is senior Congress of South African Trade Unions official Alec Erwin.

Commenting on Erwin’s membership of the committee, Mji said it was an acknowledgement of the close relationship between the ANC and Cosatu, but said it was not foreseen there would be anything closer than an alliance between them.

Other committee members are Archie Gamede, Sibusiso Ndebele, Billy Nair, Cleopas Ndlovu, Virgil Bonhomme, Florence Mkhize. A tenth member is still to be announced.

Outlining ANC policy on Inkatha, Lekota said his organisation and the committee were committed to a multi-party democracy and did not “adopt a belligerent posture” towards Inkatha or any other opposing political organisation.

He added, “The freedom for which the ANC is fighting does not exclude any of the oppressed, including Inkatha members. Therefore, Inkatha members are assured that the ANC is their natural political home.”

On the procedure for setting up branches, members of the convening committee said they would hold well-advertised inaugural meetings in different areas.

At such a meeting members would sign up and pay a R12 annual membership fee. If more than 100 members were present, the meeting would then go on to elect branch officials.

Once local branches were established a regional conference would be called and regional leaders elected. At this point the convening committee would disband.

Organisations sympathetic to the ANC, like the Natal Indian Congress and the United Committee of Concern, would also help the formation of ANC branches, after which they also would “probably disband”.
ANC plants ‘green revolution’ seeds

AFRICAN National Congress leader
Andrew Mlangeni yesterday planted a
tree in Soweto to mark the start of a
“green revolution” in the township.

Mlangeni was guest of honour at a
tree-planting ceremony arranged by
the National Environment Awareness
Campaign (Neac) to highlight the fact
that there is a growing environmental
awareness among resistance groups.

“We believe that the people of
South Africa are on the brink of re-
gaining control of their land, a land
which they have been denied for hun-
dreds of years,” said Neac President
Japhta Lekgetho.

“Through greed and disregard for
human life in general, we find that the
land has been abused to such an ex-
tent that it will take years of effort to
retrieve it.”

Lekgetho condemned the “misuse”
of pesticides and fertilisers in South
African agriculture and slammed the
government for allowing imports of
toxic wastes to South Africa.

He stressed that a solution to South
Africa’s ecological problems depend-
ed on the abolition of the Group Are-
as Act and the Land Act.

The South African Youth Con-
gress (Sayco) this month blamed
apartheid for the “deliberate destruc-
tion of our land and environment”
and vowed to fight for a greener
South Africa.
Mandela: We’ll nationalise only if it boosts economy

The African National Congress would only nationalise businesses if such a move would strengthen the economy, ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela told a gathering of businessmen in Umtata this week.

Mandela’s comments follow an announcement that the ANC will meet leading businessmen next month to discuss options for a political economy.

Mandela said the ANC, mobilising mass popular support, did not have the resources to rectify the glaring economic imbalances caused by apartheid and would have to nationalise sectors of the economy to provide the masses with housing and education.

Only the mines, banks and monopoly industries would be nationalised following thorough research by teams of experts. If their findings did not encourage nationalisation, then the ANC would listen carefully to their advice, he said.

Mandela said while his references to nationalisation had stirred controversy, people did not question the fact that the railways, airways and steel industries were nationalised.

The government, realising blacks would soon play an effective role in government with a right to share in South Africa’s wealth, had chosen to privatise the iron and steel sector.

The ANC believed this move had been made to impede the full realisation of blacks’ political rights, since the ANC did not have the money to buy substantial amounts of shares.

It rejected the move as a unilateral decision which was not in the interests of the majority.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it too had had plans to nationalise, but it became a bourgeois party and shelved the idea, he said.

Regarding the ANC’s position in relation to businessmen, Mandela said the organisation was not anticapitalism and rejected the commonly-held belief that the Freedom Charter was fundamentally socialist.

Mandela said the youth had perpetuated the belief that the ANC opposed businessmen.

It was not ANC policy to reject any sector of the community, least of all the business community, which was being looked to to help provide jobs, housing and education for returning exiles. “And I am talking of some 20 000 people,” he said. — Sapa.
Amidst celebration, Nelson Mandela returns to his Transkei birthplace, his first visit since 1956...
-Raymond Mhlaba (left), Walter Sisulu, Mandela and Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa

Photo: PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Afrapix

Mail 27/4-31/5/90
ANC 'will intervene in key areas of economy'

By Jabulani Sikhakhane

South Africa was unequivocally committed to free enterprise, but free enterprise with a 'human face', said Minister of Trade and Industry and Tourism, Mr Kent Durr.

"Even the most dedicated free marketeers would not argue that the State has no responsibility towards the less fortunate in the race of life: such thoroughgoing laissez faire would be unthinkable in any civilised country," he said at an awards ceremony at the Industry Development Corporation in Johannesburg.

The future African National Congress government will seriously consider re-nationalising recently privatised companies like Iscor, a representative of the ANC said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Breaking up of the vast concentration of economic power would also be a key priority in post-apartheid South Africa, trade unionist Mr Mike Rousos told a conference on "Aspects and implications of nationalisation" in Sandton yesterday.

Nationalisation, he said, would be undertaken to increase the size or nature of the State's intervention in the economy in order to tackle some of the injustices and inequalities inherited from apartheid.

This could help the State directly to extend services and infrastructure, control strategic industries like gold mines, derive extra revenue from ownership, take direct control of investible funds and provide increased employment opportunities.

The State will intervene via regulation and possibly even directly in key areas to ensure that this broad framework is adhered to, he said.

Pro and cons

However, Mr Rousos said the future government would have to weigh up the benefits against the problems of nationalising.

"Alternatives would have to be considered. The fact that all this will be occurring within the framework of a capitalist economy means that limitations will exist. Capitalist economies depend on the private owners of capital being willing to invest," he said.

"If private owners of capital are not confident that their money or new business ventures will not be taken away from them, they will not invest.

"If these conditions do not exist then economic growth will be very difficult."

Turning to monopolies, he said: "One of the priorities of a democratic government must surely be to break up the vast concentration of economic power."

But he said this concentration of power could afford the State a unique opportunity to guide the economy if it assumed control of the conglomerates.

"Methods that could be used included requiring all companies controlling more than five percent of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to appoint one-third of board members from trade unions, one-third from the State and one-third from its shareholders."
An emotional Mandela goes back to his roots

QUNU — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made an emotional pilgrimage to the tiny village where he grew up, saying the poverty of rural blacks makes “my heart very sore indeed”.

He greeted old friends, reminisced about his youth and tossed sand on the graves of his parents in a traditional act of reverence during a walk through Qunu, in Transkei.

“I have found many changes,” said Mr Mandela.

“Many villages which I see today were not here when I was growing up and new roads have been built.”

On Sunday, Mr Mandela paid a 15-minute visit to Qunu, his first since 1956. Yesterday he spent several hours speaking with virtually all of Qunu’s 1000 or so residents. The villagers slaughtered two oxen to celebrate his return.

Qunu is made up of a few hundred huts. Almost all the men of working age have left to work in the cities or on the mines.

“My heart becomes very sore indeed because the poverty that was here when I last visited this place, that poverty is still there staring me in the face,” said Mr Mandela.

He urged children to do well in school and recalled that he failed classes one year in his early teens. — Sapa-AP.
ANC gathers in Cape under huge SA Police guard

Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent


Both sides are maintaining strict secrecy about the talks, and even the venue has not yet been divulged. The most that sources will disclose is that they will take place in Cape Town and not in the Boland, as originally supposed.

Cabinet sources were today saying little about the agenda or prospects for the talks, but one source expressed confidence that progress would be made towards the main purpose of the discussions — the removal of obstacles to formal negotiations.

The ANC has made it clear that the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners are the main items on its agenda.

‘Stop preaching’

And President de Klerk stressed in Parliament recently that he in turn would insist at the talks that the ANC stop “preaching” the armed struggle and would also lay emphasis on the ending of violence.

Although it appears likely that the Government will seek an agreement whereby the ANC at least suspends the armed struggle in exchange for a lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners, this has not been confirmed.

The Government's chief negotiator Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in an interview this week he thought it unlikely that all the obstacles to negotiation could be ironed out at next week's talks. This suggested that the Government envisaged further rounds.

He also indicated that the lifting of the state of emergency could be difficult because of the high level of violence in the country and the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle.

Sources confirmed today that they would be responsible for the security of the ANC team, which will include such figures as former “Public Enemy No 1” Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SA Communist Party and Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general.
WARM HUG FOR COMRADE JOE

Oh, the feeling of being back home in South Africa!

Staff Reporter

A CAPE ordinance and Afrikaans SAA announcement awaited the five ANC exiles who flew into the city yesterday for their epoch-making talks with government next week.

The five, SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo, ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC guerrilla commander Mr Joe Mndaka and Ms Ruth Mompati of the ANC's department of women's affairs, arrived on a chartered Air Zambia flight.

A hundred supporters who slipped past a police net sang outside as the five addressed a news conference in the international arrivals hall at DF Malan airport, almost 30 years after going into exile.

They were met and hugged by jubilant ANC veterans after stepping off the plane from Zambia that brought them from a life of exile.

Police kept a discreet watch as the five recounted their emotions during their four-hour flight to South Africa.

A high-spirited Mr Slovo, asked his first question from the press since his return, said: "As I was leaving here..."

He said the pilot's announcements of South African place names — such as the Limpopo River, Johannesburg, Soweto, Vereeniging — during the flight to Cape Town "sounded like a symphony".

Fashionably dressed and wearing red socks, he said it was a remarkable feeling to enter South Africa "through the front door after leaving by the back".

The group burst into laughter when an SAA flight to Windhoek was announced in Afrikaans over the PA system.

HOME AGAIN... SACP veteran Mr Slovo hugs a friend from the crowd who greeted him on his arrival at DF Malan airport yesterday after more than 30 years in exile.

Said Mr Alfred Nzo: "Thank you very much. Now I know we are in Cape Town."

"Outside police turned away several hundred ANC and SACP supporters."

At the international arrivals lounge police would not let any media representatives through unless they had yellow ANC press accreditation cards.

Nzo: Whites have nothing to fear — Page 2
Such music to me — Slovo

By MICHAEL DOMAN
Weekend Argus Reporter

"I COULD never have imagined that the pilot’s announcement could make such music to me ... it was almost like a symphony."

With these words South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo described the remarkable feeling he and his four ANC fellow-members had at being back in South Africa for the first time in almost three decades.

Asied at a Press conference in the international arrivals waiting-room at D F Malan Airport what coming home meant to him, Mr Slovo began: "As I was so rudely interrupted 27 years ago ..."

"I think it means we are on the way."

"That was the longest four-hour jet journey I’ve been on,” he added, referring to the trip from Lu-
saka in the green-and-orange Zambian Airways jet.

"From the time we crossed the Limpopo and the pilot said ‘That’s Johannesburg on the left, Pretoria on the right’ — it all just brought a lump to our throats.

"For those of us who left by the back door to enter by the very front door it is a remarkable feeling.

"It will take a little time to sink in — like the airport announcement in Afrikaans a moment ago. It makes one feel at home."

"As the days pass the link with this beautiful country of ours will sink in.

"Until 15 minutes before we landed the country was bathed in complete sunshine. I don’t think that’s an omen — but we were struck at how big and beautiful the country is.”

Mr Slovo, asked if he had any fears for his safety, replied: “If I ordered my life according to the menaces we face in the struggle in South Africa I would have abandoned the struggle long ago.

"Whatever one does, danger is lurking.

"But I’m sure — I hope — proper arrangements have been made to ensure that those who have ulterior intentions will not be able to put them into practice."
Nats to push for struggle to be ended

GOVERNMENT leaders hope progress will be made towards the formation of a joint government if the Nats and the Ngqinisa Party agree to the demand for the release of detained ANC leaders.

The ANC delegation is to demand the release of detained leaders as a preliminary condition to peaceful talks. They have failed to make progress since the ANC announced its readiness to enter into talks with the government. The ANC regards the meeting as a means of bringing the Ngqinisa Party to the negotiating table.

ANC senior government figures have said that if the ANC agrees to the release of detained leaders, the Ngqinisa Party will be prepared to enter into talks. However, the ANC has yet to decide whether it will accept the Ngqinisa Party's demand for the release of detained leaders. The ANC delegation is to demand the release of detained leaders as a preliminary condition to peaceful talks.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo (second from right) shares a joke with deputy-leader Mr. Thabane Mlibin (left) today. Mr. Alfred Makgade (left) is the group's leader. The delegation is to demand the release of detained ANC leaders as a preliminary condition to peaceful talks.

ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo (second from right) shares a joke with deputy-leader Mr. Thabane Mlibin (left) today. Mr. Alfred Makgade (left) is the group's leader. The delegation is to demand the release of detained ANC leaders as a preliminary condition to peaceful talks.
‘Whites have nothing to fear’—ANC’s Nzo

MOMPATI . . . Ms Mompati of the ANC’s department of women’s affairs.

PAHAD . . . ANC executive member Mr Aziz Pe-
had, who welcomed the ANC veterans yester-
day.

MBEKI . . . Mr Thabo Mbeki, who was wel-
comed by his father Mr Govan Mbeki.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the ANC’s five-per-
son delegation, the organisation’s sec-
retary-general Mr Alfred Nzo, yesterday brought a message of con-
ciliation for the white community: “They have nothing to fear in a democratic South Af-
ica.”

However, he and other members of the ANC’s negotiating team in Cape Town for next week’s talks with the government emphasized that sanctions, international isolation and the struggle “must continue until apartheid is no more”.

The ANC team, accompanied by members of the Lusaka executive and aides, arrived amid tight security at a wintry DP Malan airport on a Air

Zambia flight late yesterday after-
noon.

Journalists needed both ANC and South African press cards to attend the first press conference by the returning exiles.

The ANC exiles were welcomed at the international arrivals lounge by a number of MDM leaders and an ad-

cance party of ANC members already in the country to help smooth the way for the talks about obstacles to negoti-
ation later next week.

Yesterday’s delegation comprised: Mr Nzo, Umkonto we Sizwe command-
er Mr Joe Modise, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Joe Slovo, the ANC’s foreign affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki and the ANC’s women’s affairs head Ms Ruth Mompati.

Almost half of the members of the ANC national executive committee are currently in the country, though

only five are formally part of the ANC’s negotiating team.

At a brief press conference at the airport, Mr Slovo declared: “We come in a spirit of conciliation — but we have not come as petitioners but as claimants of the people who have been kept down for too long.”

An emotional Mr Slovo told journal-
ists after his “longest four-hour flight ever” that “those who left by the back door are entering by the front door — it’s a remarkable feeling”.

Declaring that “apartheid is still very much in place”, Mr Nzo said the main purpose of upcoming talks was to remove the obstacles to negotiation which would lead to the establish-

ment of a non-racial democracy.

Mr Nzo praised the contribution over the years by the UDF, Cosatu and women’s organisations, but added that “we at the same time congratu-

late the brave campaign from the white sectors” who consistently re-

jected apartheid.

We wish to assure the white com-

munity they have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa.

“They, like everybody else, will be expected to contribute to the building of a new South Africa.”

Mr Thabo Mbeki said that next week’s meeting with the govern-
ment would “hopefully produce the neces-

sary results”.

However, he said the main purpose of the talks was to produce a situation in which all parties had equal opportunities.

“Let’s all proceed from the same base, the same rules and level ground.”

The ANC will be holding a mass rally in Mitchells Plain tomorrow and consulting with the leadership of the UDF and Cosatu on Monday.

MP calls for repatriation of SA exiles

DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP for Greytown Mr Pierre Cronje made a call yesterday for the government to “bring home” South African exiles and emigrants from abroad and to “rehabilitate” them.

He said in Parliament there had been a stream of exiles from South Africa since the banning of the ANC and in later years a “brain drain”, which had seen thousands of professional and highly qualified people leave the country.

According to official figures, some 2,000 attorneys, 800 accountants and 42 doctors had left the country since 1964.

“The actual figure could be more than double this since many just skipped the country,” he said.

However, many still want to return.

“We need to bring these South African exiles back, indeed welcome them back, to help build the new South Africa,” said Mr Cronje, suggesting the Department of Manpower embark on an “immediate rehabilitation programme”.

Placement of people

It should contact the ANC and plan the return of exiles, and not wait for thousands of people simply to return and swell the ranks of the unemployed.

The department should help with the advance placement of people, both within the private sector and the government.

“There are educational needs, housing needs and other resettlement needs. Will there be assistance as for other immigrants?” he asked.

“I illustrate that the government means business in building the new South Africa. View it as an opportunity and a major immigration initiative.

“Secondly, there are vast numbers of managers, professionals and technicians who are not under the wing of the liberation movement.

“Instead of going to Hungary or East Germany to recruit immigrants, as suggested by the government, the department, together with other departments, should advertise in Australia, Britain, Canada and elsewhere to lure, if not to beg South Africans to come home and help build a new South Africa.”
ANC AND POLICE WORK TOGETHER

Political Correspondent
AFRICAN National Congress organisers worked hand in hand with police at D F Malan Airport yesterday to marshal the large Press contingent and ensure that only journalists carrying official ANC accreditation were admitted to the Press conference.

For the first time in South Africa the ANC is operating an embryonic bureaucracy to manage media coverage and provide orderly access to the events surrounding the meeting between its delegation and the government.

In an ironic reflection of the working relationship forged between the ANC and the police, Cape Town civil rights lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr—who is suing the Minister of Police over his treatment during detention in the awaiting-trial section of Pollsmoor prison—stood side by side with two members of the police, helping to sort out accreditation problems.

Numbered cards
Entry to the international section of the airport was strictly limited to those who had the ochre-coloured cards bearing the words “African National Congress Press”. Each card was signed and numbered. They also had to produce proof of identity.

Applications for accreditation had to be submitted to the ANC’s offices, housed in a city centre electronics firm, in advance.

If names on ANC Press accreditation did not match those on press cards, journalists—like Argus photographer Breslin Geach—were bluntly told by police: “We were told by the organisers (the ANC) the names must match”.

Rainy weather probably cut the number of potential ANC supporters to a few hundred.

They were disappointed at not being allowed inside, but not even one supporter’s attempt to get past the police with his own version of the yellow Press pass—a 44B note of similar colour—would move the boys in blue.

There was tight security before the arrival of the Zambia Airways aircraft bearing the ANC veterans.

Perhaps in anticipation of the scheduled arrival time, a small group of supporters began to toy-toy outside the arrivals hall on the stroke of 4 pm.

Journalists were frisked before being allowed into the conference lounge 15 minutes later and were confronted by the five smiling ANC members seated behind a table.

As former political prisoner Mr Govan Mbeki formally welcomed the group, standing at the left shoulder of his son Thabo, police, including former Western Cape divisional commissioner of police Brigadier Roy During and senior public relations officer Major Jan Celitz, observed benignly from only five metres away.

Enthusiastic welcomes

The various ANC and UDP members ranged behind the main group included Western Cape ANC head Mr Reg September, Mr Steve Tikwete, UDP chairman Mr Curnick Ndlove and members of last week’s “talks about talks” group, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Archie Gumede.

Only a handful of questions were allowed after the Press conference, which was followed by some journalists and friends enthusiastically welcoming the ANC group before police started ushering people out—again in terms of an agreement with the ANC.
Business talks will be closely watched

The high-level discussions on South Africa's economic future on May 23 between businessmen and the ANC will be closely watched by local and international businessmen.

We live in an extremely competitive world and South Africa has one of the few relatively developed economies which has been virtually static during the past few years, while most others were booming.

The main reason for our economic plight is, of course, our political instability. Should the coming discussions indicate that the present impasse could be resolved on issues such as nationalisation and sanctions, some of our competitors in other countries will have to take note.

They are at present comfortably established in markets that South Africa dominated for many years and would try to regain.

Business, here and overseas, is extremely concerned by the ANC's constant talk of nationalisation. Certain overseas publications are even referring to economic chaos in South Africa, similar to the processes which economically ruined Mozambique and other States.

Building up a successful business in a competitive local and international environment is extremely difficult and risky. Nobody will take that risk if he believes that, after many years of hard work, powerful politicians will simply take it away from him.
ANC firm on removal of 'obstacles'

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

ANC deputy-president Mr Nelson Mandela and his team of 10 are determined not to budge on their demands for the removal of obstacles they say stand in the way of a negotiation process.

They reasserted their commitment to "the struggle" and South Africa's international isolation.

The spirit of their engagement with the government was one of conciliation, but the political essence, the purpose, was uncompromising, one of the key figures, Mr Joe Slovo said on his arrival yesterday.

"We have not come as claimants on behalf of people who have been kept down for too long."

Another key exile visiting the country for the first time in years, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki, revealed the delegation's attitude when he said there was no question of "give and take" when it came to political prisoners and the emergency.

These were "straightforward" issues. What was required was to create equality among all parties.

"Exciting moment"

But he said the ANC hoped the government would approach the issues "in the spirit we would want them to" and he was "hopeful the meeting will produce the necessary results."

Secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo described the arrival as an "emotional, exciting moment" after being exiled for almost three decades.

This, however, was tempered by the recognition that the country was still "bleeding, ravaged by the apartheid system which continues to divide people into warring clusters of minorities."

He said the main task was to explore the possibility of removing obstacles to negotiations "which must lead to the establishment of a nonracial democracy."

"We hope, when that time comes, negotiations will begin in real earnest to achieve this goal."

However, until it was clear the new South Africa had arrived, the struggle — and the international campaign to isolate South Africa — must continue, he said.

He congratulated those who had consistently rejected apartheid.

He added, in a message to whites: "Through them we wish to assure the rest of the white community that they have nothing to fear in a democratic South Africa."
Stones thrown at UWC campus

PRETORIA.—Stone throwings have occurred at the University of the Western Cape, according to the latest police unrest report.

A spokesman said several police vehicles as well as other vehicles were damaged. Police used tear smoke to dispense the groups. No casualties were reported.

At Umlazi Natal, 11 houses were set alight and extensively damaged.

At Galeshewe, near Kimberley, extensive damage was caused to a council vehicle after it was set alight. Several vehicles were stoned and set alight.

**Rubber bullets**

A motorist was injured in one of these incidents and a policeman was slightly hurt when a man petrol bombed a police vehicle. Police used tear smoke, rubber bullets and bird shot to disperse the crowds. Five casualties were reported among 31 people arrested.

At King William’s Town one person was arrested after an illegal gathering and at another illegal gathering at Tijou, near Fort Beaufort, police used tear smoke to disperse the crowd.

At Bergsig near Kirkwood, Eastern Cape, five policemen were slightly injured in stone throwing incident. Police used tear smoke to dispense the mobs. Four people were arrested.

At Katlehong, Germiston, police used tear smoke to disperse a group who threw stones at passing trains.

At Khutsong, near Oberholzer, a car was extensively damaged when set alight by a group.

— Sapa.
Second delegation flies in to DF Malan

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THERE was a heavy police presence at D F Malan Airport today when a second ANC delegation, including internal leader Mr Walter Sisulu, information spokesman Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Dr Beyers Naude, flew to Cape Town for the "talks about talks" with the government.

Among the group there to meet them was ANC general secretary Mr Alfred Nzo, who arrived in Cape Town yesterday from Lusaka with South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo, international affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki and Ms Ruth Mompati.

The arriving delegates were greeted with grins and enthusiastic hugs by the party there to meet them before being whisked away in a convoy of delegates and police.
Crossroads unrest: Meiring orders probe

Political Staff

A COMMISSION of inquiry is to be appointed into the causes of unrest and the use of violence in Crossroads, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, announced yesterday.

“The continuing unrest, ongoing tension and sporadic violence between conflicting factions in Crossroads has been a source of great concern over a considerable period of time for the Cape Provincial Administration and the government,” he said in a statement.

In the light of this, he had decided, after consultation with the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs, Mr Hernus Kriel, to appoint a commission of inquiry into the causes of unrest and the use of violence.

An announcement in this connection would be made shortly and details would be provided to the media, Mr Meiring said.

He did not disclose who the members of the commission would be or whether it would be headed by a judge, nor did he give any further details of the commission’s terms of reference.

Mr Meiring said he wanted make an urgent and serious call on the residents of Crossroads to follow the peaceful and the meaningful road of negotiation to solve differences and problems.
Backlogs ‘due to no access to capital’

UMTATA. — The socio-economic backlogs in Transkei existed in all black communities in South Africa and were the result of a lack of access to capital resources, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

In a parting message of gratitude for the “warm reception and hospitality accorded me and my entourage by the people of Transkei”, Mr Mandela said the backlogs fuelled the ANC’s drive for an even distribution of national wealth and the establishment of a single South African Parliament.

“With the establishment of the ANC interim committee in Transkei, we hope that the people of the region will have the golden opportunity of acquainting themselves with the policies of the organisation,” he said.

Mr Mandela described the manner in which the military administration of Major-General Bantu Holomisa assisted him and his delegation to reach people in the dispersed villages of Transkei as an “example we wish other bantustan leaders to follow”.

Own Correspondent

28/4/90
CAPE TOWN — "As I was saying before I was so rudely interrupted 27 years ago . . ."

These were the first public words of SA Communist Party boss Mr Joe Slovo uttered after he returned to South Africa yesterday from long exile.

The former head of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe looked anything but white South Africa's "public enemy number one" as he addressed a press conference in the international terminus of Cape Town's DF Malan Airport after arriving on a direct charter flight from Lusaka.

Smiling constantly in bemusement at the unfamiliar surroundings of his homeland, the bespectacled 63-year-old seemed avuncular and friendly.

He was amused by a typical SA Airways announcement in Afrikaans which cut through the conversation.

And, under the baleful stares — and protection — of a large knot of the policemen who had hunted him for so long, he described his feelings about coming home after 27 years:

"It means we are well on the way. It was the longest four-hour jet journey I have ever been on. I never imagined that the pilot's announcements would make music; it was almost like a symphony."

"When he announced, 'We are crossing the Limpopo, to the right Pretoria, to the left Johannesburg, Soweto, Potchefstroom, even Vereeniging', it brought a lump to our throats."

"Like the announcement just now in Afrikaans, it made one feel at home."

"For those of us who left by the back door and are now entering by the very front door it is a remarkable feeling."

"I suppose it will take a little time to sink in really."

"Of course, I think we are here with our hearts filled with great hope not for ourselves, but for ourselves and all the people of South Africa."

"We have come in a spirit of reconciliation, but not as petitioners. We have come as claimants on behalf of the people who have been kept down for too long."

"As the days go by, from a personal point of view, the links with this country, which is so beautiful and which we love, will sink in."

"Until about 15 minutes before landing, the whole of South Africa was bathed in complete sunshine," Mr Slovo said as the rain poured down outside.

"I don't think it is a omen," he quipped.

"It just struck us how much room there is for everyone."

Asked if he feared for his life as the person most hated by whites, Mr Slovo — whose wife Ruth First was killed by a parcel bomb in Maputo in 1982 — said if he had ordered his life according to fear, he would have abandoned the struggle long ago.

"I hope that proper arrangements have been made to ensure that whoever might have ulterior motives will not be able to translate them into practice," he added.
SA mission

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The last time Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Mr Joe Modise visited South Africa he was on a mission of destruction, his ANC colleague, Mr Govan Mbeki, told journalists yesterday.

Now his mission was different, the former Robben Island prisoner said. Welcoming the delegation to Cape Town at the press conference at DF Malan Airport yesterday, Mr Mbeki said of Mr Modise: "The last time I met him here, he was seeking to destroy... not South Africa or the people of South Africa, but to destroy that which was evil, which sought to keep the people of this country apart. "And today he has come, together with the others, on a different mission. The mission is to build a new South Africa."
Slaughtered family take murder secrets to grave

By CHARIS PERKINS and GEORGE MAHABEEF

A BUSINESSMAN who was massacred with his wife and three sons in a sparsely Botswana border village this week carried the identities of the killers to his grave.

His relatives fear they will never know who the murderers are — and they claim Botswana police are "not interested".

It took the police in the village of Slikwane six hours to arrive at the scene of the bombing — a house on a hill less than 600m from the police station.

"We want a full inquiry," said the murdered man's brother Mr Aziz Chand, a Gaborone businessman.

"But we have little hope of the killers ever being caught. It makes me so angry."

The Botswana police have refused to comment.

The bombing shook the village of Slikwane on the SA border early on Monday morning.

Pan Africanist Congress sympathizer Sam Chand, his 58-year-old wife Hajira, their three sons and the family dog, Kenny, were slaughtered by bursts of gunfire as they slept. Their night watchman, Mr Mathakwene Pule, was also shot.

Minutes later the house was blown apart by a bomb.

Only one person staying in the house that night escaped death. Domestic worker Miss Mmaletsatsi Thekedi woke up when she heard the night watchman screaming.

She slipped out of a window and, as she ran, she heard shooting in the house behind her and then a massive explosion.

Wounds

She later told the police she had seen a car parked outside the house and the silhouettes of two men. She could not say if the men were black or white.

One relative — a South African doctor who asked not to be named — said there were five bullet wounds in Mr Chand's head and several in his left arm.

"It seems that the attackers then fled an explosive device to his body and detonated it. It blew him to pieces."

"Only the upper parts of his body were found, lying scattered 20m away from the house."

The bodies of Hajira and sons Ridwan, 26, Ameen, 24, and 16-year-old Ermaan were found in the rubble of the nine-roomed house.

"Hajira's body was riddled with bullets," said the doctor.

BLASTED: Remains of the death house

Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN

SAM CHAND
Sign by Gossman

"It seems a machinegun was used."

Ridwan and Ameen — who were deaf and dumb and lived with their parents — had multiple bullet wounds in their heads.

Ermaan's face was crushed by the falling roof and it was impossible to tell how many times he had been shot. He was home for the school holidays.

Confusion now surrounds the identities and motives of the killers.

PAC sources in South Africa this week told the Sunday Times that Mr Chand's house had been a "safe house" for PAC operatives infiltrating South Africa.

They were quick to blame "agents of the South African Government" for the attack.

PAC secretary for publicity and information Bonny Nicole said there was no reason to doubt that a South African hit squad was responsible.

It had picked on the Chand family "simply because they were members of the PAC."

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs refused to comment on the PAC's accusations.

"The whole thing is a mountain of speculation," a spokesman said.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said the police had nothing to do with the attack, and a Pretoria police spokesman said they would welcome any evidence the PAC could produce.

Mr Chand's family could not cast any light on the killings.

"My brother was very tight-lipped about his political activities," said Mr Aziz Chand.

Claim

None of the family or the people who worked for Mr Chand could confirm the PAC's claim that his home had been a safe house.

Mr Lucas Molefi, who was employed by Mr Chand to run the shop adjoining the house, said nobody apart from family members ever stayed there.

Mrs Anna Molefi, who worked for the family for as long as she can remember, said their only visitors had been their children, brothers and sisters.

In a second tragedy to befall the family, Mr Chand's brother-in-law, of Lobatse, Johannesburg, was killed in a car accident on his way to Botswana on Thursday.
THE past few months have seen a see-saw of one-upmanship and one-downmanship — with the ANC and the Government vying for position with a view to talking talks.

Inevitably, it has been a matter of who's on the side of the angels and who's dallying with the devil.

The ANC is much maligned for preaching armed struggle, but one can guess that in this week's talks it will present itself as angelically amenable, even to the extent of renouncing or promising to renounce violence, a point which President F W de Klerk has recently insisted upon.

Should the ANC go on refusing to call off the armed struggle, one senses it will overpower its hand. It would be tactically unwise to upset the remarkable patience and goodwill towards it on the part of many responsible South Africans since February 2.

The ANC also needs to take into account those foreigners who hitherto have held such a benign view of it.

In this phase of posturing before real negotiations begin, the ANC, as ever, needs the moral and media support of the outside world. And out there some elements are beginning to question the nobility of its soul.

Above all, it is the ANC's call for continued violence in a situation of already appalling violence that works against it. This is opening some important foreign eyes to its ugly side.

**Otto Krause**

It's yo-yo season as ANC jugglers look for an angle

The ANC must start asking itself: how long can we still count on foreign backing? An early renunciation of violence would obviously stand it in good stead.

Nonetheless, it is a very disturbing perception that the ANC could have it both ways merely by saying it will drop the armed struggle.

Should the ANC officially call off violence there would still be little peace.

The point is that the ANC has been in a building a network of surrogate organisations well-placed to continue the very violence that serves the ANC's purposes. It is backed by a mind-set.

It could even distance itself from these organisations confidently knowing this would not make much difference.

With its network established, the ANC is able to follow a two-tier strategy, with peaceful talks on one level and violent action (duly disclaimable) on the other.

Even if the ANC leadership should formally renounce the armed struggle its goals could still be pursued through violence.

Meanwhile, the word is already abroad that the ANC "cannot control the radicals" — which is part ingenious excuse and part truth, for the pangas were not thrown

On the other hand, blacks are manifestly intimidated, whether in peace or simply the ANC's aggressive stance — and the intimidation touches anyone, from ordinary men to homeland leaders.

All this for the purpose of establishing the ANC's supremacy over black South Africans. Having achieved that by whipping blacks into line behind it, the ANC would have two options. One is to again make an attempt at creating an unaccountable country (and finally exhaust white patience), leading to a major crackdown by government — which, in turn, would bring the wrath of the outside world on it.

After all, this was the revolutionary strategy of the ANC in its troublesome period during the mid-Eighties and it is perfectly valid to assume it may go for a repeat.

The second option is that it could suddenly eke out sweetness and light.

Recently, the ANC, ever following its Soviet mentors, has come up with the latest Muscovite formula — a promise of plural democracy and all manner of new freedoms.

Tellingly, this Gorbachev line is now put forward by old Stalinists of the SA Communist Party operating within the ANC, like Joe Slovo.

But the rapid conversion still reflects nothing but the foreign line — albeit a new one — and people should be wary of such about-turns.

Nevertheless, even if its revised revolutionary strategy doesn't work the ANC could again still have it both ways.

While the outside world and forces within South Africa are pressing hard for negotiations, the ANC could happily come to the table duly self-appointed with its new political virtues.

The catch is that its campaign of bearing down on any resistant blacks could ensure the ANC being seated as the single representative of black South Africa.

Sadly, this would by no means reflect true black opinion and least of all bode well for an acceptable result — or even civil peace.

Against this gloomy scenario, the country's hopes lie in government toughly but impartially enforcing law and order to protect its citizens. It has the means, but needs wider moral support.

We all should know that without civil peace any notion of a more democratic South Africa to be simply falls by the wayside.

In time, the ANC's endless bashing of recalcitrant blacks should lead to a backlash on the part of blacks ground down by years of ANC-fostered disorder.

Meanwhile, a long process of spinning lies ahead. Right at the outset, government has tricky ground to hoe this coming week.

One already feels South Africa not much more to find peace than merely a renunciation of violence by the ANC.
ALL is set for the most dramatic event in South Africa's post-war politics — the first face-to-face encounter between the Government and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance.

On Wednesday, leaders of the National Party — led by its audacious, reforming State President — will sit down with erstwhile prisoners and exiles who, until recently, were on Pretoria's list of most wanted men.

The purpose: to explore whether obstacles to peace negotiations can be removed.

President De Klerk will lead the Government team and the ANC will be headed by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

A pact to end violence will be at the top of the agenda — but both sides yesterday acknowledged that it would be hard to achieve.

Top members of both teams told the Sunday Times that violence was the central issue to be resolved before constitutional talks could get under way.

By LESTER VENTER

Sylvia finds it, Sylvia keeps it!

By ALAN DUGGAN and GWEN GILL

THIS was the moment when dreams turned to reality for the Sunday Times Finders Keepers R1-million winner — mother-of-three Sylvia Jacobson from Ermelo, Johannesburg.

Husband Arnold hugged her and said: "No more worries for us. There's no dream any more."

The couple were in Majekoskwane, Cape Town, where the "treasure" for this year's contest was hidden.

Sylvia, a 55-year-old promotions supervisor, ceremonially opened an envelope.
ALL is set for the most dramatic event in South Africa's post-war politics — the first face-to-face encounter between the Government and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance.

On Wednesday, leaders of the National Party — led by an austere, reforming State President — will sit down with armed prisoners and exiles who, until recently, were on Pretoria's list of most wanted men.

The purpose: to explore whether obstacles in peace negotiations can be removed.

President De Klerk will lead the Government team and the ANC will be headed by its deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

A pact is on the table, but both sides are slow to admit that it is a hard bargain.

Top officials of both teams held a one-hour meeting last night amid speculation that violence was the central issue to be resolved before constitutional talks could get under way.

**Struggle**

Dr Eloff van der Marwe, one of the Cabinet negotiators, said: "The ANC has to face the challenge of why it continues to oppose the armed struggle."

"President De Klerk has said the door is open — he need not be kicked down."

Mr Joe Slovo, SA Communist Party secretary-general and key man in the ANC team, said: "The ANC has no top priority in the Baragwanath Declaration of preconditions, but we deplore the current state of emergency and the concentration of political trials and executions."

of these, only the troops in the townships and the state of emergency result.

However, both sides are carefully playing down expectations.

**Flexible**

Observers close to the process say both sides would be "feel each other out."

The talks will take place at a well-guarded Government venue in Cape Town and are scheduled to last until Friday.

A Government source emphasised that the encounter would continue "talks about talks" and that no constitutional issues would be included.

The Government is prepared for the preparatory talks to continue for several weeks, with this week's discussions only the first.

Diplomatic sources said the ANC had shown flexibility behind the scenes on a demand parallel to the Baragwanath Declaration — the return of political prisoners.

The Government and the ANC disagree on the definition of political prisoners, but many have already been freed.

However, the ANC has said it cannot accept that those convicted of offence leading to death will be released at this stage.

The Government is also said to be flexible on how an ANC renunciation of the armed struggle is framed.

The ANC is the only major group that has not yet fully committed itself to preparatory negotiations as it may face strong international and domestic pressure to lay down arms.

In Cape Town, the ANC's talks team — many of whom have been exiled for up to 15 years — prepared for a "truth rally" at Mitchell's Plain today.
PAC's 'tiger' is laid to rest

By CONNIE MOLUSI

SECURITY forces yesterday kept a close watch on the Atteridgeville funeral of PAC founder member Jasper Masemola.

Masemola - the first South African politician to be sentenced to life imprisonment in 1953 - was killed in a car accident two weeks ago.

The PAC - blaming the authorities for Masemola's death - said it would conduct its own investigation.

Masemola was released from Robben Island in October last year after serving 27 years with seven ANC leaders.

Many speakers paid tribute to Masemola, known as "The Tiger of the Azanian liberation struggle".

The service was interrupted when the 10000 mourners rose to their feet to welcome PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and his wife Urbania.

Speakers launched an attack on negotiations with the South African government and praised Masemola as "a non-compromising revolutionary" who said the time was not ripe for negotiations.

Mothopeng said Masemola was an outstanding teacher who encouraged good results from his students.

"Jepha was a believer in non-racialism and is happy today that everybody accepts the basic tenets of this policy in South Africa.

"He was unwavering in his commitment to liberation," said Mothopeng.

PAC deputy president Mlamli Makwehu said "the Azanian masses" and the PAC would miss Masemola's leadership.

"Masemola's leadership qualities were put to the test in Uitenhage where PAC and ANC supporters were killing each other.

"To illustrate his impact in the area, both ANC and PAC supporters have travelled all the way to his funeral."

A message read at the funeral was signed by a "Comrade Tito."

It read, "We your fellow comrades on Robben Island mourn your untimely departure from this world."

"You were a son of the revolution, a fighter and hero."

"You shall be missed by all of us and will always be remembered by your beloved comrades on the island."
A LUNCHTIME debate on nationalisation between JCT's Ronnie Bethlehem and the ANC's Harry Gwala packs Wits Great Hall.

Thanks to South Africa's nationalised airline, Gwala is late. This affords students towards the front of the audience an opportunity to do a little toy-toying and sing a few war paens.

A number of white boys and girls join in. Their efforts are in comic contrast to the overtly threatening performance of their black counterparts. They seem not so much to be asserting defiance with their raised fists as trying to ask a question in class.

The question, to judge from their wriggling rendition of the ANC dance, is whether they may be excused.

Towards the back of the hall, a group of black students is sitting silently. One, crouched in the aisle, is unselfconsciously using them as an armrest. Her body language suggests the deep but cowed exasperation of one who wants an education but knows she will probably be denied its full fruits — both by Doris Lessing's "Good Terrorists" up front and the white establishment they have so successfully man-maneled. It is not a complaint she is permitted to voice.

Bethlehem speaks first, thanking "comrade chairperson" for her introduction. Not the place for a shy joke, this. Nor, regrettably, does Bethlehem appear to be making one as he slides into the revolutionary vernacular. He talks about the need to address poverty and inequality by a "complete restructuring of ownership and economic control".

There should be a "partnership" of the State, the private sector and the labour unions. Everyone, in other words, for whom poverty is not a problem.

The free market thus defended, Gwala enters. More dancing, more paens. A businessman before his imprisonment, he is a descendent from the Amakhola who sided with the British in the Zulu War and were rewarded with land grants.

Gwala is determined that no one, except perhaps the ANC nomenclature that succeeds Afrikaner nationalism in power, should be so lucky again. The only thing wrong with socialism was Stalin. When the ANC "in alliance with the SAC" takes over, "those who don't agree will have to lump it".

Perhaps we should coin a new term for the majority class in the new SA. The lumpiproletariat.

POLITICS," says the teacher, gesturing graphically, "is the thing I reject from my body." We are in a shebeen of the most informal kind — the front room of a house in Orlando West.

Like all his colleagues crowded into that tiny space, the speaker is on strike. We are at a point where the beer is starting to unmask the truth without making it totally unintelligible.

Many in the company participated in the teacher's march in Johannesburg the day after Nelson Mandela made his first appearance in Soweto and called on pupils to return to school. The irony is not lost on them.

Most are trying to continue teaching informally. The union has told them to down chalk, so they have taken the injunction literally and are going about their duties without using blackboards.

They are painfully aware that indeed their physical security is regularly threatened by the lost generation of "liberation first, education later".

Political sophistication they are not. In the course of a raucous debate on why Mandela was released when he was, one opines that because Madiba was the first major ANC figure to be jailed, it seemed reason to say that he had to be the last out.

Another professes to be a member of the PAC because Zephania Mothopeng is a relation. She is considering changing to the ANC because its T-shirts are free while the PAC charges R20.

They are doing their best to function in a world of terrifying contradictions. Their demands, so simple — no grandiose socialist dreams, no revolutionism for every child and an environment in which learning can take place — are lost in the insane hubub of ideology and racial politics. They are doubly powerless. Unspoken for by the liberation movement, they are unspoken to by the white establishment.

CHIEF P M MAZOJI is the nominal ruler of three townships near Richmond, Natal: Indaleni, Esimozeni, Magoda. Until his election for life in 1983, he was Richmond's traffic policeman.

His letterhead is nonetheless remarkably literate, not to mention accurate. Underneath a coronet, it carries the legend: "Unsly lies the head that wears the crown." The chief recently had his house burned down and died about the same authority as Richard II in the latter stages of the play.

UDF supporters started challenging his legitimacy and that of his indunas and councillors in late 1986. In 1988 he wrote a letter to the then chief of KwaZulu police, Brigadier A.M. Laas, asking for increased protection.

There was mounting trouble, he reported, compounded by the fact that he was being pressured to "conscript" his subjects into Inkatha.

Though an Inkatha member himself, he said he did not want to aggravate the "Inkatha/UDF syndrome which is tearing our Zulu nation apart". Instead, he preferred to concentrate on "socio-economic issues" like giving his people running water in their homes.

I am not sure that this was the most political argumentable way to petition Ulundi. At all events, Brig Laas replied that he could not help because Indaleni had not been "proclaimed" as a KZP sphere. Perhaps Majizi might care to contact the SAP Commissioner in Pretoria. He did, but to no avail either.

Since then, the UDF have gradually hijacked civil authority in Majizi's areas, replacing the traditional system with street committees and kangaroo courts that mete out extremely rough political justice.

It has also replaced tribal levies with taxes of its own. These include, I am told, a R10-a-month fee for the rental of firearms. You do not have to love the old order to recognise that this is gangsterism. It is also a reason Majizi is in flames.

The new SA will be built on the corpses and ruined lives of the ordinary people in the middle, the majority of them black and ill-equipped to stand up for their own interests.

This does not seem to bother the white establishment. "In Africa," says one leading industrialist, "It isn't about to compete in the race for power. Just be the first to congratulate the winner."
Socialism the only way says Joe Slovo

By KURT SWART

JOE SLOVO's favourite South African dishes are boerewors and snoek, and he still believes socialism is the only way forward for mankind.

At a plush hotel in Somerset West the ANC ideologue, reviled by many South Africans as a bloodthirsty communist bogeyman, talked quietly about the pain of three decades in exile.

The friendly and youthful-looking politician, 54, said his image as Public Enemy Number One was undeserved.

"The intention has been to rubbish me, but I've had a very positive response from the majority. While Thatcher had Salchi and Saatchi for public relations, I had Botha and Botha."

Mr Slovo said he was concerned about the violence sweeping South Africa, although his political views reflected the ANC's hardline approach to next week's talks with the Government.

Only if the preconditions in the Harare Declaration were met could there be grounds for suspension of the armed struggle, he said.

The Lithuanian-born lawyer said he started believing in the possibility of returning to South Africa a year ago.

"I was certain we'd be back in my lifetime, but not necessarily under Nationalist rule. In a sense one can say that is at least some kind of tribute to the courage of De Klerk."

The visits by SA delegations to the ANC leadership in exile triggered off severe bouts of homesickness.

Failed

"We had wonderful times when the locals came to visit. It was the first taste of things to come. When the pilgrimages to Lusaka began, I really started believing that perhaps there'd be one in the other direction."

Mr Slovo said he didn't believe the introduction of socialism in South Africa would kill "the golden goose".

"If you look at South Africa, you see that what has failed here has not been socialism but capitalism. Although I don't believe that socialism is immediately on the agenda in South Africa, it's the only rational way for humankind to order its life in the long term.

"On the question of redistributing wealth, the ANC is acting in a tradition which was actually set by the NP when it first came to power in the 1940s."

"It proceeded immediately to redistribute wealth in the interests of disadvantaged Africanders."

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ANC seeks new image

By LESTER VENTER

THE ANC is talking to Saatchi & Saatchi — Margaret Thatcher’s favourite advertising agency — about improving its image.

According to a British newspaper, the ANC is eager to distance itself from its "terrorist" associations.

It is said to be concerned about losing the moral initiative on SA, which it used to take for granted. It also apparently wants to counter the dramatic recent improvement in the Government's international image.

Saatchi’s ran the last three successful Tory election campaigns.
NOW that it is all systems go for Wednesday's talks between the ANC and the government, it is safe to speculate about the possible outcome.

If I were a fly on the wall at Tyanhuys where the meeting is scheduled to be held, this is probably what I would hear and see.

Before the gentlemen from Parliament and the comrades from the bush move into the room, I suspect a bugging device will be placed in a corner. But after all, not all the cards will be laid on the table.

This is just the first round of talks, and like all such first encounters, not everything will be discussed.

The meeting is to get to know each other better. More serious stuff will follow. The ANC cannot make the mistake of negotiating without a mandate from the "people".

Key players in this game, Nelson Mandela and PW de Klerk, have had two sparring sessions already and they seem to know each other's weaknesses and strengths. They know how critical this meeting may turn out to be.

Neither Mandela nor de Klerk want to come out of the talks carrying the blame for being unreasonable, especially as the outside world is keen to see a positive outcome.

Nearer home, Mandela knows how keen elements of the black leftwing are to make political capital out of the failure of the talks. Organisations like the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement have expressed misgivings about any talks with government at this stage.

De Klerk too, knows the rightwing are waiting to whip up white emotions should there be any concessions from the government.

No one wants to be called a sellout, and at the same time both parties want to achieve as much as possible in the first meeting.

Sitting on that wall, I could clearly hear de Klerk saying this was the moment he and his new government had been waiting for all these years - but he was interrupted by Mandela who told him the situation was the other way round.

"Mr President all these people on my side are older than you and were forced into a life of exile. Others were sent to prison for long terms precisely for wanting to talk to your government."

"I know that gentleman. But this is not the time to start reminding each other about the past. Mr Mandela is right. Some of us were still at school when you gentlemen fought for equal rights. But you must understand we are not like the past government. We are for change and for power sharing."

"If I may correct you, Mr President," interrupted Dr Beyers Naude, "my friend there, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and I served on the Broederbond. Our main task was to groom and select future Prime Ministers in South Africa. From the background we controlled just about everything in the country. But as you know, some of us resigned."

"But Dr Naude, this is not the time to be talking about such things. What about Mr (Joe) Slovo and Mr (Joe) Modise sitting over there, who over many years committed crimes and atrocities as leaders of MK..."

But after de Klerk had agreed to the demands of the ANC contained in the Harare Declaration, the ANC felt triumphant as winners of the first round of talks.

But in fact the first round winners were the National Party.

They proved their commitment to peaceful change. And what better way of getting the ANC back to the talks than making this little concession.
SBSA gets go-ahead to rescue African bank

By James Tomlinson,
Foreign Staff
PARIS — The French government has dropped its initial opposition to Standard Bank of South Africa (SBSA) saving a major African bank operating in 16 countries, it was learned here over the weekend.

The ANC was contacted in Lusaka, and said "there are no objections from our side".

They were referring to the recent offer made by the SBSA to invest massively in the prestigious, but ailing, Banque Internationale pour l'Afrique Occidentale (BIAO).


France's BNP bank — one of the country's Big Three — which has a majority share in BIAO, started a crisis when it decided six months ago to withdraw its holding owing to heavy losses.

African banks in the struggling BIAO group had previously accused BNP of rushing in to strip the group's assets and ignoring a deal with SBSA which would have given them time to produce a recovery plan.

Managing directors of the bank's branches said they had no objections to Standard Bank SA taking a share in the BIAO.

The BNP reflected French business thinking that banking operations in Africa suffered from loose government financial practices and staff problems.

Its branches faced massive embezzlements, loan failures and unacceptable government pressures.

BNP took a controlling 51 percent share in BIAO in 1998, but is seeking to sell its stake. Bankers said France accepted BNP's withdrawal from the African bank after it lost some $180 million last year, doubling the 1998 loss.

French press reports said BIAO needed $210 million to cover losses for its Paris operation alone.

BNP has 42 percent of the BIAO shares, which would presumably be taken up by SBSA.

Other major shareholders include Banco da Brasil (20 percent) and the Union des Banques Suisses (20 percent).

The Standard's move has been fully supported by Alassane Ouattara, director-general of the Abidjan-based Banque centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO), an umbrella body.

He previously put the case strongly to French Finance Minister Pierre Beregovoy on April 4.
LET'S TALK!

Govt and ANC apprehensive over this week's discussions

SOUTH Africa is holding its breath before the talks-about-talks between the ANC and the government in Cape Town this week.

The ANC is expected to insist on full indemnity for all ANC returning exiles while the government fears a section of the ANC might try to sink talks.

It is believed both parties are apprehensive about the talks. ANC delegates have promised a "hard line" in the talks, while the government is not expected to budge easily on certain issues.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, however, told a City Press correspondent yesterday that the government would discuss the ANC's view on the armed struggle and not be dogmatic about it.

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due to arrive in Cape Town last night. ANC delegates Beyers Naude, Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning after the arrival on Friday of Alfred Nzo, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Joe Modise and Ruth Motsahaleng.

The ANC delegation was yesterday locked behind closed doors in what was believed to be a final strategy planning meeting.

A tight security network was thrown around their hotel, the Lord Charles, in Somerset West. Armed security men were screening the few people allowed through the main gate.
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It is now clear that one of the main issues to be tackled in the talks—which start on Wednesday and last until Friday—will be full amnesty for all political prisoners and ANC members. The ANC will insist this demand be met before the right climate for negotiations could be created.

It is believed the government, which this week tabled the Indemnity Bill in Parliament making provision for temporary and selective indemnity, could strongly resist this demand unless guarantees were given that Umkhonto we Sizwe would not establish itself as an armed force in the country.

It is also believed that the government could strongly resist the lifting of the state of emergency because of the widespread violence in the country.

Fears have been expressed in government circles that a certain group of delegates might try to scupper the talks.

It is believed in government circles that President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe advised the ANC to conduct the talks in such a way that it appears as if the ANC had won the armed struggle and that they insisted on a ceasefire.

The government reaction would be that the two parties were beyond that stage and the talks were now about power-sharing.

The situation is seen as one of the ANC and the government jockeying for international support and the government feels it is moving on to high moral ground.

An unannounced approach by Denmark to establish full diplomatic relations with South Africa is quoted as an example of the way international opinion has turned in favour of the government.

Mass Democratic Movement spokesman Murphy Morobe said this week: “The ANC is committed to the peaceful resolution of the South African apartheid but this hinges on the unconditional release of all exiles and the granting of amnesty to all political prisoners.”

Said he: “The unbanning of the ANC in February the personnel of the organisation had remained outside the country and this hampered the consolidation of the organisation in South Africa.

Mandela and Slovo are today expected to address a historic ANC rally at Mitchell’s Plain.

But wet weather in Cape Town may force the cancellation of the rally. A final decision on whether it would take place would have been taken by late yesterday afternoon, an ANC spokesperson said.

The PAC’s trade union arm, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), on Saturday attacked the ANC for agreeing to the talks.

Nactu assistant general secretary Cunningham Ncuukana, addressing thousands of mourners at the funeral service of PAC founder member Japhtha Masemola, accused the ANC of going into talks with the government without consulting other sections of the liberation movement.

“It is very sad for the ANC to have taken that decision. We in Nactu say it is arrogant of the ANC in that regard.”

He said the PAC and Nactu’s only choice was to escalate the armed struggle.
At home after 33

CP Correspondent

WHILE he was in prison Nelson Mandela often thought of going back to Qunu to see the river and dam in which he swam as a young boy and to walk across the fields he played on during his childhood.

On Thursday his wish finally came true. The ANC deputy president finally returned home 33 years after his last visit to the tiny rural village in which he spent much of his youth.

The whole village and many people from surrounding villages came to greet him and lined the small dusty roads as he walked through Qunu.

He saw many faces he recognised from his childhood and spent much of his time talking to the people.

As he walked through the maize fields towards the grave of his mother, he looked at the dam in which he swam as a boy and remarked to his wife Winnie that it had always seemed very big to him, but now he saw how small it was.

At his mother's grave he was given sand which he threw on to the grave, before washing his hands.

He later told journalists it was Xhosa tradition to show respect to the dead and that it was customary to eat "roasted flesh" afterwards.

Having paid his respects at his family graves in Qunu, Mandela went to the grave of King Sabata Dalindyabo and visited the house in which the paramount chief of the Tembus had lived.

After these visits, he returned to Qunu and went to the site of his father's plot to address the villagers, many of whom were wearing traditional Tembu dresses.

As he sat next to Winnie and his youngest daughter Zinzi, he often turned to his wife and showed how people he still recognised.

He also took his youngest grandchild on his lap as local leaders addressed the crowd.

When it was his turn to speak he said no words could describe the emotions he was feeling.

But then he needed no words, for the smile on his face clearly showed the happiness he must have felt at coming home after 33 years.

He told the 2,000-strong crowd he could see many changes in the area, and that some areas that were now maize fields had been villages when he lived there.

"When I came to school here, I used a sheepskin as my blanket, and for the education his riding that was."

He said progress in the south west has not come as fast as it should.

"But what the count becomes.

"The when I look 1956 is a day."

He said the African Liberation Army had announced that the help did not need to be given to better the conditions of the territoy.

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“When I came to school here, I used a sheepskin as my blanket, and for the purpose of my education my father cut his riding breeches and that was the only piece of clothing I used.”

He said he could see progress, such as the modern road from Umtata to Port Elizabeth.

“But when I travel into the countryside, my heart becomes sore.

“The poverty I saw when I last came here in 1956 is still present today.”

He blamed the South African government for this poverty and announced that he would suggest to the executive of the ANC that they help secure resources to enable homelands with progressive governments to better the living conditions of people living in the territories.

He said anybody visiting these areas could see the mockery of those saying blacks would starve if sanctions were enforced.

“Blacks are starving already, we do not need sanctions to starve.”

After his speech he participated in the customary meal of roasted beef, before flying off in a helicopter to visit another rural area.

Pics: AFP/PIX
Priest maimed

SA rightwingers 'behind parcel bomb'?

A CHILL gripped ANC exiles in Harare last night after the parcel bomb attack which blew the hands off a deported Anglican priest who officiated at ANC ceremonies.

Last night Father Michael Lapsley, 41, was in a serious condition in an intensive care ward in a Harare hospital where both his hands had been amputated. He has also lost the sight of his right eye.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has questioned whether the attack had come from right wing extremists who want to scupper talks between the government and the ANC.

"I hope this cruel bombing is not what we suspect it to be - an attempt by right wing elements, possibly with contacts in the security forces, to sabotage the negotiating process," the archbishop said.

"It is extraordinary that this sort of activity can continue while all these commissions and police investigations are happening."

"I called some time ago for the complete disbanding of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and I renew that call."

"The government needs to take every possible step to ensure that no one in its ranks is cooperating with those who want to derail peaceful negotiations," he said.

An angry ANC member in Harare said that the blast was "a warning to all ANC members here and anywhere else that we must not let our guard down."

"With the upcoming talks between the ANC and the government and all the disclosures about the death squads, it appeared that the threat of such bombings had been reduced."

"We had been thinking more about going home than of the danger of another bomb by Pretoria's agents. We were wrong," he said.

ANC members said security measures which had lapsed since the unbanning of the organisation would have to be re-activated.

DP co-leader Dr Dennis Worrall said last night that the incident was "deplorable."

Car bomb

"We can accept that this is not the official work of the government and should not affect this week's talks about talks. If anything this must be a spur to talks," he said.

The blast was the first such incident blamed on South African agents in Zimbabwe since January 1989 when a car bomb exploded outside a Bulawayo homestead used by ANC exiles. One man was killed in the attack.

Witnesses to the blast said Father Lapsley was sitting down with the telephone receiver in one hand when he opened a book contained in a parcel he had received on Saturday night.

The explosion which followed ripped off the ceiling and shattered windows in the lounge and the adjoining room of his home.

The only other person in the house at the time, a young teacher, was not hurt apart from his hearing being affected.

Before lapsing into unconsciousness, Father Lapsley said the package had a South African postmark, witnesses said.

According to sources in Harare only medical personnel were being allowed to see Father Lapsley.

When he leaves the intensive care unit he will be moved to a security ward.

Father Lapsley, a former chaplain to University of Natal students, went to live in Lesotho after being expelled from South Africa in the mid '70s. He became a member of the ANC and was later expelled from Lesotho and moved to Harare.

He worked for the Lutheran World Federation until recently and was due to move to a parish in the Diocese of Matabeleland soon.

According to a member of the Liberation Support Committee, Mr John Stewart, friends of the Anglican priest had left his house only 2½ hours before the bomb exploded.

The chief representative of the ANC, Mr Max Mabuza, earlier said he was to have attended the party. Last night Mr Mabuza blamed the attack on South African agents. — Own Correspondent, Sapa and UPI
SACP link to stay Mandela

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and NORMAN PATTERTON

The African National Congress had no intention of ending its lengthy alliance with the SA Communist Party, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela told a rally in Mitchells Plain yesterday.

He revealed that the government had urged the ANC to drop SACP secretary general Mr Joe Slovo from its team due to begin talks with the National Party on Wednesday.

Mr Mandela said the government was "worried" about the composition of the ANC's 11-person team, particularly "the inclusion of Comrade Joe Slovo".

Mr Slovo had for years been characterised by the government as Public Enemy No 1 in South Africa, particularly during the run-up to elections.

Mr Mandela described Mr Slovo as a "true son of South Africa" and said he would remain in the team.

Enthusiastic reception

A crowd of between 15 000 and 20 000, including a sprinkling of whites, attended the rally at the Lentegeur sportsfield. Organisers who had expected a turnout of more than 100 000 last night blamed the wintry weather.

The crowd had been demarcated into sections with white tape and was bodily searched. Hundreds of marshals were on hand.

There was prolonged cheering when the members of the ANC delegation to the government arrived at the field. The speakers mounted a two-storey stage protected by two-metre concrete wall topped with razor wire. A police helicopter circled at a respectful distance.

Mr Slovo, despite talking for over an hour at yesterday's rally, was the speaker who received the most enthusiastic reception. His speech was interspersed with chants like, "Viva redistribution of wealth, viva!"

Mr Slovo said the government had told him that it would be difficult for them to explain to their supporters why they were having discussions with a communist.

"I pointed out that we sympathised with them and knew their difficulties and were keen to assist them where we could — but suggested that they must regard the matter as closed.

He had risked his own reputation by telling his organisation that President F.W. de Klerk was an honest man and meant what he said.

The late but lively communists

ANC supporters at yesterday's mass rally in Mitchells Plain were urged to abandon the concept of "African time".

"Let's change African time — let's be punctual," said Western Cape UDF president Mr Christmas Tinto to laughter and applause after hundreds of noisy late-comers arrived with a Communist Party flag and disrupted the speech of ANC secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo.

However, the group managed to time their arrival to just a few minutes before the address of their real hero — SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo.
"Ceasefire" the key to historic talks

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress and the South African Government both entered final preparations today for Wednesday's historic talks, with the ANC apparently aiming to negotiate a mutual "ceasefire".

Both delegations held intense consultations over the weekend to prepare for the talks, which are unanimously regarded as critical for South Africa's future.

The Government's nine-man delegation met over the weekend and will spend the whole of the public holiday today finalising its strategy for the three-day talks which begin at 3.30 pm on Wednesday at an undisclosed venue in Cape Town.

The ANC sources said its delegation would hold consultations today with various experts and interest groups in various fields to finalise the agenda.

The issue of violence is emerging as the central problem in the talks, at least in the Government's view.

The ANC has placed the lifting of the state of emergency and the release of political prisoners and return of exiles as its top priorities.

The talks are being held in the face of hostility from both the far-left Pan Africanist Congress and the far-right white Conservative Party.

At the funeral of PAC founder member Mr Japtha Maseela in Atteridgeville on Saturday, PAC vice-president Mr M Mawu gave a crowd of thousands the ANC "had sold out" by agreeing to talks.

"We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system. There could be no compromise. "Africa will always be for Africans, African for humanity, and humanity for God."

"Conservative Party leader Mr Andries Treurnicht accused President De Klerk of a weekend rally and Police in the streets of getting people "charged-up" to behave recklessly. It was not the CP that was doing so.

"Slowly chaps"

"It is Mr de Klerk who is making people so excited. I must say to them: Bloody chaps, slowly, slowly.

He said the CP was not against negotiation, but the CP "will not bate away its territory to the ANC."

The Government's view at Wednesday's talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the Government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A Cabinet source said agreeing to a ceasefire

Will these 'Moutseys' get their man? .. Heads turned in Hillbrow when two horsemen from their mounts through the traffic en route to the parks, which they have been patrolling during assistant Ivan Judeal riding "Tank" (left) and Andre de Lange on "Tomcat" are used to the welcome they receive from regular park visitors relaxing in the CBD, Hillbrow, Rosebank and Bra

Police to quiz witness on assassination claim

By Craig Kotze

Police will question former Johannesburg City Council spy handler Mr Hanney Gouws, who named a former SADF sergeant as the killer of Dr David Webster, as soon as he has completed giving evidence before the Hlomela Commission, said Brigadier Floris Mostert, the detective investigating Dr Webster's death.

Mervue, the Commissioner of Police, to investigate the claim.

It is a year ago tomorrow that Dr Webster was gunned down outside his home in Bryansk.
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“We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system.” There could be no compromise. “Africa will always be for Africans, Africans for humanity, and humanity for God.”

Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht accused President de Klerk at a weekend rally at Potchefstroom of getting people “charged-up” to behave recklessly. It was not the CP that was doing so.

“Slowly chaps”

“It is Mr de Klerk who is making people so excited. I must say to them: Slowly chaps, slowly, slowly.”

He said the CP was not against negotiation, but the CP “will not barter away its territory to the ANC.”

The government’s view at Wednesday’s talks is expected to be that the state of emergency cannot be lifted unless the ANC commits itself firmly and unambiguously to a peaceful negotiation process, but the government is likely to have difficulty with the notion of a ceasefire. A cabinet source said agreeing to a ceasefire would imply the ANC had achieved a military victory.

The government and the ANC will start their talks with diametrically opposite views on the state of emergency. Government’s view is that the state of emergency is necessary to curb violence — and is therefore inextricably linked to the need for the ANC to suspend violence.

By contrast, the ANC sees the emergency purely as a device to curb government’s political opponents.

Sources in the government’s delegation said today they were “fairly encouraged” by the weekend’s statements of ANC leaders.

A source said that although SA Communist Party chief, Mr. Joe Slovo, had taken a tough line on majority rule — completely rejecting power sharing — both he and Mr. Nelson Mandela had committed themselves to peaceful negotiations.

Mr. Slovo had twice said he had come in a spirit of conciliation and ANC foreign affairs spokesman, Mr. Thabo Mbeki, accepted that the issue of violence would have to be set aside before proper negotiations could begin.
Wintry welcome for returned ANC exiles

LEFT: ANC executives and officials on the high-security stage, surrounded by barbed wire, at yesterday's ANC-SA Communist Party rally. The delegates who will meet the government this week occupied the upper deck. CENTRE: Faces in the 20 000-strong crowd at the rally at Lentegeur sportsfields, Mitchells Plain. RIGHT: An aerial view of the crowd.

Priest maimed
Govt wanted Slovo 'dropped'

Political Staff

The Government wanted the ANC to drop SA Communist Party (SACP) chief Mr Joe Slovo from its negotiating team in Cape Town for this week's "talks about talks". Mr Nelson Mandela revealed at yesterday's political rally in Mitchell's Plain.

A Cabinet Minister made the approach, Mr Mandela said, but the ANC made it clear that it would not compromise on its alliance with the SACP.

He said the Cabinet was worried that the presence of Mr Slovo, a communist, at the talks would be difficult to explain to their white constituency.

Mr Mandela said he told the Minister, who he did not name, that he had risked his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that President de Klerk "is an honest man and that I believed he meant everything he said".

"I said to them that they should also risk their own reputation and explain to whites in this country that Mr Slovo was a true son of South Africa and that it was quite proper for him to ... try and settle problems in this country in a peaceful manner."

Mr Mandela yesterday appealed to white South Africans to make it possible for ANC members to throw away their AK47s, reports Sapa.

The ANC was not able to bring about peace, he said. The Government should lead the way and the ANC would try to find a solution as soon as possible.
ANC ‘wants real democracy’

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent, and ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

The African National Congress was ready to walk through President Thabo Mbeki’s “door open” if it was clear that he was prepared to respect for “real democracy,” but if that did not happen, the ANC would hold the World Cup to its own terms.

This is not war talk, it is peace talk,” SA Communist Party general secretary Mr. Joe Slovo told a cheering crowd of more than 20,000 at the Lenentege sports field in Mitchell’s Plain yesterday.

“We know that negotiation is a question of give and take. There is a limit to what one side gives and what the other side takes and the gap that must be closed if dialogue is to lead to a political solution,” he said.

The commitment to seeking a peaceful negotiated settlement was made in the ANC’s manifesto, “All forms of the struggle...’ were prominent themes in speeches by Mr. Slovo, ANC secretary general Mr. Alfred Nzo and deputy president Mr. Nelson Mandela.

Negotiation

They share the same commitment with the rest of the ANC’s leaders negotiating team and other prominent figures in the movement.

Mr. Slovo accepted “armchair revolutionaries with mythical armies” who hoped to compel the ANC to accept the demands of the opposition to the 1994 elections. “We accept when negotiation and even compromise is in the interests of what people are struggling for. But...”

Addressing communists on South African soil for the first time since 1996 in a speech in which he paid special tribute to the “heroic” who had died in the struggle, Mr. Slovo emphasized the need for the ANC to be prepared for all eventualities, cautioning that “without democracy we have nothing.”

“The South African people know the difference between a negotiated settlement and a compromise,” he said.

In a resounding conclusion, Mr. Slovo told the crowd: “Let the air vibrate with demands for majority rule, redistribution of wealth and land, a constituent assembly and an equal vote. Let us surge forward in a tidal wave towards freedom. Let us not rest until we have a truly non-racial, united democratic South Africa.”

Speaking before Mr. Slovo, Mr. Nzo said the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations was “testimony to the fact that South Africa will never be the same again. Ours is a society in transition to a new order.”

"Bolide’s"

He said the ANC appreciates the bolide’s “disturbances” to the Dolos, but considered changes so far to be “small stuff.”

Victory was in sight, but it had not yet been “grasped.”

“Until we get our house in order, we will remain poor and our dreams will remain nightmares.”

The ANC would “nourish” the search for negotiation, but this “does not mean that we should cast aside the armed struggle when the conditions for an upgrade have not been created.”

The ANC demanded an “impartial interim government to oversee the transition to a new order” and a democratically elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution.

The elder, he said, had left the young to fight. We should return to fight using whatever means at our disposal.”

20,000 brave to greet ANC leadership

By MICHAEL DOMAN and DON HOLIDAY, Staff Reporters

MORE than 20,000 people braved cold and blustery conditions at Mitchell’s Plain’s Lenentege stadium yesterday to listen to spokesmen of the strongest array of ANC leadership in the last 20 years.

And 2,000 newly-trained marshals delivered on the ANC promise, after the chaotic welcoming of Mr. Nelson Mandela at the Grand Parade on February 11, that crowds would be effectively controlled.

They were divided along paramilitary lines into platoons, or “vanguards,” each group named after a prominent ANC leader.

Mr. Mandela described international affairs head Mr. Thabo Mbeki as “the biggest charmer in the ANC.” Mr. Mbeki had spoken to the crowd at the stadium, and Mr. Mandela added that he should be given “a big hand” because he had managed to “break through the red socks.”

Welcoming the Western Cape commander of the ANC, Mr. Reg September, Mr. Mandela said, “he is determined to come and eat music and potatoes.”

After Mr. Slovo’s popularly-received speech, he and Mr. Mandela were then driven back to the stadium for another round of speeches, this time accompanied by a large crowd of ANC supporters.

The Rev Beyers Naudé, left, United Democratic Front secretary Mr. Chester Corbett and director of the ANC’s international affairs Mr. Tbaba Mbeki share a joke.

hand behind the stage to protect the ANC leaders.

At Lenentege stadium, a handful of police assisted Spurcom ticket examiners, who eventually gave up trying to check the tickets of crowds who streamed past the barriers.

At the stadium, the atmosphere in the early part of the day as much resembled a rock concert as a political rally.”

Two bands pounded out mainly Afro-jazz rhythms and several poets took to the stage to deliver their works, which had “strength and struggle.”

At the Argus, Monday April 30 1991

Spectrum
The government wanted the African National Congress to drop Slovo because Mr. Mandela's presence at the talks would be "difficult to explain to our white constituency.

Mr. Mandela said the Cabinet was "worried that Mr. Slovo's presence at the talks would be "difficult to explain to their white constituency.

Mr. Mandela told the Minister - whom he did not name - that he had earned his own reputation by telling the ANC and diplomats that Mr. De Klerk is an honest man and that I believe he meant everything he said."

Government 'wanted ANC to drop Slovo'

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Some of the more than 20000 people who braved the cold and wind to catch a glimpse of the ANC leaders at the rally.

ANC marshals bodysearch everyone who went into the sports ground.
Inspire women to fight - BCMA

By ALI MPHAKI

 MANY women refrain from the activities of the struggle after being treated badly by comrades with childish and playboy habits, contends an article in the latest edition of Leinetse, a Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) mobilising pamphlet.

 The article further says that women have sometimes been recruited to the struggle simply as companions and fans of male activists.

 "When they see their contribution undermined in these ways, many women stay away from the activities of the struggle. Some observe from a distance that the dignity of their gender is not upheld, and decide to use their energies elsewhere," the article states.

 While commending the role of women participating in the struggle, Leinetse asks pertinent questions like how many women are there at the national leadership of the two main labour federations (Cosatu and Nactu) or the churches and other mass organisations.

 It says that in the past many families used to find it more important to educate their sons than their daughters.

 "We must work to change these positions," it urges.

 In many countries such as Zimbabwe, Nicaragua and the Philippines, women have been and are the backbone of the revolution. Azanian women can do just as well.

 "To weaken the forces of oppression, we must make an extra effort to build women's participation, and to increase the women's role in decision-making," the article says.
Capitalist polish for the ANC's image

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The ANC has approached the world's most successful — and archly capitalist — public relations firm, Saatchi and Saatchi, to help polish its poor public image, the Sunday Times of London reported yesterday. Saatchi's, which created the thrusting image that helped make Mrs Margaret Thatcher a world figure, is treating the ANC request for help with caution, the Sunday Times said.

It quoted a company source saying they were unhappy about promoting a political movement that advocated violence to achieve power.

The report said the ANC was desperate to escape from the image, which they blame on South African propaganda, that casts them as a terrorist organisation.

The ANC is notorious for its secrecy and bungled attempts at covering up uncomfortable truths — which make their errors and misjudgements seem far worse when they are eventually exposed.

A classic ANC foul-up was their bare-faced lie last year that their president, Mr Oliver Tambo, had not suffered a stroke.

Even after he had been flown unconscious from Zambia to London and lay in intensive care, they insisted that he was not seriously sick and would soon be back at work.

There was a fierce internal row in the ANC when they made a spectacular mess of their arrest of and the subsequent "escape" to the British embassy in Angola last year of the South African police infiltrator Olivia Forsyth.

Because of their media paranoia the ANC missed what should have been an international media coup — and Pretoria gleelessly and skillfully turned a security failure into an apparent success.

An immediate problem for the ANC is how to make a public response to the charges of the torture and execution over the years of its own dissident members in exile.

It is understood that Mr Nelson Mandela, who this month boldly admitted that there had been instances of torture, has insisted that the matter be tackled head-on and answered publicly to avoid putting the movement in danger of losing credibility in its own camp.
PAC, Azapo hit ANC for meeting govt

PRETORIA. — The Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo, the Black Consciousness movement, have strongly criticised the ANC for agreeing to hold talks with the South African government.

Mr M Makwetu, vice-president of the PAC, said the ANC had “sold out” by agreeing to the talks.

He was addressing thousands of mourners at Attridgeville stadium, near here, on Saturday at the funeral service of PAC founder member and former Robben Island prisoner Mr Japhtha Masemola, who died a fortnight ago.

And Azapo, denouncing the talks in a statement issued yesterday, accused the ANC of trying to reach “an illusory winning post”.

Azapo said said the proposed meeting did not enjoy the mandate of black people and the talks would bear no fruit as “the people’s suffering will not be alleviated”

Mr Makwetu said the problem in negotiating with the government was that the armed struggle had to be suspended.

Another problem was that the white minority had a veto over what was agreed by the negotiators.

He said the end result of talks would be the attainment of reform. “We do not need reform. We need a complete overhaul of the entire economic and political system.

“That means we need to bring the land back to its rightful owners,” Mr Makwetu said, adding that there could be no compromise.

PAC president Mr Zeph Motopeng, in an apparent reference to ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela’s assurance to whites that they had nothing to fear from ANC policies, said: “In his life Masemola was goaded and moved by the spirit of Pan Africanism and had no time for compromise and appeasement.”

Mr Motopeng said: “Slaves have nothing to gain from negotiating with their masters.”

The PAC’s trade union arm, the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), also attacked the ANC for agreeing to the exploratory talks.

Nactu assistant general-secretary Mr Cunningham Nqeuana, also speaking at the Masemola funeral service, accused the ANC of going into talks with the government without consulting other sectors of the liberation movement. This was “arrogant” of the ANC, he said. — Sapa
Hard day's work for talks teams

By TOS WENTZEL

On the Presidency

THE government and African National Congress teams for this week's historic first round of peace talks were today meeting separately to establish their positions on key issues.

This week's talks are being held to remove obstacles to constitutional negotiations.

One of the ANC delegates said they would have a hard working session today to prepare for issues on the agenda such as the release of political prisoners, immunity from prosecution for exiles and an end to political trials and executions.

At today's meeting they will assess reports on issues to be raised which have been prepared by various experts and interest groups, including the leadership of the trade union alliance, Cosatu, the UDF and the Mass Democratic Movement.

One of the government delegates confirmed that his delegation was also making last-minute preparations today.

Matters for discussion today among members of the government team also include political prisoners and exiles. Legislation dealing with this is to be introduced soon.

Also on the government team's agenda today will be the official reaction on the sensational sand shot.

Sensational sand shot

SOUTH African golfer David Frost sank a sensational sand shot on the final hole of the 72-hole USPGA Classic at New Orleans to claim his fourth major US PGA title.

It was a dramatic way for Frost to break out of the worst drought in his short career, having missed the cut in his last eight tournaments.

*See page 16.*
AERIAL VIEW: The scene at Len terger Stadium where the ANC negotiating team for this week were introduced to supporters.

Wettest for 25 years

Staff Reporter

THIS month has been the Peninsula's wettest April on record since 1966, according to the weather bureau at D.F. Malan airport.

Weathermen estimate that, including last night's rain, almost 130mm has fallen. The average April rainfall is 39mm.

And there is little sign of a let-up in the cold frontal conditions.

The rest of the week is likely to remain cloudy with showers and a north-westerly wind turning to south-west later in the week.

BLESSING

There have been reports of minor damage in several areas, but in at least one instance the results may be positive.

This was in Kloof Street, where the April deluge caused the collapse of the original gable of historic 18th century Rozenhoef Gardens.

The destruction of the gable could, however, turn out to be a blessing in disguise, according to Mr. Warren Simpson, the architect in charge of the R4-million project to turn the derelict building into an office complex.

He said today that the National Monument Council had granted reconstruction and not restoration approval for the building.

Now the gable and portion of wall which collapsed will be fully rebuilt. “It means it will be properly constructed and at the end of the day will last for many years,” Mr. Simpson said.

Today a basement in Woolworths in Main Road, Claremont, was flooded and low-lying parts of Rosmead Avenue, Claremont, were also under water.

Parts of Hout Bay were without electricity this morning and a shop in Beach Crescent, Hout Bay, was flooded.

A weather office spokesman at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport, 500km south of Pretoria, said the weather office is warning motorists to be particularly cautious on routes through the Western Cape due to heavy rain and possible flooding.

Boy dies in shack blaze: 2 arrested

Staff Reporter

A YOUNG boy was burnt to death early this morning when his house caught fire in Khayelitsha, turning the wood-and-iron home into an inferno.

Police said Mr. and Mrs. Ellem of Section G, Khayelitsha, were trapped in the flames.

A man and a woman have been arrested. Charges of murder and arson are being investigated.

Man shot in bar dies

DURBAN — An Amazimtoti man, Mr. Richard Herbst, 40, died after being shot in a bar at the town. Police said that Mr. Herbst became involved in an argument with another man who took out a pistol and shot him. A man has been arrested.

Choreographer dies

NEW YORK — Michael Shaw, choreographer for the Broadway musical Legs Diamond, has died after being shot at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP.

Gas blast horror: 9 fight for their lives

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The tragedy is not confined to the Peninsula. A gas blast, which occurred in Natal on Saturday, has left nine critically injured.

Two women and a 16-year-old boy have died at King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, and seven critically ill people are being treated in the hospital. Four women and three men are fighting a desperate battle for their lives.

GAS CYLINDERS

A spokesman for the R.A. Van der Hoff Hospital at Chatsworth said the explosions and fires were being investigated.

The blast occurred in the parking lot of Cooper Street shopping centre on Saturday morning.
Wettest for 25 years

Staff Reporter

THIS month has been the Peninsula’s wettest April in the last quarter century, according to the weather bureau at DF Malan airport.

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Now the gable and portion of wall which collapsed will be properly rebuilt. “It means it will be properly constructed and at the end of the day will last far longer,” Mr Simpson said.

Today a basement in Woolworths in Main Road, Claremont, was flooded and low-lying parts of Rosmead Avenue, Claremont, were also under water.

Parts of Hout Bay were without electricity this morning and a shop in Beach Crescent, Hout Bay, was flooded.

A weather office spokesman at Johannes burg’s Jan Smuts airport some 30km away said there were steady showers in the 24 hours from 8am on Saturday.

In Pretoria 51mm was recorded and 78mm in Irene.

Heavy rain in Johannesburg caused power cuts in Emmarentia, Greenside, Belgravia and Mayfair.

Boy dies in shack blaze: 2 arrested

Staff Reporter

A YOUNG boy was burned to death early today when alleged arsonists set his family’s shack alight in Kuyalile, turning the wood-and-iron house into an inferno.

Police said Mzwandile Eleni of Section C, Kuyalile, was trapped in the flames.

A man and a woman have been arrested. Charges of murder and arson are being investigated.

Man shot in bar dies

DURBAN — An Amazimtoti man, Mr Richard Herbst, 40, died after being shot in a bar in the town. Police said that Mr Herbst became involved in an argument with another man to seek out a pistol and shot him. A man has been arrested.

— The Argus Correspondent

Choreographer dies

NEW YORK — Michael Shawn, choreographer for the Broadway musical Legs Diamond, has died from AIDS at the age of 45. — Sapa-AP

Jobless man wins R808 000

JOHANNESBURG. A 51-year-old German woman has won more than R808 000 in Sun City’s “Dream Machine”.

This is the second time in two months the giant jackpot has been won.

At lunchtime yesterday, Mr Mark Hellens, unemployed and married with two children, was willy-nilly about keeping up payments on his car. An hour later he was a rich man.

He said he would buy a house in a retirement village for his 68-year-old mother with part of the money. — Sapa
Priest loses hands in bomb blast

HARARE. — Anglican priest and ANC member Father Mike Lapsley had both his hands blown off by a letter bomb last night.

Mr Lapsley had just returned from abroad and was alone at home opening a pile of mail when the bomb went off.

Late last night he was having surgery at Parirenyatwa Hospital in the centre of Harare. Mr Lapsley was a close friend of exiled ANC lawyer Phyllis Naidoo from Durban.

SHRAPNEL

Miss Naidoo was herself the victim of a letter bomb in Lesotho several years ago and still carries some of the shrapnel from the attack in her buttocks and lower back.

Mr Lapsley was often photographed by the Press at ANC occasions and anniversaries, leading processions in his priest's robes.

After the news was broken to ANC and Cosatu members attending a meeting here on the South African economy, an ANC member said: "Just when some of us were beginning to sit back and think that we could begin to relax our defences a little because of the recent events in South Africa, this tragedy has come as a great shock.

"We have warned all ANC members in Harare that they have to be on full alert again. It's back to the bad old times."
Nelson Mandela, Joe Slovo and Alfred Nzo with clenched fists on the platform at a rally in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town yesterday.
Tutu slams Harare bomb

ANGELICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday slammed the use of a letter bomb which had maimed an Anglican monk in Harare on Saturday night.

"I deplore acts of violence, from whatever source they come," he said in a statement from the Church of the Province.

He suspected the "cruel bombing" was an attempt by right-wing elements, possibly with contacts in the security forces, to sabotage the negotiating process.

"It is extraordinary that this sort of activity can continue while all these commissions and police investigations are happening.

"I called some time ago for the complete disbanding of the CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and I renew that call.

"The Government needs to take every possible step to ensure that no one in its ranks is co-operating with those who want to derail peaceful negotiations."

Statement 5 October 1979

Father Michael Lapsley, a former chaplain to students at the University of Natal, lost an eye and had both his hands amputated after the blast. He is in danger of losing his other eye as well, according to the statement.

The bomb wrecked the inside of the house in central Harare.

Friends of Lapsley told Tutu's office yesterday that the parcel bomb was posted from South Africa. Lapsley opened it on Saturday night in the belief it contained books.

Lapsley went to live in Lesotho after being expelled from South Africa in the 1970s. He became a member of the African National Congress and was later expelled from Lesotho and moved to Harare.

He worked for the Lutheran World Federation until recently and was due to move to a parish in the Diocese of Matabeleland soon. - Sapa.
MUNTU MYEZA, Azapo's projects co-ordinator who spent several years in prison with Jeff Masemola, the PAC leader buried on Saturday, pays tribute.

I REMEMBER your first words to me: "Nobody knows how long life is."

These were the words written in your very first "spatnik" in January 1977. You were in 'A' section and I was in 'E'.

The letter was in response to mine, flushed through the toilet bowl tied to a string. Two days later, and through the same method, I received your reply when I pulled the string back. The method was filthy and risky, but ingenious. A wall was subsequently built, but that initial contact was a prelude to the genius I was yet to discover in you.

Many, and I daresay all, who came into contact with you found you enigmatic. They would differ on aspects of your personality but none would disagree on your wizardry, particularly with your hands.

Cardboard

The legend that you constructed a boat right under their noses (they thought it was a good strong gate) ranks along with that of Makana the Left handed. The tell-tales who spill the beans not only dammed the history of Makana Island a glorious chapter, they earned you nine years in the 'A' section where I found you.

Few knew that you were the only one who could lock your cell door from the outside without a key. Even fewer knew that you had a clock that could tell time accurately - constructed from bits and pieces thrown out by the sea.

Fewer still knew that you made the beautiful pyramidal hat you wore to keep off the blustering sun, out of cardboard without any strings or pins or wires. Does anybody know that as a boy you bought bread and ginger cakes ("knock me down") with self-made five pence coins? You did not need to buy any tools because you made your tools. I have scoured the hardware shops and relevant factories for a fly catcher to match the ones you made. They almost eliminated all the flies on the island - but such an awful smell!

I always tell myself that if black people had the opportunities, I know of one man - who had the knowledge, skill and patience to build an aeroplane from scratch. I did not find it strange that you studied anthropology. The origins of man was an appropriate route for a man like you to take. The knowledge of what man could do and why man did what he did was a logical vocation for someone like you.

Everyone knew that Bra Jeff was not a push-over. No one took a chance with him. I knew because I did once. Do you remember the incident in 'A' section when we watched movies? There were 24 of us - but no one took your seat. I did. I shall not forget how Nkwenke the projector man pleaded so that the show could go on.

Do you remember how we had to listen to music with the least lyrics because you felt the music was just "Baby...Baby"?

I remember your sense of humour. Two colleagues were comparing their sentences. One was a lifer like yourself and the other was doing 160 years. Remember the two guys? The comrade with 160 years said his sentence was better because it could be reduced. The lifer retorted that his body would at least be released when he died, but that of this comrade would have to be kept until 160 years were over.

Lyrics

I remember how you laughed. I remember because my six years looked like a "fourteen" sentence compared to such heavy-weight ones. You laughed and I thought there was pity in your laughter about those who tried to know "how long life is".

When we arrived on Makana in the summer of 1976 we had revolution coming through our pores. The flames of June 16 were still blazing and our trial had been one of the longest in the history of political trials.

One of the charges against us was that we eulogised and emulated political prisoners who belonged to banned organisations. You were one of those people. Although you belonged to the PAC and we were in the Black Consciousness Movement (SASO and BPC), it was a recognised fact that the business of struggle tied us together. Instinctively, you realised the magnitude of the events outside jail. I remember you saying something about your son. This was his time.

We differed and we agreed. I would like to think we agreed more than we differed. You remained true to yourself - the inimitable Japha Masemola.

Sometimes I ask myself whether it would have been better for you to stay in prison and live or get out of jail and die?...
Five members of the Azanian Students Movement appeared battered, bruised and soiled at the Thohoyandou Magistrate’s Court on Friday. They were allegedly assaulted by members of the bantustan’s defence force.

Mr Azwindini Peter Mulibana, Mr Mushathoni Mutobvu, Mr Bolkie Tsedu and two other youths told Mr R R Dama that they were beaten and dragged on the ground by soldiers. Tsedu identified one of his assailants as Ado Mula.

No charge was put to them and the case was remanded to June 14. Bail was fixed at R50 each. The packed courtroom reverberated to the singing of freedom songs as the large crowd filed out of court and other cases on roll came to a standstill as youths sang and danced outside while waiting for the trialists to emerge from the court cells.

Soldiers clashed with the singing youths near the shopping centre and later confiscated this reporter’s camera. The camera was returned undamaged. The arrests of the five youths followed an abortive march by members of the Allied Workers Union (AWU) on Wednesday to protest the banning of the union by the military regime two weeks ago.
SACP chief Joe Slovo tells rally

Victory

is ours

NEWLY-arrived ANC and Communist Party exiles received a tumultuous welcome in Cape Town yesterday, as they addressed a political rally attended by thousands of people in Mitchell's Plain.

Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party general secretary, and Mr Alfred Nzo, ANC general secretary, who arrived in South Africa on Saturday to take part in talks with the Government on Wednesday, told the crowd that the battle to end apartheid would be won.

Slovo said the working people of South Africa were today better organized than at any other time in the history of South Africa.

"It is you, the youth, the young blacks who have and are still prepared to struggle in the face of death, who refuse to bow down before racial domination, who made it happen."

He said the ANC wanted the Government to know that "we know we are the kind of democracy - a democracy in which every adult has an equal vote and equal say in running South Africa."

"We'll win a united South African homeland," he told the crowd.

This homeland would not be in the bantustans "but in every square metre of South Africa from Cape Point to the Limpopo and from the mouth of the Orange River to the Indian ocean." He said it was the prerogative of greatest joy at last being back in this beautiful country but it was a moment tinged with sadness.

Slovo said he was also filled with sadness because some of the finest martyrs in the struggle were buried in South Africa's soil and some were away killed by South India.

"They should have had the first place on this platform. Their blood fertilized the tree of defence, the tree of resistance and this tree cannot be cut down," he said.

Apartheid was in the throes of a crisis from which it would not recover and although the ANC appreciated the good offices of President F W de Klerk, the struggles of the people had made the Government see reason.

ANC general secretary Nzo said at a rally at Langa yesterday in Mitchell's Plain yesterday.

"We have returned and our presence here today is a reflection of the changing and changing position in South Africa," he said.

"Ours is a society in transition to a new order," he said.

He also said that Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, had made remarkable progress recently since his illness last year.

"You urged the ending of the state of emergency and the release of all political prisoners and said this was a right."

More pupils held in police swoops

By SONTI MASEKO

He confirmed about 20 cases in Klerksdorp, six in Schweizer-Reneke and 18 at Matjiesfontein.

However, he said he could not confirm several cases where either false or proper names were not used.

Report

Motel said it was difficult to establish the right number of detained people because several families did not know where to report detentions.

He said about 50 schoolchildren travelling in three minibuses were arrested in Klerksdorp on their way from a funeral at Schweizer-Renéke on April 7. This was reported to him last week.

"The Western Transvaal has been worst hit with detentions," he said.

The Rev. Xolile Dube of the Western Transvaal and Northern Cape Council of Churches said in most cases teenagers gave their nicknames to the police and the organisation could not confirm their detentions.

"It is a problem for us. Parents have brought us reports about raising children and we are unable to trace them because they give wrong names to the police."

One detainee, Mr Lucas Ntionssothi, is reported to have died at the Klerksdorp police station from "natural causes." He was from Schweizer-Reneke and was buried two weeks ago.

Police statement could not be obtained last night.

There will be no newspaper tomorrow as it is a public holiday. Workers' Day. But your favourite newspaper will hit the streets on Wednesday with all the news, racing, sport and pictures.

Don't miss it.
Azapo slams ANC over ‘illusory’ talks

IN THE hardest hitting statement yet on the impending talks between the ANC and the Government, Azapo yesterday denounced the May 2 meeting, accusing the ANC of attempting to reach “an illusory winning post”.

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

“We are surprised that you (the ANC) seem to consider that there are more commonalities between yourself and the De Klerk government to justify a prior meeting with them to the exclusion of a meeting that Azapo has proposed among liberation organisations,” said the statement.

The Black Consciousness organisation said the proposed meeting did not enjoy the mandate of black people. The talks would bear no fruit as “the people’s suffering will not be alleviated”.

It pointed out that De Klerk had not acceded to majority rule in a unitary state and that he wished to enshrine minority rights in any future constitution.

In addition, the State President had also stated that the redistribution of land and wealth could not take place.

“All of these tenets are but what constituted white oppression and exploitation over the centuries. “This is apartheid, nothing more, nothing less. It is evident, therefore, that De Klerk wishes you to endorse apartheid. We are surprised that you should be lured into this,” said Azapo.”
LONDON - The African Nationalist Congress had called on Saatchi and Saatchi's London agency to advise a campaign to promote the prospect of black majority rule in South Africa.

If the agency took the account it would produce an unlikely pairing of the Saatchi brothers, who helped Mrs Thatcher to victory in 1979, with the ANC and Mr Mandela.

But the agency's Blue Chip client list - including multi-nationals such as Proctor and Gamble, ICI and BP - might inhibit it taking on such a politically sensitive account.

Representatives from the ANC are thought to have met with Saatchi's management following a formal approach.

Concern

The thaw in relations with the South African Government since the release of Mr Mandela has caused concern within the ANC that pressure for sanctions and a democratic electoral system has subsided.

Anglo American, South Africa's largest company, is running an extensive press advertising campaign stressing the company's record on work-place equality and its opposition to apartheid.

The ANC is anxious that this and the more liberal stance of President FW de Klerk should not lead to a slackening of the international campaign against apartheid. UK. opinion-formers are a key target for the ANC as Britain has consistently refused to impose trade sanctions against South Africa.
Autumn Festival offers insights into literature

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

THE portrayal of black/white relationships and the role of the literary artist in a volatile political arena will be among the issues raised in the African literature series at the Wits Autumn Festival.

The festival runs from Wednesday to Sunday.

The Wits Autumn Festival offers a rich variety of events covering literature, drama, music, art, science and current issues such as literacy, environment, awareness and urban geography.

This year’s festival will enable the public to share in the learning and cultural activities of the campus. On Saturday, those interested in African literature will have the chance to hear Prof. Es’kia Mphahlele and other noted literary figures present a series of enlightening and controversial lectures on this subject in the South African context.

Mphahlele will address the issue of Black and White in African Literature. In an abstract to his lecture, he says the approach of African writing in the 19th Century moved between the extremes of rejection and total acceptance of Western culture.

In another lecture entitled Literature in a Changing Society: The Abduction of the Text, Nhlenhla Maake of the Wits African Languages department will pose and try to answer, the question: "In a politically volatile situation, the creative writer and critic, particularly the teacher of literature, take a political stance which will place their work in the canon of documentary propaganda?"

DBZ Null, writer and Unisa professor, will present a third lecture focusing on Zulu literature. Null will look at the extent to which literature in African languages addresses the social problems of black people in South Africa as well as the hurdles encountered by a Zulu writer in his attempts to reflect these.
Women to prepare for homecomers says the National Assembly for Women

THE resolutions that women’s organisations took at the historic three-day conference of the National Assembly for Women in South Africa are being carried through, four years after its launch.

The 1 000 women from South Africa and Namibia present at the conference, dubbed Nairobi ‘85 to SA 200, had resolved, among other things, to forge unity among women’s organisations and participate fully in the country’s politics.

The conference was convened by six leading black South African women who had attended the Nairobi conference to mark the end of the

Issues discussed included citizenship and the marriage laws. Some members of the assembly also went to Namibia last year to donate clothing to the country’s returned exiles and observe how women’s organisations there handled the flood of returnees.

The role of women in a changing South Africa will be discussed at the assembly’s conference to be held in Johannesburg from May 11 to May 13. Its theme will be “Women Working Together Towards a New South Africa”. This, it is hoped, will carry through the assembly’s resolve on women’s political participation.

Joyce Seroke, a member of the planning committee, said the organisation had identified preparation for returning exiles as a key issue that they should address.

“We hope to involve women of all organisations and delegate different tasks to each of the groups,” Seroke said.

“The temporary housing of returnees, tracing their relatives and finding permanent housing for them, if none can be found, is what we will concern ourselves with.

Integrate

“We should find ways that would help integrate the exiles’ children into our education system when they come back. We should also make provision for the health and welfare of returnees, who could have suffered physical disability and mental trauma while they were away,” she said.

The assembly is expecting over 20 000 exiles but it would provide for those who have not been identified, especially those in Europe.

About 300 delegates from 30 women’s organisations are expected to attend the conference at the Protea Gardens Hotel in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Solutions to the Natal violence, recognition of contributions of a selected number of women and a special mothers’ day dinner are part of the agenda.